GUIDE TO THE OF9 FLORES FILE

[This subfile contains information on the various peoples on the island of Flores, at the eastern end of the Indonesian archipelago. The file essentially contains only one source with bits of information from a few others. Flores is a mountainous, volcanic island, whose topography has tended to isolate its various populations, producing a number of divergent cultural types. There are five major ethnolinguistic groups. From west to east, they are the Manggarai, Ngada, Endeh, Sika and Larantuka. They all speak languages of the Ambon-Timor group of Malayo-Polynesian, but not all are mutually intelligible to the others. The physical type is of various mixtures of Malayo and Melanesian features with varying amounts of Papuan. The population of Flores was about 460,000 in 1930. The population of Manggarai alone has increased by almost two thirds since 1930, so these figures may presently be far off. Swidden agriculture occupies most of the people, with maize as the principal crop. Rice, millet, vegetables, and yams are also raised in most areas. Buffalo, horses, pigs, and dogs are also raised, although the first two serve mainly as status symbols and objects for brideprice, while the second two may be eaten on ritual occasions, along with chickens in some areas. Christianity, introduced early in the sixteenth century, is fairly common, ranging from at least 50% in most areas, to 100% in some. Islam is found to some extent, though it is not widespread. The indigenous religion, involving a supreme deity in some areas, and a large pantheon, is also not uncommon, especially in isolated regions. Most areas seem to have at least three recognized social classes consisting of nobility, commoners, and former slaves. The west and central regions have a greater emphasis on stratified social classes and a territorial hierarchy. Settlements range from mountain peaks to the coast. Most seem to have at one time consisted of only

a single clan house but now contain many smaller houses. Village populations average at a few hundred but range from a few single family houses to over 1000 individuals. The most common form of kin group is named patrilineal unit, though in some areas, ambilineal groups are found. Since in most areas, marriages require a sizeable brideprice, the bride and groom and the woman's children will often remain with her natal kin group until the full amount is paid. Households for this reason often consist of parents, married daughters and their offspring. Outside contact, through foreign traders, probably came as early as the beginning of this millenium. When the Portuguese arrived in the early sixteenth century, there were already a number of Muslim settlements on the eastern end of Flores. The Dutch consolidated their control over the region during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The island is now a part of the Republic of Indonesia. (Data based on LeBar, 1972, Ethnic Groups of Insular Southeast Asia, Vol I. pp. 80-94.)

The 116 slips for the sources found in this file are located in the OB1 Indonesia file. 5: Kennedy is essentially the only source. It is an edited version of his fieldnotes. The file contains only a basic descriptive ethnographic report of the unit. The file was processed in 1956.]

632 and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.

103 Roworeke means: rowo is a bandjir river, dry in the dry season, and one can see this plainly; reke, a kind of red fruit. Watu Roga means a kind of soft stone. The scribe who will become
115 my assistant is a mild looking little fellow, of the suku Ambu Odja, and of the kampong Roworeke. He is married, however, into the kampong Watu Roga. His name is Adrianus Migo, and he is a Catholic. In the kapitanschap Rewarangga there
632 are eighteen kampongs (the kapitanschap Gunung
622 Rodja has fifteen kampongs). In each there is
614 a kepala kampong. There are also six main suku in the kapitanschap: Rewarangga, Wanda, Ambu Odja, Rea Ndona, Tibo (or Gusa), and Ambu Tara. There are members of other suku in the kapitanschap, but they are not old inhabitants. They
[171] have moved in (like the "newcomer non-dati" fams of the Ambon negri). The kapitan of Rewarangga were formerly of suku Rewarangga, but after three of these in succession the kapitan passed into suku Ambu Odja, and there have been four of these. Thus about seven generations are accounted
[173] for, or about two hundred years, but the man says that Roworeke is at least four hundred to five hundred years old. This may indicate that the kapitan organization came in only about two hundred years ago. It is not at all certain and I must ask further questions about this kapitan business.

The kapitan must be chosen from any of the
632 noble families of any of the five suku. In each
565 suku there are two families which are noble and
614 therefore may become kapitan. Generally the son of a dead kapitan is chosen, but if he is not satisfactory they may choose a kapitan from another noble family of the same suku or from any of the noble lineages of any of the other four
632 sukus. The big reason that the Reweranggа suku
614 lost the kapitanschap was that it had become al-

114 Wa
[585] exactly the same rites and all moves are the
[565] same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas'
[784] word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate
[614] ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).[1]
In addition to the technical totem taboos given
[286] by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 I note on the map that place names recur
614 often all over Manggarai, especially not far
away. These are clan names, which are given
to kampongs founded by split offs from the
mother kampong. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 The mandur said there is criticism of the
578 Radja today because he is not "one hundred per
632 cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of
648 Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, al-
186 though somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud
of this Minangkabau story while at the same
time it may harm them in light of Manggarai
nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes[1]
says that when the Dutch were trying to select
a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they
thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not
a contented area and that the people there
wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch
chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime
kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is
that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around
Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle
under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may
see a possible chance of paying off old scores.
This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where
self-governing setups led to exploitation of
lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may
try to raise themselves up to a parity level
and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put
in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak
Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask
questions, and they will reply without first go-
ing through a translator. However, the reply

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 1B--Analyst]

651 Arriens said that he had heard this from the Radja as a big source of trouble now. I can imagine it. Their big trouble on this simple level, with the government, was only taxes (and for a few, jail). Thus, when freedom comes in, it means freedom from the Dutch burden, taxes.
[622] Anyway, I noted that the kapitan, as usual
[554] when in trouble, had called the giri tumba and the big ata ngga'eh nua (Bapa Ketjil) to come to his house in full adat dress. This underlines again the point that real prestige is in these old adat chiefs. They are the ones to call upon when a real decision has to be made. And there sat the malcontents, about to face the adat chiefs.

114 In Ndona, as I waited for the assistant to get the dukun from the hills, I sat in the jeep and read Bruine's[1] report on Lio, which was very
123 appropriate. As church got out, there gathered about at least twenty men and boys, and the latter hung over me while I was reading or at least trying to read the book. They were astonished, and read aloud, when they saw words
[212] like "mosa laki Ndona." And some of them could
[515] read the Dutch. Overall was the smell of sweat and onions.

181 The last trick of the assistant was to ask
123 for my fountain pen so that he could look at it and think of me. These folk are easily the most greedy yet. I doubt that one could appeal to mere good spirit here.

114 I think I have finally located the Rea which Elbert and Körner[2] always refer to as Rea Ndona.
103 I think they mean the Ende coastal area. I know where Ndona is, but I now see in a map in the Bruine[1] report that Tanah Rea is the former name of the area in which Nangapanda is on the south coast. It stretched to the north coast of Flores.

000 Back in these hills, which I wish I could explore, there may well have been endocannibalism!

1 [Probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]
2 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

114 The island is fascinating for pure ethnography, as I always expected. I am tempted every time I look at the map to take time off and go into those far hills. The entire northwest half of
491 Flores has no roads except for the Reo-Ruteng one, and here would be good territory. The
793 priests know a lot, and really should be mobilized for an ethnographic survey. And many of them, for example Mommersteeg,[1] would like it.
●103 The kapitan insists that the proper name is
114 Tanah Djea, and indeed this is a town to the north of Nangapanda. Maybe the old authors confused dj with r.[1] [pastor at Todabalu --Analyst]

As for Wolowai, which Wouden[2] (check his source and track this down!) says is reported to be matrilineal, there is a place to the north of Nangapanda in the hills (thus in Tanah Rea part of Ende shown on the Bruine[3] map) so named. This is Wolowai and it is in Ende. I wouldn't be surprised to find any kind of social R organization in this island! What a place to do
614 a real survey. I asked about a few other things
582 in Roworeke. I made a final try to get a circulating scheme out of the suku here, knowing that they have mother's brother's daughter marriage. I thought I had something when the assistant started off saying that an Odja man should take a Gusa woman, and that a Rewarangga suku man should take a Wanda woman. But right away it broke down, as the assistant himself, an Odja, married a Wanda, and his son will marry a Wanda, he says, in line with mother's brother's daughter marriage. Also, Bapa Ketjil, an Odja, married a Rewarangga. So what? He seemed to think that perhaps once it went like this:

Men	married	Women
Odja		Gusa
Gusa		Some other
Some other		Odja

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]
[2] [probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]

We

582 the previous talk of the tuan tanah that there
614 are preferred clans. I will clinch this when I get the va'u membership of the inmarriers.

The next day I started in on some more question in regard to social organization.

[103] Note that the name of the kampong below is
346 Tjantjar, not as I have spelled it above [Tjantsia]. I went there halfway through the morning as I heard drums and gongs. There were girls (looking very Hawaiian) sitting on the porch of the house next to the new one of the tuan tanah now being built. The timbers are up. It will be a rectangular house, although the one it replaces was round (I made a photo of the latter only a month ago, which shows how fast the old type is vanishing). The drums and gongs were being beaten because this is necessary when a new tuan tanah house (rumah gong-gendang) is being built.

346 There were several drums and several gongs
533 (and I found that each tuan tanah house has
776 several of each). They must be beaten all the
824 time, with short pauses, and the girls take
[562] turns. The men may help too (for garden beating, only men may play the instruments). This has to go on all the time while the big house is being built. The reason is that the wood (always spirit-ridden here) must be constantly kept pacified and told that it is being used for a great purpose, a big house. For ordinary houses this is not necessary. (I wonder if the idea is also in order to get the wood used to being in a rumah gong-gendang?) Before the trees are cut for the wood, they are told that they are being cut for a high purpose. Each grove of trees has a local spirit called darat. These are tree spirits. The generic word for spirit is ro.

778 I notice each day on my way here that there is
776 a grove of fine trees standing isolated on a
824

342 this area which are round, because the rectan-
574 gular ones last longer and the people like
123 them on this account, because all of them
must pay for a new one). They gave me roasted
bits of pork (tough and with plenty of fat),
and the palm beer, which was milky and strong.
I took photographs of them and they were
amazed.

342 This is a new kampong, and is merely named
[103] six (Anam). There are plenty of round houses,
but all of them with partly wooden walls. The
assistant says that there are still a fair
number of the real old style round houses with
no walls, especially in Tjibal.

574 In the afternoon I went to the mandur's house,
592 where he served a fine dish of ear corn, fresh
from the garden, and also some corn cooked by
steam in the leaves. We also had rice, etc.
He is a real host, and his old father talked
some. I took photographs of the family, includ-
ing his handsome wife. She is from Pongkor.
Plenty of her sisters seemed to be about, and
he said something about how this is quite usual
for a wife's sisters to live with her.

114 Finally we pulled out of Ruteng in the morn-
ing on January 31, expecting to ship out of Reo
that day. I stayed in Reo waiting two days.

[487] Going down the mountains I noticed that the
567 land was largely empty. The road led through
the dalu Tjibal. Down this road used to come
the slaves for shipping to Bima from Reo.
They were sold especially for firearms. Many
Manggarai descendants must be all over Indonesia,
because so many slaves were exported. Thus
there is a section "Manggarai" in Batavia. And
of course there are plenty in Bima.

114 In Reo, which is a poor place, I went to
Kedindi, the port, or rather the beach with
sheds of palm. There was no ship. Therefore
I went back to Reo and stayed at the pasanggra-

/For a glossary of the terms used in the Flores area, see 5: Kennedy, OB1 Indonesia, category 104./

We

614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and Rundu.

784 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol
824 clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The
614 other kinds, for example betong, which is thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung pesi is also tabooed for the members of the Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only on the first-born of each family. The first-born is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his
114 material. There are now two more kampongs in
624 the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas is in error in stating that Ladja is the fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung. Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung. The Manggarai
624 name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Teno is the
824 kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post
796 which is set in the center of the star of fields for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a
[533] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum.
[562] Some of the beats are the same for the men and for the women, but others differ by sex. Another term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to
423 the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which
651 are basically the property of the tuan tanah. Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay tribute for his house space. This tribute is used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus
778 this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in
[104] kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on the side of the highest hill. It is in the form of a rough human figure, which used to have

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

601 [114] I then got onto the kinship system, which Coolhaas gave only in partial form. It is a real mother's brother's daughter system, and quite perfect.

[104] Note: From now on I will use the V rather than the W of the Dutch and the German to show the V sound as it is. Thus Veol, not Weol. I wonder if the Larantuka W as in Wailolong should be V or whether it is really a bilabial. It is probably the latter, but there is no question but that the V in Veol is as it should be.

father	ema
father's brother	ema
father's brother's wife	ende
father's sister	inang
father's sister's husband	amang
mother	ende
mother's brother	amang
mother's brother's wife	inang
mother's sister	ende
mother's sister's husband	ema
brother	kae (older), ase (younger)(man speaking); nara (woman speaking).
sister	veta (man speaking); kae--ase (woman speaking).
brother's daughter	anak; nana (vocative) vote (woman speaking)
brother's son	anak; nana (vocative) (man speaking); to'a (woman speaking)
sister's daughter	to'a (man speaking); anak; enu (vocative) (woman speaking).
sister's son	koa (man speaking); anak; enu (vocative) (woman speaking).

5: Kennedy--433 E-5 (1949-1950) 1955 OB1 Indonesia OB 1
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Wac

614 There is no use of a head without feet. At
788 least this is the idea. They are the leg men
565 of the head. The Hurint cuts the head off, and they also cut or finish or decide cases. Thus the double entendre words which seem to prevail in this language come to light. Also the Hurint do the praying, and in the old days the priests were from this suku as well as were the judges. The Marang passed around and still pass around sirih, or perhaps coffee today, at the rites. The Marang also acts as general helper so that if any of the other three have trouble with the beast he rushes in to aid. The function is symbolized not quite so clearly as for the other three, but the social system is symbolized in ritual which in turn reflects a system of rank and function.

632 I heard another thing which should be inter-
614 esting to follow up. The kakang is a Leboba man
583 from one of the Kottang subsibs. His sib (one
576 of the two Belepe Lolong, and must be Lango'
431 Bele' as he has much power) gives women to the guru's sib (Ama Hurint Ola Demo[ng] Lango' Bele') and must be given fowl by the latter. The latter gets women from the former, and gets fish from the former too. Thus fowl and fish form a gift exchange following the marriage exchange system. Evidently the sib that gets the women gives the fowl, and the one that gives the women also gives the fish. Could this be again the serpent and the dove? The kakang said that if he went to the guru's house and there happened to be some fowl cooking there, he must get some, or it would be a terrible breach of respect and much shame would be felt. I think this is correct, but I must check it later.

194 The peculiar nasal end sound indicated by
● [114] the parentheses in my orthography is hard to get and Vatter[1] messes it up. The guru says it is hard even for a man from Larantuka town to say it.

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

000 of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

582 583 237 614 621 The next day I questioned the guru about this, and after a long talk about kinship, which revealed that the mother's brother's daughter type of marriage is a regular type of thing, he came out with the classic statement that usually the tusks come back to the original payer in three moves. Thus, ideally this is a three-class, mother's brother's daughter, rotating system. However, the route of the tusks may be longer, involving up to twenty moves before they return to the original giver. But they try to make the circle as fast as possible, doing it in three moves if they can. Naturally, this is not always possible. We examined some cases of possible long routes, and he said it might be true that it would take up to twenty moves before the tusks returned. They try never to let the tusks go outside the kampong, and this may be why probably there is not much extrakampong marriage. But even if they did, they could close the circle by careful planning. He said, just as Wouden[1] might, that the mother's brother's daughter marriage and the bride price and the sib system are all part of a complete system. We will have more of this later.

114 Today, Friday, December 23, we started in on the Vatter[2] book which the mission lent to me. It is amazingly correct.

Among the corrections, etc., are the following: [304] tattooing against illness is not done in Leloba; [775] a tattoo mark is needed to be recognized on entering the deadland; [301] feather decorations are used only festively; [302] the special woman's horsetail coiffure is not used here any longer; [755] cotton is not placed in the ears for illness (55)[2]; [614] one of the sibs from Sina Djawa is Lewonuhah; [784] the term suku wung is used here (74)[2] wung having the sense of taboo.

[1] [See pp.19-21, 85-88 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

114 As Vatter[1] says, there are taboos of a totemic
784 sort. Ama Hurint has a taboo on a kind of
614 vegetable. Others are as given by Vatter. Vatter has a real error, however, in that there are only five suku, not six, because Marang is within Kottang.

582 Marriage with one's father's sister's sister
835 [father's sister's daughter?] is taboo, as are
177 marriages between parallel cousins. Mother's brother's daughter marriages are preferred, and this occurs regularly. It was interesting to note that the mother's brother's daughter marriage is considered taboo in Catholic communities. This was admitted, and no longer do Catholics
[836] here marry their real mother's brother's daughter unless the girl has become pregnant (this is evidently a fairly common occurrence, as it is mentioned freely). However, because of the classificatory system, it is possible to marry a mother's brother's daughter relative through the grandparents. Such a relative must be at least a fourth grade cousin to suit the Catholics. Thus they manage to maintain the old system and suit the Catholic demand.

601 Kinship terms are as follows:

father:	bapa
father's brother:	bosu
father's sister:	nona, kaka (male speaking); nona kaka, tia (female speaking) (Tia means mother-in-law
father's brother's son:	kaka aring (male speaking); na'a (female speaking)
father's brother's daughter:	bine (male speaking); kaka aring (female speaking)

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

582 be straight exchange. They must have one inter-
583 mediate move because of the mother's brother's
614 daughter marriage. He sees this clearly, and says that if one could marry a father's sister's daughter they could have a straight exchange. He says that they do this in Tandjung Bunga. Vatter[1] says this is not so. If they do not want to give the tusks or they do not have them, they can work out the bride price in a deal with two other sib groupings so that A will give a girl to B, B a girl to C, and C a girl to A. Thus no tusks are needed, but they act as though the tusks had actually made the rounds. It is all done in their heads. They must plan this, as not every combination will bring the exchange back to the original sib grouping in three moves. Of course, a more complicated deal can be made with many moves leading the fictitious tusks around and a girl back to the group that starts the whole thing.

836 The premarital sex relations with the arrange-
583 ment that leads to marriage which Vatter[1] calls penara is properly called penaga(ng). The guru prefers to call it bride-service, but it is not so according to Vatter[1].

The guru says there are three kinds of marriage here: capture, service (or premarital sex relations leading to marriage), and payment. He calls the last the respectable type. It requires tusks, either real or according to bookkeeping.

192 Vatter[1] makes a bad error on page 83. Kelen
114 does not mean "heaven," but only foot. The word for heaven, on which he was confused, is klng, with almost no vowels.

782 Prayer is not carried out by the Marang. The
788 word marang means to pray, and this has led to
614 the confusion that the ritual prayers at the animal killing were always done by the Suku Marang. The latter merely hands the betel around. The oldest man who is an expert, from whatever

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

311 241 cover for agriculture too, and this causes a great[1] economic problem.

114 124 159 634 He said that much of Arndt's[2] and other scholars' findings were wrong as they use Christian gurus as assistants, and the latter do not tell them exactly what the old men say. The young assistants "doctor up" the information. They also misunderstand some of the old ideologies. This was one of many implications in his talk that showed he was not uncritical of the Christians. He has been radja longer than any other in Flores, thirty-one years and seven months. In his youth he was a Dutch army man too. He says that there was no road built when he was first made radja but the mission was already there. He also says that he is the most important radja in West Flores, although all of the royal families here are interrelated. He says he represents the older sibling branch, and Nageh and Manggarai radjas are the younger sibling branches. It is true that the Manggarai radjadom dates only from 1929, and before this there were only dalu, three of whom were most powerful.

194 The Radja speaks Malay with remarkable gutteral sounds which Arndt[2] says are characteristic of Ngada folk. They also have at least one implosive, as in bhaga. He has his house in the kampong Radja, not far from the town.

361 797 The town is notably modern in appearance, with the mission influence as usual. In the center there is a large plaza where the football field [485] is located, as usual. The pasanggrahan is a 622 good one, and the mandur looks like a nickel-634 head Indian. He was in the army once too and served in Sumatra, especially in Atjeh. He is evidently a friend of the Radja, as he enters [565] and talks with him freely. The Radja mixes freely with the people here, as we noted at the 443 pasar malam. The latter, to which we went at

[1] [i.e., the Radja of Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

443 night, was pitiful. There were six gambling
[525] tables in the pasar shed,[1] and that was all.
The Radja tried to get some dancers, but the
women had left for the kampong.

525 The priest, Mommersteeg, said that they all
gamble and that there is plenty of money used
here, although there are also many one sen
stakes. We went to bed in the terrible cold.

In the morning we went to Todabelu with Mom-
●114 mersteeg to meet Arndt.[2] We had met the latter
on the day before along the road. We saw an
old bearded man with a rain cape and umbrella
on a horse and asked if he knew where Arndt
was. He said that he was Arndt and that he had
ridden seven and one-half hours from Magilewa
near the south coast where he had gone for
Christmas. His parish is not there but on the
road to Boawai, off to one side. He was a
notable figure on the horse. We talked with
him about Ngada.

Arndt[2] says that there are no tribal units
614 called isi as van Staveren says.[2] There are
173 merely clans called voi. Then, inside these
611 units are bhou, or subclans. The big ancestor
was Djawa, who had seven sons and seven daughters.
The seven sons drop out, but the seven daughters
became the ancestral mothers of seven of the
great voi of Ngada, one of which is Ngada, and
this is the name of the ancestress. There are
a lot of other voi here too, each with a female
ancestor. I asked who the seven daughters
married, and he said this is unclear, but evi-
dently there were men on earth when the seven
were born. Thus it looks like an immigration
and intermarriage with aborigines. The bhou
614 have ancestral fathers, and thus they have a
611 system where the clans look a bit matrilineal
583 and the subclans a bit matrilineal, but the
whole descent is patrilineal unless there is no
bride price paid, when ambil anak occurs. Also,

[1] [i.e., at the night market --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

Wa

614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and Rundu.

784 824 614 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The other kinds, for example betong, which is thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung pesi is also tabooed for the members of the Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only on the first-born of each family. The first-born is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 114 624 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his material. There are now two more kampongs in the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas is in error in stating that Ladja is the fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung. Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung. The Manggarai

624 824 796 name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Teno is the kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post which is set in the center of the star of fields for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a

[533] [562] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum. Some of the beats are the same for the men and for the women, but others differ by sex. Another term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 423 651 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which are basically the property of the tuan tanah. Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay tribute for his house space. This tribute is used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 778 [104] Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on the side of the highest hill. It is in the form of a rough human figure, which used to have

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We
614 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and
778 broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive. It is located a little to the side of the path and in a rather inconspicuous place.

[773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about this: it is a woman turned to stone with her child because she bathed naked) is located four kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong Bangkavelo.

231 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,[1]
241 they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the
782 garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connec-
114 tion with agricultural rites. They do this in the kampong. In the garden itself they kill only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent, Coolhaas is right.

565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The term kraeng is used for all three levels of nobles.

114 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 336,[1]
632 the people here still give tribute to the dalu
651 when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls,
466 etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now
624 wants a new house he may no longer expect free
476 labor. Now he must pay for such service. If, however, there is need of a new tuan tanah house, labor is given without pay. And if there is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps, although other kampongs may assist in some way or other.

567 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi).
Their descendants are still known. It is also
565 true that new slaves were put in stocks (lam-
114 pang) until it was certain that they would not run away. It is also correct that slaves who had been in a family for a long time might even marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

567 a stage where they were taken into the clan of
565 the master. The slaves who were paid as a tax
114 (taki) to Bima in Reo were not longtime ones,
[651] but newly bought ones. This is because long standing slaves were used to the house and would not run away. If they were sold and then had to be replaced, this would mean breaking in new slaves. Most slaves were owned by nobles, but some rich commoners had them too.

567 The ata lampang, slaves of the sultan or
565 dalu who used to live in separate kampongs,
621 are now living in mixed kampongs, although there
114 is not much mixture. That is, other people have moved into their kampongs, and they also have moved into other kampongs. It is remembered, however, that they are descendants of slaves. In regard to what Coolhaas[1] says on page 346, he is right about the kind of slaves called sekontu. They were directly under the kraengs of Todo and Pongkor, and had special duties. Their descendants are still numerous in their kampongs: Tengka, Levur, and Levat (i.e., these are the Rahong ones). There has not been much mixture.

567 The mangko' pitu are so called because they
565 are located in seven kampongs. The name means
651 seven ~~cups or dishes~~. Their duties are to see
621 that rice, etc., are ~~delivered~~ if the kraeng of
114 Todo or Pongkor are on a trip, and also they must provide supplies for law cases on tour. Their kampongs are Tjera, Lerong, Se'ing, Ngadjok, and three others. These are now mixed. These kampongs are not under either the dalu or gelarang, but are under the direct rule of Todo and Pongkor (until fifteen years ago). They are now assimilated just about to commoners, but they still remember their descent.

114 Coolhaas[1] is all right on page 348.
601 Coolhaas's[1] kin terms are O.K.:

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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We

601 114

ema father, father's brother, mother's sister's husband.
nde mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.
amang mother's brother, father's sister's husband.
inang father's sister, mother's brother's wife.
empo grandparent.
weta sister, father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter.
kae older brother; ase--younger brother. Also father's brother's son, mother's sister's son.
kesah father's sister's son, mother's brother's son.
wiṅa mother's brother's daughter, wife.
rona father's sister's son, husband.

114 582 583 565 614 597

Coolhaas[1] is all right on cross-cousin marriage, too. Only one of a set of brothers marries a mother's brother's daughter. Other brothers may not do so. In this event it can be any of the brothers, not only the eldest. But it is essential that one must and the others must not. However, if another brother wants to after one brother has, he must pay a horse in addition to the usual bride price. This is probably for a common man, and the extra price may be expected to be higher for a noble. This is done only if the father of the boy is unwilling to let him be adopted by another. The latter is another means to the same end. Thus, if the second brother wants to marry a mother's brother's daughter too, the father can let him be adopted by another man. However, the latter must be of another panga. Then the bride price is kept at the usual size.

114 582

Note an error in Coolhaas on page 348! Two

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

114 brothers may not marry two sisters, as this is
582 very much taboo. A man may marry two sisters,
[632] however. They agreed that Coolhaas's on marriage
114 rules of the dalu seems correct. As for the
582 folk, the rules indicate preferred clans, but
614 they say this is not too strong. Thus the
rule is that Weol men get wives from Manges, a
va'u and gelarang in the dalu Velak, to the
west, although not very far. It is about a one
day walk from here. However, this is not by
any means the method followed at all times, and
actually only about twenty-five per cent of the
women married in here are from Manges (Manges
is now called Regak). These were originally
from Lelak or Relak, which is a neighboring
gelarang to Weol. Thus it looks like a clan
localized in district terms with marriage rules
between clan-districts as in Wouden's style. The
women of Weol usually marry men of Tjepang, the
clan which used to live in Weol also, when it
was a two-clan kampong, but who now have moved
down to Tjanjar. However, Tjepang is the name
of a kampong just to the west, also in the Velak
area. It looks as though the fact that Tjepang
[166] men married Weol women led to more and more
Tjepang men coming to live in Weol, until it
finally became half Tjepang. (Even now the
Ruteng folk who have houses in kampong Ndung
are mainly, if not all, men who have married
Ndung women, and the latter have gardens here
and so the men must come to live in their wives'
kampong.) I must get the marriage rules of
Ndung.

Men of Manges may not marry women of Weol.
582 And men of Weol may not marry women of Tjepang.
614 Thus it goes that Weol gives women to Tjepang,
583 but gets women from Manges. However, Tjepang
gives women to Lalong, and another clan gives
women to Manges. Bride exchange is taboo, which
582 is in line with the mother's brother's daughter
rule.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

582 rule. There is also a taboo on father's sister's daughter marriage.

(Lalong kampong is not far to the northeast from Weol.)

582 583 There may be a system here, but they are sure that it is not a mere three move thing like what we found in Larantuka. In fact, I asked about this, and they said that it was impossible (that is, for example, Weol women to Tjepang, Tjepang women to Lalong, and Lalong women back to Weol; this is impossible, i.e. the last move). In fact, there does seem to be a system, as he said even four moves is not possible, but five moves may be. Also, when I described the Larantuka figuring on how to get around the bride price by arranging a series of marriages, he said this type of talk is done here but that the price must always be delivered even though the books might balance in the long run. In Larantuka they can wait, but here they must make actual payment (though theoretically the same horses and buffaloes might some day come back to the original giver).

583 It is true that the bride price must be in horses, buffaloes, and money. The return gift is in women's ware, that is, pigs, cloth, and ornaments. In value, the women's ware return gifts are far less than the former. Coolhaas[1] [114] was wrong to assume that perhaps fowls were included in the return gift.

562 181 The assistant saw the point of a male-female dualism in the whole society, but he is not sure that it is entirely so. He agreed that it is a good hunch.

231 585 At the marriage feast they kill animals. Usually about ten pigs are killed and the normal custom does not include other animals.

114 585 565 The wedding rites described by Coolhaas (page 351)[1] are all right, but the amounts quoted are for the upper classes. The lowers have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

114 We
[585] exactly the same rites and all moves are the
[565] same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas'
[784] word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate
[614] ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).[1]
[286] In addition to the technical totem taboos given by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 614 I note on the map that place names recur often all over Manggarai, especially not far away. These are clan names, which are given to kampongs founded by split offs from the mother kampong. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 578 632 648 186 The mandur said there is criticism of the Radja today because he is not "one hundred per cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, although somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud of this Minangkabau story while at the same time it may harm them in light of Manggarai nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes[1] says that when the Dutch were trying to select a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not a contented area and that the people there wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may see a possible chance of paying off old scores. This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where self-governing setups led to exploitation of lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may try to raise themselves up to a parity level and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask questions, and they will reply without first going through a translator. However, the reply

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 1B--Analyst]

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524 In the afternoon on the alun-alun in Ruteng we saw a bamboo-clapping game. Two parallel bamboos were placed on the ground, and squatting behind them, facing each other, were two pairs of women. Each pair held two bamboos in their hands. These bamboos were placed athwart the lying bamboos. In unison they banged the bamboos three times against the sticks which were lying down, and on the fourth beat clapped them together, sliding them across on the sticks. Then the girl tried to hopscotch between the moving bamboos so that her ankles would not get caught on the clapping together of the long horizontal bamboos. The clapping went faster and faster--one, two, three, four --until she got caught. A man tried it too, and then some others. This is unique [actually [171] rather widespread in southeast Asia, for example, in Hainan, Philippines, Indo-China]. The mandur said they usually do this in moonlight with long rows of clappers, and with several pairs, male and female, doing the hopscotch stuff. They also have this in Larantuka and Ende.

824 Teno does not mean tanah, the latter being the same in Manggarai. Teno means the kind of wood used for the lodok post. Hence, tu'a teno.

342 531 237 [171] On the house ridge of the tuan tanah of Ndung between the wooden buffalo horns is a human head of wood. Could this be related to the Toradja use of human heads berween horns, and also connected with the horn headdresses of the dancers and whippers here? The horns are used only on the houses of the tuan tanah. On other houses different decorations are used. The horns indicate that there is a drum located in the house on which they are placed.

● 114 Notes from Mennes (Koloniaal Tijdschrift, XX, 1931; (1), 384-390): λ

λ [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

We discussed a certain rank which appears in
614 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
343 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
562 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala
243 suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

We also noted a possible error in Vatter.[1]
[114] He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
614 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
796 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
831 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
784 gins, but now with so few young girls still
241 pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[857] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost
[887] babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic
[797] note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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Wa

000 of and pride in the legends and old things. One
621 further matter I asked about was from my notes. He[1] said it is true that there were five po. They called the po (meaning "radja's army") suku lema ("5"). They were Waibalun, Balela, Lewolere, Larantuka, and Labao. Lewerang was absorbed, but it is still a place name near Larantuka town. Lokea was the radja's own kampong. Lohayong was the radja kedua's kampong. All this seemed to me a bit vague, and he has clearly forgotten much of this. He went on to say that aside from the Radja, there were indeed three "big kepala": of Balela, Larantuka, and Waibalun (thus three of the po are accounted for). The kepala of Larantuka is Meo Fernandez, a descendant of people coming from Malaya. Thus this bit of information about the Malaya folk gets a bit tied. But the whole thing is not clear to me. Maybe I can work something out
[114] from the sources, but I notice that Wouden, who cites all of this, is also vague, and complains about the inadequate source material.[2]

Roy said that in addition to the five po there were seven riang in Larantuka town: Ponsiri, Pantei Besar, Kota Riang Wido, Tabali, Gege, Kampong Tengah, and Kota Sau.

There were thus, in Larantuka town (or district perhaps?): seven riang, five po, Lokea, and Lewohayong.

This is the best I can do. Perhaps this includes all the communities in the area in front of the mountain ("Muka Gunung"). And behind the mountain are the eight kampongs of the area, under the kakang of Mudakaputu. Roy said there are either ten or eleven kakang in the Larantuka radjadom. I can check this from Seegeler.[3]

I left Larantuka on Friday, January 20, and after a day's run I got to Ende. I didn't stop, but wondered if perhaps they have a rumah berhala in most of the Lio kampongs.

[1] [i.e., Roy, the assistant -- Analyst]
[2] [See p. 87 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]; [a former Controleur -- Analyst]

R

●114 Roworeke: I started on the last two days, January 21 and 22, and went to work on the schedule.

797 Fifty years ago there were no Christians here at all. In 1922, and the kapitan says that it was in October or November, the Catholics entered. They cannot remember who the first convert was. At first acceptance was very slow (and this may be linked with the wars against the Dutch), but there was no strong resistance. These folk took it, they say. But I note that there are plenty of pagans even today.

771 162 The assistant says that this area is about sixty per cent Christian. All have been in contact with Christianity, as even the pagans have relatives who are Christians. There are also relations with Mohammedanism, as there are many Mohammedans near here, although few in this kampong. There are no troubles with any religion.

875 797 [658] There are two school teachers in Watu Roga, and two religious teachers. The school building belongs to the mission, but the government pays the costs and the salaries of the teachers. Perhaps it is a mere subsidy. There are no real troubles in regard to religion in school, partly because the teachers do not propagandize much, and partly because the people seem not to worry about religion. In fact, they kept on saying that I, as an educated man, might fuss over points of religion, but they knew so little that they would not know if they were being propagandized. Thus, I suspect that the gurus do not ever attack paganism directly, as this might cause trouble. Instead, they just slide in the Christian belief as though it were normal.

They have no trouble with Mohammedan teachers, as there is only one such in the whole Ende area. He is the son of the big kapitan Nggobe. The

R

797 tial rites require pigs, but here other animals
782 can be used.

Three religions are known: pagan, Catholic,
771 and Mohammedan. They know little except about the pagan religion, which they probably know better than the others!

771 I asked about the religion here as given in
114 my notes from Elbert[1] who was here in the pre-Catholic period. They said that my notes were all right, including the god names, and that
[775] Mt. Iya was the deadland, etc. In fact, I see more and more that Elbert was a good man. The
[776] high god, however, they give the name Ngga'eh Dewa. They say there is no dualism, i.e., no earth mother, here. This doesn't quite jibe with Elbert, but maybe they have forgotten, or they are vague about this. Maybe they are always vague about such stuff as regards the high gods.

778 The tubu musu, indeed, has two stones, and
831 after hesitation they admitted that it is a male-female symbol. I note that in his Lio dictionary, Arndt[1] says (I think tubu) has an "obscene" significance with reference to "male." Thus it seems clearly a sex symbol. They never heard of yoni. They seem to say that there are two stones, one lying and another standing. Like a fool, I did not check this. I will have to look in Elbert[1] and Suchtelen[1] for this.

[789] They have the matakau, and it is called nabe.

776 The term Ngga'eh Dewa means the god above. I guess that ngga'eh means big or high. They say that ata ngga'eh nua means "pembesar kampong."

764 At death, the bodies were formerly placed in big trees, cocooned. This was true for big men. For about a month they were left there while a feast was prepared. When all the animals and other things were ready, the bundle was brought down from the tree and bones cleaned. Then they

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

651 Arriens said that he had heard this from the Radja as a big source of trouble now. I can imagine it. Their big trouble on this simple level, with the government, was only taxes (and for a few, jail). Thus, when freedom comes in, it means freedom from the Dutch burden, taxes.
[622] Anyway, I noted that the kapitan, as usual
[554] when in trouble, had called the giri tumba and the big atá ngga'eh nua (Bapa Ketjil) to come to his house in full adat dress. This underlines again the point that real prestige is in these old adat chiefs. They are the ones to call upon when a real decision has to be made. And there sat the malcontents, about to face the adat chiefs.

● 114 In Ndona, as I waited for the assistant to get the dukun from the hills, I sat in the jeep and read Bruine's[1] report on Lio, which was very
123 appropriate. As church got out, there gathered about at least twenty men and boys, and the latter hung over me while I was reading or at least trying to read the book. They were astonished, and read aloud, when they saw words
[212] like "mosa laki Ndona." And some of them could
[515] read the Dutch. Overall was the smell of sweat and onions.

181 The last trick of the assistant was to ask
123 for my fountain pen so that he could look at it and think of me. These folk are easily the most greedy yet. I doubt that one could appeal to mere good spirit here.

114 I think I have finally located the Rea which Elbert and Körner[2] always refer to as Rea Ndona.
103 I think they mean the Ende coastal area. I know where Ndona is, but I now see in a map in the Bruine[1] report that Tanah Rea is the former name of the area in which Nangapanda is on the south coast. It stretched to the north coast of Flores.

000 Back in these hills, which I wish I could explore, there may well have been endocannibalism!

[1] [probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

114 The island is fascinating for pure ethnography, as I always expected. I am tempted every time I look at the map to take time off and go into those far hills. The entire northwest half of
491 Flores has no roads except for the Reo-Ruteng one, and here would be good territory. The
793 priests know a lot, and really should be mobilized for an ethnographic survey. And many of them, for example Mommersteeg,[1] would like it.
103 The kapitan insists that the proper name is
114 Tanah Djea, and indeed this is a town to the north of Nangapanda. Maybe the old authors confused dj with r.[1] [pastor at Todabalu --Analyst]

As for Wolowai, which Wouden[2] (check his source and track this down!) says is reported to be matrilineal, there is a place to the north of Nangapanda in the hills (thus in Tanah Rea part of Ende shown on the Bruine[3] map) so named. This is Wolowai and it is in Ende. I wouldn't be surprised to find any kind of social
R organization in this island! What a place to do
614 a real survey. I asked about a few other things
582 in Roworeke. I made a final try to get a circulating scheme out of the suku here, knowing that they have mother's brother's daughter marriage. I thought I had something when the assistant started off saying that an Odja man should take a Gusa woman, and that a Rewarangga suku man should take a Wanda woman. But right away it broke down, as the assistant himself, an Odja, married a Wanda, and his son will marry a Wanda, he says, in line with mother's brother's daughter marriage. Also, Bapa Ketjil, an Odja, married a Rewarangga. So what? He seemed to think that perhaps once it went like this:

Men	married	Women
Odja		Gusa
Gusa		Some other
Some other		Odja

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]
[2] [probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]

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R

	Men	married	Women
614	Djawa		Some other
582	Rewarangga		Wanda
	Wanda		Some other

At all crucial points, he doesn't know! But he does say that once it was not allowed to marry in the suku. And he also says that a daughter must not marry into her father's suku (and yet I am sure there are some cases), while a son by preference should marry into his mother's suku. He also says that if once one marries into a suku, the sons should continue this custom. This is why he says his son should marry into his wife's suku. Thus clearly we have mother's brother's daughter preference, and father's sister's daughter taboo. And they seem to have some memory of a regular circulating scheme so based. However, the system has broken down, and so has the exogamy to some extent (but my guess is that the records will show few if any endogamous marriages). The trouble is, I had no time to ask or rather have him investigate how many of the present marriages of men are with women of their mother's suku. I will try to do a little detective work from the records. Because of the Hebrew "bin" [551] system of names, I may be able to spot father and son. Anyway, I may be able to see whether there is any pattern to the suku marriage choices of the men.

• 114 I pulled out of Ende for the last time on January 21, and had a difficult time getting across the Nangaba, which is still in flood. With pushing, I made it. The motor stalled on me, as it is filty. It was a long day across to Ruteng, but I had no further trouble.

~~We~~ Weol: I started the last stretch of a week 124 here on January 23, on Tuesday. I went to the

We.

565 men. He will fill these in. So far as I can see, all the "locals" of Weol are noted as "bangsawan." I must discuss this. The same thing happened in Roworeke. Evidently there is no real nobility in these places, only the eldest-son lineage, which takes the high of-
[114] fice. Maybe Linton[1] is right in his hunch regarding the basis of Malayo-Polynesian social organization, that is, primogeniture. This checks with all the talk about the kuasa tinggi [high power] of the older branch, the kaka and
614 adi stuff, etc. As for totems, the key for
784 Weol (he uses the local totem names) is:

rutung	porcupine
kenti	a leafy vegetable
kula	a kind of big mouse
atju	dog
lusa	red bean
giro	a kind of firewood (no burning totem).

All of these are merely the main totems, but there are others. Thus Weol clan has the lusa, but also the thin bamboo taboo.

591 4. I must ask whether the men who have come
583 to live matrilocally did so because they didn't pay the bride price. He says that this is mostly the case, but not always. He says that he will have to ask this carefully, as he can't ask men directly because they are ashamed if they have not paid the bride price. He must ask others, "Why does so and so live here with his wife?" Then the dirt will come out. These men are Nos. 40, 110, 116, 122, 123, 127, and 132. All of this led to a discussion of the situation.

217 The pagans do not have any registry of marriages. The Catholics do not have to register marriages with the government (thus no marriage

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

632 622 152 than the dalu. This, it seems, is the kind of thing that is not discussed!

I must get the dalu relationship straight.

634 I asked if there was really a Radja of Riung, and he said yes. He is on the same level as, for example, Nageh. He said that there has been a radja there for a long time. The radja there now is a Ngada, but the folk there are mainly Manggarai. The houses there are mostly 342 178 the old rectangular type (not the new style rectangular type which is coming in now) of East Manggarai. The round house area is West Manggarai, although there are round houses in East Manggarai too.

I noted that one of the three round houses in Ndung is going to be torn down shortly. Thus the new type house, which came in only about ten years ago, is swiftly replacing the round ones everywhere. I asked if, since originally Ndung 622 was a branch kampong of Weol, the tuan tanah there was not less in prestige than the tuan tanah of Weol. He said that in theory they are the same, but indeed the tuan tanah of Weol was like the older sibling.

614 It seemed to me that the va'u here are very large (e.g., va'u Weol has over two gelarang), ●114 and I told him so. He agreed and in fact said that he has found that there is a still larger genealogical unit (I must ask about this; maybe it is like the isi that Arndt denies, but that Staveren says is found in Ngada above the voi 685 there). On the way back to Weol I saw a buffalo with one of its rear legs hanging nearly off with a deep cut behind the knee. I was shocked and asked how it had happened. He said that the buffalo had broken into someone's garden and that the owner of the garden, who had become angry, had crippled the buffalo. He said that this is done frequently here. I can see how a feud could be started in this way.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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601 I then got onto the kinship system, which
[114] Coolhaas gave only in partial form. It is a real mother's brother's daughter system, and quite perfect.

[104] Note: From now on I will use the V rather than the W of the Dutch and the German to show the V sound as it is. Thus Veol, not Weol. I wonder if the Larantuka W as in Wailolong should be V or whether it is really a bilabial. It is probably the latter, but there is no question but that the V in Veol is as it should be.

father	ema
father's brother	ema
father's brother's wife	ende
father's sister	inang
father's sister's husband	amang
mother	ende
mother's brother	amang
mother's brother's wife	inang
mother's sister	ende
mother's sister's husband	ema
brother	kae (older), ase (younger)(man speaking); nara (woman speaking).
sister	veta (man speaking); kae--ase (woman speaking).
brother's daughter	anak; nana (vocative) vote (woman speaking)
brother's son	anak; nana (vocative) (man speaking); to'a (woman speaking)
sister's daughter	to'a (man speaking); anak; enu (vocative) (woman speaking).
sister's son	koa (man speaking); anak; enu (vocative) (woman speaking).

601 Manggarai: I remembered in relation to the opu belake and opu wai(ng) which Oudehand[1] said were woman-giving and woman-receiving groups (man speaking) for Larantuka, that Cornelius said that the woman-giving group is ana rona and the woman-receiving group is ana vina (man speaking) in Manggarai. This checks out, as the belake and rona are comparable and the wai(ng) (or wae or kawaing, meaning wife) and vina are comparable. In Manggarai the term for the woman-giving group has a male connotation, as in Larantuka, and the woman-receiving group's term has a female connotation in both instances. The Manggarai terms are taken from the words for husband (father's sister's son) and wife (mother's brother's daughter), respectively, with ana (child) put in. Since rona and vina have the meaning of male and female, the ana rona and ana vina could mean "sons" and "daughters." However, this all seems complicated. Anyway, the Larantuka terms for the two groups are taken from the words for mother's brother and father-in-law and "female" respectively. The general idea seems clear, but there is a difference in the exact meanings.

[114] 533 797 We I got onto the last two days of work in Veol on January 29 and 30. On the evening of the former, Sunday, van Bekkum[2] had the school put on a singing demonstration for me, and it was remarkable. The songs were Manggarai, written by Manggarai gurus, and they are like Debussy, but with weird progressions and peculiar slides and part-notes. The voices are fine and very impressive in the failing light, with the hills around, and especially good were the single, sweet, girls' voices in solo form from time to time. This is very rich material. The boys stood on one side, led by three lads with ornate headcloths and sarongs; and the girls stood on the other side. The whole thing was good. The

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]
2 [pastor at Ruteng --Analyst]

Wee

527 the gardens are all set and growing. The date
574 is uncertain. Each panga must contribute one
241 pig. At the New Year ceremony they dance,
sing, pray, etc. And from what I saw in Anam,
[273] they drink plenty. The main feast is held in
the central kampong of the va'u, but there is
no set order as to where the successive feasts
are held in order.

(2) There are many garden rites: for a new
lodok, for a new clearing, for planting, for
the first weeding, if there are many mice, and
for harvest. The last mentioned is the big-
gest. Note that the ceremony for the mice is
not the regular pantomime one described by
● [114] Coolhaas.[1] This is not held here, but only in
East Manggarai.

There is no rice mother here.

231 For the garden rites they usually sacrifice
527 pigs and fowls. A buffalo is sacrificed at
782 the rite for the new lodok, but it is killed
241 in the kampong at the tjompang (the animal is
tied to the tree, and thus there is a clear re-
lation between this and the peo of Nageh and
the ngadu of Ngada; and note that both of these
are forked as though they were cut-off trees;
I saw this clearly in Anam, where a tjompang
tree had had branches cut and it looked like a
rudimentary peo! and note that the buffalo is
tied here at the tree as at the peo or at the
ngadu). Usually, only one buffalo is killed,
and the buffalo is only for a new, main, round
garden, i.e., a lingko randang.

242 This raised an interesting point that with
311 the need for rotation of gardens a new lingko
randang must be planted every two years, because
the soil becomes exhausted and must then lie
fallow. At this time beasts graze there and
fatten the land with manure. But here in Veol
land is now lacking, and they must use the lingko
randang and other lingko constantly, which is

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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124 sistant, Cornelius, was fine. I left him a stamped envelope and paper to get information on the bride price and mother's brother's daughter marriage frequency.

114 Van Bekkum[1] showed me a great volume typed
124 before the war by an assistant of his on Manggarai marriage customs. It was only two-thirds done, and he needs another year to complete it. It is all planned out and indexed. It is monumental and should be translated and published. Van Bekkum says that only Cornelius could do the book. He also went on a several months field trip for the mission to Pulu Island, off the Maumere coast, where there was said to have been an aboriginal population. He has a manuscript on the buffalo sacrifice there.

He is a remarkable fellow and importuned me only a little for palm wine and tobacco for the old men.

574 The last day we went along to the near end
123 of the road, to kampong Anam, one of the dalu kampongs. Here there were plenty of kraeng with
[273] hangovers, and some still a bit drunk. This is a very large kampong, with perhaps a population of six hundred. There is a tjompang in it and several tuan tanah. At the tjompang, which had stones newly and nicely arranged, were sticks stuck with wood chips on them with rice and bits of other types of food, offered at the New Year feast. I was invited into the main tuan tanah house, and there I sat with lots of men in a circle, on mats and on mat cushions. Women played fine drum and gong music, and men sang fine sanda songs, with solos and choruses.
[782] Hanging on the rafter near the center was the main naga bamboo food shelf, and in each family section along the walls were similar ones. Food was placed on them. The house was rectan-
[342] gular (there are no more tuan tanah houses in

1 [pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

342 this area which are round, because the rectan-
574 gular ones last longer and the people like
123 them on this account, because all of them
must pay for a new one). They gave me roasted
bits of pork (tough and with plenty of fat),
and the palm beer, which was milky and strong.
I took photographs of them and they were
amazed.

342 This is a new kampong, and is merely named
[103] six (Anam). There are plenty of round houses,
but all of them with partly wooden walls. The
assistant says that there are still a fair
number of the real old style round houses with
no walls, especially in Tjibal.

574 In the afternoon I went to the mandur's house,
592 where he served a fine dish of ear corn, fresh
from the garden, and also some corn cooked by
steam in the leaves. We also had rice, etc.
He is a real host, and his old father talked
some. I took photographs of the family, includ-
ing his handsome wife. She is from Pongkor.
Plenty of her sisters seemed to be about, and
he said something about how this is quite usual
for a wife's sisters to live with her.

●114 Finally we pulled out of Buteng in the morn-
ing on January 31, expecting to ship out of Reo
that day. I stayed in Reo waiting two days.

[487] Going down the mountains I noticed that the
567 land was largely empty. The road led through
the dalu Tjibal. Down this road used to come
the slaves for shipping to Bima from Reo.
They were sold especially for firearms. Many
Manggarai descendants must be all over Indonesia,
because so many slaves were exported. Thus
there is a section "Manggarai" in Batavia. And
of course there are plenty in Bima.

114 In Reo, which is a poor place, I went to
Kedindi, the port, or rather the beach with
sheds of palm. There was no ship. Therefore
I went back to Reo and stayed at the pasanggra-

F 114 C 634 han, which had no mandur or kitchen or bed. I set up a camp bed with the help of the Radja of Kolaka (who was waiting[1] for a Makassar ship with his family after six months banishment in Ruteng by the Dutch) and his assistant. I then went to the dalu's house where Degens worked for awhile. Then I had lunch with the dalu, a sullen young man, whose still living grandfather is the last radja naib of Reo.

F 634 565 632 578 The dalu was bitter about the Radja of Manggarai. He says that he should be radja, but that the mission put in a Catholic. He says that next to him the proper royal house is Tjibal, which is descended from Daeng Tamema of Reo. The proper royal house is not Todo, because Todo was under Bima only, and the Radja is only a dalu subordinate. He also said that his territory was very small, because the Catholics do not like Mohammedans, nor did the Dutch. Only he, the dalu of Pota, and the dalu of a couple of other coastal places are Mohammedan here. He told me a long story about the past, and why his line is the right one. He also said that the Do Donggo are descendants of Manggarai slaves in Sumbawa. He said that Reo, being Mohammedan, was not favored by the schools. In general, he is quite sore.

C 634 565 648 The Radja is a good man, and fed me. He told me a lot about the Celebes radjas returning now to Celebes after exile by the Dutch. He doesn't want to go back to Kolaka, because he said one would get "bodo" if one stayed there. He is traveling on government expense. He will seek an office job in Makassar. Kolaka and Kendari (Laiwui) are under Luwu.

F 505 On the last morning, part of the plaster wall fell down, and I am glad to be getting away. After watching the loading of animals all day at the beach, I got onto a float with the jeep (first loading of a car ever to take place in

[1] [i.e., in Reo --Analyst]

632 and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.

103 Roworeke means: rowo is a bandjir river, dry in the dry season, and one can see this plainly; reke, a kind of red fruit. Watu Roga means a kind of soft stone. The scribe who will become
115 my assistant is a mild looking little fellow, of the suku Ambu Odja, and of the kampong Roworeke. He is married, however, into the kampong Watu Roga. His name is Adrianus Migo, and he is a Catholic. In the kapitanschap Rewarangga there
632 are eighteen kampongs (the kapitanschap Gunung
622 Rodja has fifteen kampongs). In each there is
614 a kepala kampong. There are also six main suku in the kapitanschap: Rewarangga, Wanda, Ambu Odja, Rea Ndona, Tibo (or Gusa), and Ambu Tara. There are members of other suku in the kapitanschap, but they are not old inhabitants. They
[171] have moved in (like the "newcomer non-dati" fams of the Ambon negri). The kapitan of Rewarangga were formerly of suku Rewarangga, but after three of these in succession the kapitan passed into suku Ambu Odja, and there have been four of these. Thus about seven generations are accounted
[173] for, or about two hundred years, but the man says that Roworeke is at least four hundred to five hundred years old. This may indicate that the kapitan organization came in only about two hundred years ago. It is not at all certain and I must ask further questions about this kapitan business.

The kapitan must be chosen from any of the
632 noble families of any of the five suku. In each
565 suku there are two families which are noble and
614 therefore may become kapitan. Generally the son of a dead kapitan is chosen, but if he is not satisfactory they may choose a kapitan from another noble family of the same suku or from any of the noble lineages of any of the other four
632 sukus. The big reason that the Rewerangga suku
614 lost the kapitanschap was that it had become al-

We

771 I see many old pagan men and women here, un-
301 like in Leloba. They wear necklaces, earbells,
291 and ikat sarongs. I saw one old man getting gin
with bamboos. Many women here go about bare
breasted.

304 Most people have their teeth filed. They are
flattened.

621 The kepala kampong, who has sore eyes, say
124 that Leloba and Wailolong were combined in the
negri lama. There is still much intermarriage
and a very close relationship between these two.
Later, when I got to work with the guru and he
saw that I needed to get every name, etc., he
was scared and said that it is easy if he has to
do this in his kampong but hard in Wailolong.
Thus there is a big gulf between even nearby kam-
pongs. This question took us until 7:30 to talk
over and we are still in trouble.

124 I knew this morning that I should not take a
123 man who is not a member of my kampong, but he is
so good in other ways that I yielded to the priest.
●115 It is clear that the main rule in this kind of
research is: never take an assistant who does
not live in the kampong. If you do he will not
be received easily and he does not know the local
gossip and intimate personal matters which would
prove helpful. Also, I can't sit in his house in
the kampong, and this is important for impres-
sions. I may be able to work out a compromise
at greater cost by using the Leloba guru but an-
other assistant in Wailolong. This is a mess and
from now on I follow my instinct on choosing an
assistant. We finally left after dark.

797 At noon today I went to the mission headquar-
ters to get gas. It alone has any, because V.
and W. has no trucks here. I can see that the
mission has everything. It is really the admin-
istration here. The pasanggrahan boy said that
the Catholics here do not use the name "Christ"
because this is taken to mean Protestant. In-

000 We trols this atomism.

124 The next day we went to the kampong, stopping
212 at Mudakaputu, and Watuwiti, and other places on
115 the way. These all seemed less good than Wailolong. For example, Riangkamiö had only two suku; others had none or only one korke, etc. At Leloba, the guru had another guru with him, and said that we must use him as he was not so good at writing. Then I asked about whether or not it might not be a good idea to use an assistant who lives in Wailolong, but they said nobody there can write well because most of them have attended only three grades of schooling. Then we went to the district chief, the kakang, who was formerly in Boschwesen, and who is a man with good authority. He said he would order the Wailolong folk to help and would put at my disposal a lad from Wailolong. Also, he said he would order them to let us use one of the rumah pemuda, or boys' houses, in Wailolong. We talked at length about the situation and it seems that there are really no people in Wailolong who are able to write well.

773 We talked about the way the old stories are
178 dying out and the young people won't listen any
872 more. The guru Roy and a few old men only are the ones who know very much. The guru is the best, and he knows all of the ancestors back for nineteen generations. He also complained about how the schools do not have books about Indonesia and the local affairs, but rather about Europe, which the children cannot understand.

632 We had taken in the jeep a lot of kepala suku
622 and kepala kampong of Wailolong to the kakang
693 where they were to have a case hearing. It is
614 evidently a case concerned with marriage. The kepala suku are clearly old style fellows. Several
[30] of the old men had long hair and necklaces and one had a tattoo on his chest. The kakang gave a
614 speech ordering them to help us. Then we went to

243 agricultural rite, they must make a sacrifice
782 at the very center. The main post is the place
778 for house and kampong offerings, and it is called pusat. I think the center of the circular rice field complex is also called the pusat.

115 The assistant's name is Cornelius Lawang.
624 He is from the va'u Pau, which is also the name of a kampong about one kilometer outside the town. His father is the tuan tanah there, and there he will spend tonight. He is his father's successor. Will he take the post? He said just about all tuan tanah (tua' tano') are pagan. But evidently they could be Christian, although a bit of trouble may rise when it comes to the ceremony.

582 I forgot to say that the mandur said it is possible to marry with one's mother's brother's daughter, but not with the other cousins, including father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and father's brother's daughter. If so, this is interesting. He said that
[184] the Catholics forbid mother's brother's daughter marriages now. I must check on this.

567 We got onto the census matter with the assistant. This led to some new points. He said that they do have slaves here and said that he would indicate them in the census, but I must never tell, as this is never mentioned although
842 everyone knows about it. He said that they like
583 to have many children here, and if they have many they give a feast of thanks. (Evidently the more daughters the richer the family may become because of the bride prices. If the family consists of all boys, there is considerable trouble in getting enough goods for the bride prices. These bride prices are reckoned in terms of animals mostly. The mandur said there is trouble often in getting the price and that men who can't marry on this account are not

We
851 goat; and buffalo?). During other months they
614 may eat such food. This figures out to be
241 roughly about one half of the year. Some of
786 the ama have no nu'a luka, for example, Ama
784 Rere. Indeed, Roy says they must not be too
strict about this system because there are
plenty of holes in the ideal scheme. As we
115 were finishing up the work he got a note tell-
124 ing him to meet the Radja at the kakang's
house for a conference. Evidently he is be-
coming a big man here. We are perhaps partly
responsible.

He is making a map, and his daughter, who goes to the nun's school in Larantuka, is doing the drawing.

The next morning, Sunday, we went back, and
632 arrived while church services were being held.
796 They expected the Radja to visit today, so they had removed a section of the fence to let his car in. He never showed up, which was a disappointment to them, as they were all waiting
[621] around. The name of the section of Wailolong where we saw the rite yesterday is Apukule(ng).

We asked about the bonds of friendship and
578 enemy relations here. It is clear that seven
72) of the kampongs are always friendly, and are never at war with one another. The eighth, Riang Kamië, has been the traditional enemy of each of them in turn. They are all descendants of Lenurat, whereas the folk of Rian Kamië are descended mainly from Kroko Putang folk, mixed in with some Sina Djawa. Most enmity against Riang Kamië has been, as usual, by kampongs bordering Riang Kamië. Always, border wars are the most frequent here. Thus, Leloba, Wailolong, and Lewohala are involved. The traditional enemy kampong is Lewowitin. The others are brothers, just as in fact or legend their founders were.

The main causes of wars were, in order:

R

778 The negri lama of the suku Odja is about one-
753 half kilometer outside Ratebedi in the distant hills. No one lives there now, but there are stones, etc. (I think he said images too.) The Ratebedi folk give offerings there. This was the kampong of the great ancestor Odja Djata (the father of Odja was Djata). There are many such old places which are dangerous, for example, the assistant went to one such place near Pamudjera, and he got sick at once.

[184] There is always talk of danger in fooling around with old places and old rules. Thus, not long ago two men of Watu Roga set a stone boundary marker in the earth, but this is taboo. In three days one was dead and in three months the other died.

174 If I could get all of the information about each kampong and suku I could rebuild the whole history of migrations, etc. And although most of the people have lost these stories, there are a good number of old men in Volofea and Bu'ube'i who could tell everything.

● 115 The assistant says he will try to get information on all these things as he does his "control" work in his job as secretary of the gemeente. He asks for a good notebook and a briefcase to do this work! I don't trust him, that's all. He plots, and the story is that when I come back years from now he will have all the facts. Thus he put together my interest in these things, my statement that I might return to do more work here, and out of hopes to get a notebook and case fabricated his plan.

423 The land is family-owned (maybe lineage-
614 owned is a better way of phrasing it). The eldest son is the manager of the family land.
592 Others work on it. If there are no sons, the
428 eldest daughter runs it, or maybe the deceased father's brother. The father may split up his estate among his sons, or give each one of his

Wae

727 was then that Keweluk said it was taboo to kill
266 (to kill women only evidently?). Maybe Vatter[1]
has a version? Anyway, he did admit that when
an enemy was captured in war, although they
didn't kill him in the korke (he was a bit
shocked at the idea), they would kill him out-
side the kampong. His father did this, which
was quite decent after all!

He insists that there was no cannibalism at
754 all, except that formerly (and even today?) the
[266] suwanggi did it. They were and are evidently
the devils here. They do the things that other
people wouldn't. I wonder if perhaps they are
the scapegoats for past practices. That is,
they say that their ancestors never did such
things, only the suwanggi did them. But, note
that there were plenty of suwanggi. Roy's
father had to kill fourteen in one day in Le-
loba alone! There is something fishy here.
Either he won't tell everything, or else he has
forgotten, or else I am really wrong to suspect
him.

681 The death punishment was given only to suwang-
684 gi (again the devils). It was also given in
cases of adultery if the offenders were caught
red handed.

Thus my work in Leloba--Wailolong ended. Roy
115 is a fine old fellow. His only requests were to
124 ride with me if I happened to be going the "same"
way," and to take his relatives and family along.
He also wanted some photographs, and I will send
him a photograph of me. And a copy of my book.
I will also send him some medicine for asthma.
How different he is from the begging and crafty
Endenese.

Roy probably won't live much longer. He is a
dramatic figure.

He, more than anyone else, probably, killed
off paganism here. But he retains the tolerance
and respect for his ancestors, and a knowledge
of and pride in the legends and old things.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

124 will tell them. He says that the pastors do
[197] not like it if a guru gets too zealous. They
want him to respect the old ways and go slowly.
This is indeed crafty.

771 Among the thirty-nine dalu, about twenty of
565 them are Christian, says the kraeng. About
796 thirty per cent of the gelarang are Christian,
183 says the kraeng, but the assistant says that
this is true only of their heirs apparent.
The trouble in regard to the rites which the
gelarang must lead is still to come. For example, the heir apparent of the Veol gelarang is Serai, who is about twenty-five years old and a Catholic. What will happen? The assistant says that he must lead the rites, but they will have troubles reconciling the old with the new Catholic ways. But so far everyone, including the Catholics, must go through the ceremonies, because they are so closely related to their livelihood. Agriculture, on which everything depends, is unthinkable without the rites!

601 Larantuka: I met Oudehand, "controleur" at
● [115] Waingapu in Sumba, and had a talk with him.
He worked in Leloba and is writing an article for "Indonesia" about the adat there. We got onto the subject of kinship terms, and he had this to say. He says that opu is the term for affinal relationships. This goes for both sides. Thus, with the qualifier belake (my term for mother's brother) opu belake means all the relatives with whom a man is related by marriage, that is, his wife's (mother's brother's daughter) group. And on the other side, he says opu wai(ng) means all the relatives-in-law on the father's sister's side, i.e., the man's sister's relatives-in-law. The general term opu, he says, he got for mother's brother, mother's brother's son, and father's sister (all man speaking), and perhaps also father's sister's son (man speaking).

764 kampongs with plazas and tombs all over. The latter are usually rectangular stone piles with flat covers, which are evidently lifted in
342 order to put in more bodies. Some of the houses have high pitched roofs coming down to the floor on all sides. They appear to be hooded, and are rather ragged inasmuch as they use alang-alang grass for thatch. Some houses are simpler and follow a more usual design, but all have a different look from those in, for
[531] example, Celebes or Ambon. I saw no gaba-gaba here, but rice stalks are used in the same way and they look like narrower gaba-gaba strips. I
[778] asked at one kampong if they had pusaka houses, and the answer was yes.

[782] I have seen no offering posts yet. I stopped
797 to talk with the priest at Ndetosoko. He was named Nalles and has a church and school and is starting to plant coffee for the church. The nearby kampongs look pagan to me, but he says that about half of the population in these villages have been converted. It is the usual story: the older ones stay pagan. I talked
121 quite a while with him and he advised my choos-
124 ing a kampong near Wolowaru. We then went back toward Ende, and at 7 km. out we stopped at Roworeke. It is on the side of the road, and then we stopped at another kampong, Watu Roga. The whole place looked ideal, with old style houses, tombs in the plaza, primitive looking folk, etc., and it is all very near Ende. We talked with a couple of the men, and they said that the kapitan (district chief) was in the garden at kilometer 10. We said we would come back later. I decided to take this kampong, or rather this double kampong.

634 In the afternoon we went to see the Ende radja.
124 There was a large gathering there including five Chinese, two hadjis (one kapitan of Nggobe, the northern half of Ende town, and the other from

159 wherein the kepala kampong is a Kottang. This is
[622] all right according to adat, he says. The guru is
an old fellow, sick with a cough. He was not there,
and his daughter, who might be any age from eighteen
to thirty, talked with us. She seems to be a queer
type, and it is strange that she is not married. I
get the idea there is some friction between her and
her father. She had five years of schooling at the
sisters' school in Larantuka. A son of the guru is in
Makassar as a clerk (I think in a church office),
and he married a Leloba girl recently. The guru
[582] married a woman from the same suku, but the daugh-
ter says this is all right as she was from Laran-
tuka. If she were from any kampong behind the moun-
tain, this would have been impossible. The house
was adorned with holy pictures. The guru said he
[797] was converted in 1907, and as he is now perhaps
771 sixty, that was when he was about eighteen. There
178 are no more pagans in Leloba, a change from Vatter.[1]
The old pagan stuff in a material form is all gone.

124 After our talk we decided that perhaps Wailolong
121 was the best community in which to work, because
Leloba is entirely Christian. In addition, Leloba
was done by Vatter. Wailelong is about the same
size as Leloba and at the crossroads below. We
talked a great deal about adat and then came back
to Larantuka with the guru, who wanted to visit
the children in the school there.

In the afternoon we picked him up and went to
312 Wailolong. On the way we picked up the kepala kam-
pong Leloba and a few others. They were at the
[515] other crossroad near the sea, and here there were
many women bathing (there is no water in the kampong
for this). Women were also hauling water from this
place. The guru said they had to go even farther
778 for water originally. It seems as though all of the
kampongs have a higher negri lama, as in Ambon.
There are holy stones here too.

361 Wailolong is along the main road and is located
161 on both sides of this highway. It may have as
many as one hundred houses and a possible population
of seven hundred.

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 113 - Analyze]

634 from Kupang was large, round, and of an almost
142 Caucasoid Negro type. He was very pleasant. He sweats a lot. Next to the Radja of Adonara, he seemed to be the most agreeable and the most intelligent. The Radja of Nageh Keo was obviously a minor radja in comparison to the others, while he was a nice lad, looking exactly like a Negroid Abdul Careem.

There were also two members of parliament, one from Larantuka but now resident in Ende, and the other from Kupang. They were young and agreeable lads. There was also the Radja of Ende, a smooth faced but dark fellow with straight hair. He looked a little like a dark Bao Dai. He was very pleasant and later helped a lot with getting a start in Ende. I had a few talks with these fellows, but I did not learn much.

122 We landed at Ende early on the morning of December 14, and I had to take the jeep off on a double barge. I drove it down the ramp to the beach.

As usual, the Information Office in Makassar had not sent the wire, or at least that is what the Dutchman said who met us. The Dutchmen who did come to meet us were Twerda, the Assistant Resident; two Controleurs, Ariens and Hettinga; and a Finance man Fekkes. The best one of these was the tall Ariens. All the radjas went
485 to the pasanggrahan and we nearly had to go to another one. Finally, however, we got a little room for two. We had lunch in state with the radjas at the pasanggrahan. The Ende radja was met by a delegation of hadjis recently back
771 from Mecca. The Ende radja is Mohammedan, and he told me later that in Ende the proportion of Christians to Mohammedans is about sixty-forty, but plenty of the people are pagan.

361 The town here is on a very picturesque bay,
133 with Pulo Ende rearing in it and with impressive

609, 123

Indonesia OB1
Borneo OC1
Land Dyak OC8
●Flores OF9
Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8
Ambon OH4
Ceram OH9

/For data on the reception of the foreign traveler, investigator or author by the local people, see also category 574. /

R

614 main suku there are several others in Rewarangga, but they have moved in and are not original suku. But any one of them may be given land and become in effect "members" of the communities. Thus Tibo is a suku which has virtually entered Roworeke. Later I got some kind of an explanation that it was formerly a kampong on the hill above there, but has now moved into a section of Roworeke. In fact, I saw this section, with only about three houses, and it is called Kopoedo. Among the suku which are "foreign" in Rewarangga are Ambu Djawa, Ambu Nduru, and Ambu Rutu. Ambu means grandfather.

624 632 Later I got more information about the mosa laki. Evidently in the kapitanschap there are four big mosa laki: mosa laki mere, giri tumba, ndeto au, and sike sani. Then, in each kampong there are four with the same names, but they are on a lower level even though their functions are the same. I met the mig mosa laki mere and giri tumba of Rewarangga. They were old fellows, dignified, dressed in adat clothes, and most refreshing in contrast to the modernized Catholics like the kapitan and the guru. They are polite and quiet. I got the impression that maybe most [887] of the mosa laki are older men. They are probably mainly if not all pagan too, and probably mainly illiterate.

614 582 Talking with the kapitan and the scribe and a few other lads later, I learned that suku exogamy is not necessary if there is enough distance between the relatives. Thus the kapitan is married to a fellow-Odja. They noted, however, in my questioning, that most people seem to have married exogamously.

527 129 The second day was the Flag Day, and I took ten fellows in the jeep from Roworeke. After the ritual, which was not very impressive (the Sikka radja made a speech with little grace), we went
● 123 with Ariens (the Controleur) on a ride to Nanga-

●123 panda, a kampong about thirty kilometers to the
west along the coast road. The drive was very
133 scary above tremendous cliffs above the sea,
but the scenery was magnificent, with Pulo Ende
in the bay and the mountains all around. The
road is extremely dangerous, especially when
the rains come. The kampongs here seem to be
[771] mainly Mohammedan. They are shabby. Only one
361 side, that which faces the sea, of Pulo Ende,
is inhabited.

123 When we returned it was too late, although the
men were sitting in the pasanggrahan. We talked
[582] for a little while and I got some information on
the non-existence of strict exogamous marriage
rules. We also talked a little about a map and
the schedule with the assistant. Then we took
them back to the kampong. We did nothing more
that day, but the kapitan suggested that we go to
Kilimutu, the colored lake mountain, on the next
day, Sunday. I refused at first, but then thought
that I might as well and get it over. I note that
[181] these people are not retiring and respectful like
the Buginese, although the kapitan is really quite
polite. Still he has an eye on the jeep as a
means of getting around. They are all mad over
the camera and talk constantly about photographs
I should take and give to them. I could easily
lose my patience with them. They keep asking for
things.

126 The next day we went to the kampong at seven
123 in the morning and tried to get away fast. But
we had to take photographs, and I was almost de-
luged with requests for more from all sides. I
took pictures of the two old mosa laki, the
kapitan, etc. The old mother of the kapitan, a
good type with the usual betel teeth, asked me
through the interpreter to take her photograph
before she died. I said I would on the return
123 from the lakes. Finally we got off, and I had a
terrible struggle insisting that I could take

123 only six, including me and Kattenburg, in the jeep. A wisecracking and obnoxious religious guru, who had started right off giving us a lecture on the virtues of Catholicism, got right in and displaced a better man.

632 The kapitan has no authority as I see it, and I remember the kapitan of Gunung Rodja who Ariens said has real power. He had told me that he had to help this kapitan all the time because he is so weak. He looks and acts this way, and is young anyway. He should have thrown the guru out. I would have done so, but I did not know what his influence really amounted to. Anyway, we finally got off with this unpleasant guru, who talked all the time in a raucous voice, the kapitan, the secretary (assistant) a nice lad, and a quiet relative of the kapitan who was dressed in adat clothes, a young man who sat in the rear box who said nothing. We went up the
481 dangerous road for 52 km., beyond Ndetosoko, pass-
133 ing a few kampongs, including the magnificent hillside kampong of Wologai, and Ndoeria. At km. 52 we turned off onto a grassy road and passed two kampongs on the twisting and high road to the mountain. We got there in two and one quarter hours in all, and it was a fine sight, on top of the world. The elevation is 1550 meters. Red lake is really almost brown. The green one is Nile green, and the blue one is robin's egg blue.
[262] We ate lunch, during which I found that in Roworeke they eat dogs. The guru talked con-
521 stantly, and the kapitan seemed to be dominated by him. The secretary was his butt and he constantly punched and pushed him like a real joker.

123 I got so sore at the pressure to take more than four of them along that I threatened to go
181 home and call off the trip. All the way I thought of how disagreeable these people were, except for the secretary and a few other young ones. The old ones are almost uniformly O.K. The guru is oily and loud and hearty.

632 The kapitan of Ambu Nggobe, whom I met in a new hadji costume before, is a rather oldish one. Ariens says he has the most power of anyone in Ende. The guru is a hard, pushing, ●123 Christian type, who has lost the old respect forms and feels superior to all the others. This guru kept trying to find out whether we[1] were Catholics, but we didn't tell him.

At last we went back to the kampong but stopped 191 off in a fine village near where the Kilimutu road leaves the main road. I forget the name. It has [142] handsome women, proto-Malay type, who are ruined [276] by betel. The men too are pretty good looking. Some of the children are very intelligent. I asked about the language situation and the guru said that only the schooled ones speak Malay anywhere in Ende. Thus the old ones do not, but this is not entirely so as some of the old ones who were never schooled are able to speak Malay.

342 In this kampong the houses as usual are roofed 343 with alang-alang thatch. There are many barns, which are small and have roofs which go to the 764 floor. The graves are in the plaza. One was 178 very large and of massive stone situated under a roof. It was the grave of an important ancestor. Others were of usual stone piles and slabs. One burial was set up last month, as it said on a wooden cross set up on top of the old style stone slab grave. The bodies here are laid out in a lying down position in the stone cists. From later evidence in Roworeke I think that many individuals may be placed in one grave. They lift the slab, move over the old bones, and set the new body in. In the old days they would put the body wound up with gemutu ropes in a tree until the whole thing rotted. Then the bones were placed in a box which in turn was placed in the cist. A rather long time ago the government made the people here dispose of the bodies at once.

[1] [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg--Analyst]

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349 set on the rafters a similar chest with bones of
766 the old ancestor of the Odja suku. I was told
769 that this has been there for hundreds of years,
614 but then it was reckoned that it had been there
621 for at least seven generations. It too was covered with ikat clothing. There was no drum in this one. They said that when the ancestor suku feast is held, hundreds of people gather here and buffaloes are killed, as was true in the other place. All around are many other stone cist tombs, all graves of descendants of the big
342 Odja. There are some high houses here, but most of them are lower in construction.

286 In Padjambu we saw many women spinning and weaving. One girl was pressing cotton fluff on a primitive wooden wringer arrangement in order to flatten it before spinning. It looked just like an old-fashioned clothes wringer. We saw an old woman preparing the loom threads in the first stage of ikat work. The white threads were wrapped with fiber windings. We saw several ikat sarongs, all of which were heavy and dull in
[435] color. The kapitan said that I could buy one for
[181] fl. 150.00 and another for fl. 250.00. This again shows the grasping character of these folk.

● 123 I forgot to say that the kapitan wants to go to Larantuka with us. I refused to let him go along. Also, at the Odja ancestral bone bundle tower an old mother said we had to leave an offering. We left some cigarettes. Perhaps they wanted money.

286 These ikat things are all over. I don't like
386 them very much, but they are genuine. The cotton
531 is grown locally and is pressed and spun. The dyes are blue and black and are made from indigo leaves. The ikat work is done with ties of fiber.
[438] Indeed, the only trade material used here is the red dye they buy in the stores. They also weave regular cloth, but the colors are always dull. The designs are small and indecisive.

We.

771 I see many old pagan men and women here, un-
301 like in Leloba. They wear necklaces, earbells,
291 and ikat sarongs. I saw one old man getting gin with bamboos. Many women here go about bare breasted.

304 Most people have their teeth filed. They are flattened.

621 The kepala kampong, who has sore eyes, say
124 that Leloba and Wailolong were combined in the negri lama. There is still much intermarriage and a very close relationship between these two. Later, when I got to work with the guru and he saw that I needed to get every name, etc., he was scared and said that it is easy if he has to do this in his kampong but hard in Wailolong. Thus there is a big gulf between even nearby kampongs. This question took us until 7:30 to talk over and we are still in trouble.

124 I knew this morning that I should not take a
● 123 man who is not a member of my kampong, but he is
115 so good in other ways that I yielded to the priest. It is clear that the main rule in this kind of research is: never take an assistant who does not live in the kampong. If you do he will not be received easily and he does not know the local gossip and intimate personal matters which would prove helpful. Also, I can't sit in his house in the kampong, and this is important for impressions. I may be able to work out a compromise at greater cost by using the Leloba guru but another assistant in Wailolong. This is a mess and from now on I follow my instinct on choosing an assistant. We finally left after dark.

797 At noon today I went to the mission headquarters to get gas. It alone has any, because V. and W. has no trucks here. I can see that the mission has everything. It is really the administration here. The pasanggrahan boy said that the Catholics here do not use the name "Christ" because this is taken to mean Protestant. In-

Wa
789 father told him to shut up. This was another
776 of his familiars. He also had a seven-headed
179 snake as a familiar. I asked what ever happened
[825] to these familiars, and he said that they do not
appear any longer because the people do not feel
the need for them. But if one called them, they
could come to the old guru. That is, the fa-
miliars are inherited from father to his succes-
sor son. This is amazing, and shows clearly that
the old guru, at least, and indeed the young one
and the kepala kampong, still take seriously much
of the old belief despite Christianity. I eased
[123] into this by talking like a kafir myself, as
usual, and they came along to a stage of talking
in a way that would horrify the priests. At one
point the guru stopped and said, "My, we're
talking like Kafirs [unbelievers, infidels]."
There is plenty left here of the old paganism,
and I can see why the priest said it would be
easy for them to slide back into their former
habits.

People must keep quiet when the crops are
241 growing as they would scare away the food spirit
824 in the plants otherwise. When there is a harvest
there are feasts and many gatherings. This may
be the reason for the harvest feast pattern.

361 Wailolong was originally located in the hills.
Then they moved down to the coast where there is
a crossroads at Okka. After that they moved only
about thirty years ago to their present location.
The first move was the result of the government
pressure to make them come down out of the hills.
The second move was halfway back to the hills.
Leloba has moved only once, that being the ori-
ginal move down from the higher hills. Wailo-
long and indeed other kampongs here have grown
fast in recent years because of cleaner condi-
tions, better medicine, etc. They know this
well. Wailolong has grown apace and keeps grow-
000 ing. The houses in the oldest negri lama were

R

291 similarity. The ikat work and weave patterns
184 of sarongs especially show certain differences.
302 In Sikka the children have the front half of
482 their hair shaved. Here also the women and children usually employ a tumpline.

[527] We[1] had one day in Roworeke as December 27
123 was Independence Day. We left for Badjawa on the latter, after a ceremony. As appears to be usual in Roworeke, which is a most annoying environment with constant requests for jeep rides and a general lack of respect, the kapitan and a large group had to be taken first to kilometer 10 where they had a garden. The kapitan and the kepala kampong pleaded that we come to haul them to Ende for the ceremony tomorrow, but we refused firmly. Today the kepala kampong
[292] wore a woman's felt hat with a chin string.
304 His wife who is pregnant had a tattoo over her arm, but it consisted of a name and random marks. I see this sort of thing everywhere. The old patterns seem to have gone. Today the thing to have tattooed is your name. Then we went back to Roworeke and went to work in the "office" which was full of flies and people.

621 The kampongs in Roworeke are as follows (the
361 area extends from kilometer posts 5 to 8):

1. Nuamere (kilometer 7; the kapitan's area)
2. Bita (across the road, north of Watu Roga)
3. Kopoëdo (inside from Nuamere)
4. Puïdjambu (same)
5. Roworeke Asal (same)
6. Ae Boü (along the road below Nuamere)
7. Ae Utu (along the road below Ae Boü)
8. Wolomere (across the road from Ae Utu; the secretary's area)
9. Tana Ri (kilometer 6)
10. Ndetu (kilometer 5; many Ende folk live here)

1 [i.e., Kennedy and Kattenburg --Analyst]

We

784 There is definite totemism here though some
614 clans have no taboos or totem ancestors. But
611 it is the usual thing. Weol may not use one
769 kind of bamboo, because the ancestors were born
562 of this bamboo. Pau may not eat a certain kind of monkey, as the ancestors were linked (this is the assistant's va'u). Women marrying out of the va'u may eat the totem of their own clan but must go through a special rite. Men may never give up the totem taboos, even if they live in an ambil anak arrangement.

574 The next day we went to Weol and up to the
273 kampong with the assistant. We brought native
276 tobacco and gin which we had bought for fl. 2.00
123 in Ruteng. As we entered the kampong, on the right we noted the house of the kepala kampong. Next to it is that of the tuan tanah, where we sat on the front porch. Both of these houses are of the new style, but are sooty because there are no chimneys. The children carried two chairs up from Tjantjar for us and later brought a table from the school. However, the assistant and the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong sat on a mat on the floor. Others were in the background. On the rise in front was a great crowd. We gave gin and tobacco to the old people and
[262] were later served first coffee and then two hard boiled eggs. Others got no eggs. The eggs came by chain-passing from the next kampong, Ndung. Evidently eggs are something special. The old tuan tanah knows everything, and his brother the kepala kampong is old and smart too. The kepala of the third panga of Weol kampong sat in the rear. He too is old.

632 The daluschap Rahong is one of the thirty-
621 nine in Manggarai. The dalu are of Bima origin, or at least this is true of most of them. There are thirty-three kampongs in Rahong. The tuan tanah knows all of them, including the constellations. They are as follows:

Wae

191 is always in Manggarai. I have seen this before. "Mengerti sedikit, tidak bisa tjakap [I understand a little bit, but I can't speak it].

53 We saw a poor show at the pasar malam. It
177 was a sandiwara traveling troupe like the one
831 I saw on the ship. It consisted of torch singers and crooners. The gallery came down with a carioca in western dress. The contact was not close, but closer than they used to make it, and at the end the woman half fell into the man's arms. They shrieked. This very mild sex symbolism in dance was extreme for them. Their dances, as usual, are incredibly dull. The songs repeat themselves over and over again.
526 And they carry on their whip fighting day after day. They even abuse football, and play it from dawn to dusk. This is like the ten games
[171] of baseball a day in Micronesia. They overdo things.

201 As we were sitting in the assistant's house
576 with him and the other guru, a woman came in
●123 and swiftly pushed her face into mine, holding
832 my head and rubbing noses. It seemed almost as though she were using her mouth a bit too, and I wondered if this were a combination of nose rub and sniff kiss. She then went quickly to Kattenburg and then to the two guru. Nothing would stop her, even embarrassed protests from the guru. The assistant asked who she was, and the other said she was Marcus's wife (who's that?). We were so embarrassed that we turned at once back to the questions, and we acted as though nothing had happened. We saw her later in the rear of the house, looking queer. Query: Was she crazy, or was she doing some bit of unthinking etiquette? But even if she were crazy, she must have been following a pattern here, or why do it in exactly that way? It would have been better if it had been the other guru's wife, who is a beauty.

R
621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are still formed partly of suku or suku sections coming in and joining the old settlers from the negri lama.

443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series as in Celebes. These wheels run in different directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru, and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The traders follow the pasar week from market to market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kam-
583 pongs, although there is gift exchange in
562 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male" things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a woman gives in return "female" things (cloth, mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere, and said that many had drowned there recently. The water is deep, he said, and there lives a "head" of a human being. It is still living and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has seen it several times, in daylight. It moves around as though on short legs. It is just a human head, with hair. They don't know what it is or where it came from. However, the people are now scared to bathe here. The victims have been sucked under. He asked me my opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
● [123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith, because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere. They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head alone").

622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

Wa.

582 I asked if there were many marriages between
614 Wailolong and Leloba. He said that before
177 there were many because they were allies and
578 nearby. In 1912, however, when the Dutch came
797 in, his father, who was the head man of Leloba, decided it was useless to fight. Wailolong, however, decided to resist. This strained the friendly relations which had existed before, and until recently there have not been too many marriages. I also wonder, inasmuch as he mentioned in this connection that missionaries entered the region in 1907, whether the more rapid Christianization of Leloba might not also have strained relations with the relatively resistant Wailolong.

124 After telling me that he was in fine spirits
177 because my pyribenzamine had cured his asthma,
578 he said he was also happy because he got such a fine reception in Wailolong when he went from
● 123 house to house getting the census material. He
609 had been afraid of this, and thought that the people would snub him. This would have made him much ashamed. This was also why he insisted that we get the kakang to order the Wailolong folk to give the information. Now he reports that he was received with open arms and that the Wailolong folk say they are delighted that a big man of Leloba is coming among them to work, and that also big men from the United States are getting their names and their customs down on paper. They said that they felt submerged for many years (and their kampong looks a bit dingy and dispirited) and that now they are having a rise. It looks to me as though Roy really feared a bad time, and this shows that the probable relations between these two communities were really distant until we came. We may have brought peace and good
609 will to the two kampongs. It is also amusing
123 to note his remark that when we first appeared,

We

123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

We discussed a certain rank which appears in
614 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
343 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
562 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala
243 suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

We also noted a possible error in Vatter.1
[114] He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
614 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
796 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
831 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
784 gins, but now with so few young girls still
241 pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[857] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost
[887] babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic
[797] note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

1 [See bibliography, cat 113 -- Analyst]

Wa

000 up together again.

Some of the suku are large, some are small,
614 and some have died out. They have the same
171 idea in this regard as I noted on Ambon: that
789 a group which dies out may well have disappeared because of a wrong committed in the old days. It is as though there were a curse on them. Roy mentioned a case of an ama (I think) which did a lot of killing. Now it is extinct. Another group used too much magic, and it too died out. (Magic keeps cropping up. They have taken on my term kekuatan adjaib with a vengeance. I often wonder if they are kidding
●[123] me, seeing that I like the pagan stuff.)

Roy says that the roles of the sexes has
562 not changed at all. However, when there was
178 much warfare formerly, the women were important
708 in helping the men by bringing in supplies, encouraging them, and in making magic against the enemy behind the lines. (Supply, psychological warfare, morale division, and "research.")

One firm rule which is changing today, however,
178 is that in the old days the women never did work
462 in the field, except for helping in planting and
241 in the harvest. This is still so in a large degree, and it is true enough that the women are seen around the kampong all day while the men are off in the fields. However, nowadays more women go out and help with agricultural work. This is a slow trend. In the old days men would be ashamed to have women doing agricultural work. This was not their role (and there is a very sharp sex division of labor here).

Indeed, women have no work, properly speaking, except house work. They do very little agricultural work, even today. The planting stuff they do is clearly ritually linked, at least in part, and the harvest is evidently always an exception.

562 Roy says that the women have equal status,

We.

764 bells in the chapel tolled and the service was held. The body was buried in the cemetery.

Roy has been full of life since I gave him
124 some medicine for his asthma. He jokes and
923 laughs. He had a meeting of the Red Cross yesterday, and the Radja and Dr. Sutomo and other notables were there. He knocked them out with the new words he has learned from me (sistim, desas-desus, kekuatan adjaib, etc.). They asked how this came about, and he said that the American professor was responsible. He told the priest that I was better than Vatter,[1] as we talk over each point at length, and I tell him details too, and then we discuss everything. Also, he says, everything is told to me and nothing is hidden, as he puts it. He tells the people, even in front of me, that I am like a suwanggi, because I learn so fast and come with material that an outsider should not know, and because I anticipate things that are not yet told. At one point, he said that I could join up and become a member of the Kottang sib.

The ratio between men and women here is about
162 fifty-fifty. They think this is all right.
793 Perhaps only two per cent of the women never
589 marry, and it is exceedingly rare to find an old bachelor. There are no nuns or priests in Wailolong yet. Leloba has one nun now. There is a case in Lewohala at the present time of a father making a terrific fuss because his daughter wants to become a nun and his son wants to go to a seminary. (Is he a pagan?)

586 Formerly there was no divorce according to
178 adat. There are two pagan cases in Wailolong and this is considered new.

684 I asked about adultery, and Roy said that in the old days if there was a case of adultery, the woman remained the man's wife, but a fine had to be paid. Or, if the couple were found

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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304 Formerly almost everyone filed his teeth
178 down to the gums. Now this is optional, although most of them still file their teeth down a little for evenness. No more do they file them down to the gums. Women do not file them until they are married. Then they may or may not file them. Before, it was required. There is no specialist to do this. It is simply done by a clever person, with a
[302] stone. The teeth were blackened with varnish before, but now they let them color up with betel (and how they do). Tattooing was a matter of choice formerly as it is today. The tattooing of personal names, of course, is recent, and it is very frequently seen. There are no special beliefs in this regard. There was never any cutting here.

• 123 The next day I had to bring several people
181 to the hospital, and I became irritated and scolded at the way these people always pile in whenever I take any one of them anywhere. Even later today, just when I was thinking the assistant was going well, he made me the proposition that I should give him a tanda mata (remembrance, so he won't forget me) when I leave. He suggested a briefcase. He was very "sly" about it, but I can see that it is pure grasping. And they are too dumb to realize that I see through them. They think I can't see what they're doing.

We worked at the pasanggrahan and later took
164 the patients back to Roworeke. The assistant's wife has a three-week swelling, which looks like a bad bone condition, on the brow to the side. These are unhealthy folk. We brought
754 back the assistant's "foster mother," an old
756 woman who had been in the hospital for a week for some blood trouble. She is a bisa mari, a sorcerer, and the best one in Roworeke. She is also a dukun, and the folk call on her all

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836 be very angry, and I think he said that he might kill her. As for the men, he says that the situation may be different, as there were easy women in the kampong, that is, for example, widows whom a boy might get. Thus, it seems that unlike remote Wailolong and Leloba, the boys tended to get some sex experience premaritally, but the girls were regularly virgins until marriage. The same situation exists today, he says. I guess there is little doubt that this is outside the free premarital belt.

582 178 Probably as astonishing a thing as I have seen in regard to marriage here is the younger age which they say now prevails everywhere. They are sure of this, and indeed they shout it out. This is a real and deep change.

124 123 181 Today the old mother of the kapitan sat with us, and had our questions translated for her. Also, there was a decent old lad there. He understood Malay and seemed to speak it too. He was middle-aged. There was the usual impolite talking while I tried to talk, and looking at the clock, even ringing the alarm at noon. And the secretary is as bad as the others. Then at the end, after I had heard enough in Endenese to know that they had been talking of it all the way through, the kapitan comes up to me and asks me to get a tanda mata (souvenir) for him too, that is, a briefcase. I said I would try to get one in Batavia as there was no place to get a good one here, but they have evidently talked that over and do not trust me, as he said, "Why not get one in the toko here and give it to me?" Then the secretary said on the way out that a good one for the kapitan would be the kind of zipper bag I carry. They are impolite, and so stupid that they think they can delude me. They have no shame, and they are crafty. They constantly pass around my cigarette case, obviously considering whether they might ask for one of those too.

651 Arriens said that he had heard this from the Radja as a big source of trouble now. I can imagine it. Their big trouble on this simple level, with the government, was only taxes (and for a few, jail). Thus, when freedom comes in, it means freedom from the Dutch burden, taxes.
[622] Anyway, I noted that the kapitan, as usual
[554] when in trouble, had called the giri tumba and the big ata ngga'eh nua (Bapa Ketjil) to come to his house in full adat dress. This underlines again the point that real prestige is in these old adat chiefs. They are the ones to call upon when a real decision has to be made. And there sat the malcontents, about to face the adat chiefs.

114 In Ndona, as I waited for the assistant to get the dukun from the hills, I sat in the jeep and read Bruine's[1] report on Lio, which was very appropriate. As church got out, there gathered
●123 about at least twenty men and boys, and the latter hung over me while I was reading or at least trying to read the book. They were astonished, and read aloud, when they saw words
[212] like "mosa laki Ndona." And some of them could
[515] read the Dutch. Overall was the smell of sweat and onions.

181 The last trick of the assistant was to ask
123 for my fountain pen so that he could look at it and think of me. These folk are easily the most greedy yet. I doubt that one could appeal to mere good spirit here.

114 I think I have finally located the Rea which Elbert and Körner[2] always refer to as Rea Ndona.
103 I think they mean the Ende coastal area. I know where Ndona is, but I now see in a map in the Bruine[1] report that Tanah Rea is the former name of the area in which Nangapanda is on the south coast. It stretched to the north coast of Flores.

000 Back in these hills, which I wish I could explore, there may well have been endocannibalism!

1 [probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]
2 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

124 sistant, Cornelius, was fine. I left him a stamped envelope and paper to get information on the bride price and mother's brother's daughter marriage frequency.

Van Bekkum[1] showed me a great volume typed
114 before the war by an assistant of his on
124 Manggarai marriage customs. It was only two-thirds done, and he needs another year to complete it. It is all planned out and indexed. It is monumental and should be translated and published. Van Bekkum says that only Cornelius could do the book. He also went on a several months field trip for the mission to Pulu[illegible] Island, off the Maumere coast, where there was said to have been an aboriginal population. He has a manuscript on the buffalo sacrifice there.

He is a remarkable fellow and importuned me only a little for palm wine and tobacco for the old men.

574 The last day we went along to the near end
● 123 of the road, to kampong Anam, one of the dalu[illegible] kampongs. Here there were plenty of kraeng with
[273] hangovers, and some still a bit drunk. This is a very large kampong, with perhaps a population of six hundred. There is a tjompang in it and several tuan tanah. At the tjompang, which had stones newly and nicely arranged, were sticks stuck with wood chips on them with rice and bits of other types of food, offered at the New Year feast. I was invited into the main tuan tanah house, and there I sat with lots of men in a circle, on mats and on mat cushions. Women played fine drum and gong music, and men sang fine sanda songs, with solos and choruses.
[782] Hanging on the rafter near the center was the main naga bamboo food shelf, and in each family section along the walls were similar ones. Food was placed on them. The house was rectan-
[342] gular (there are no more tuan tanah houses in

1 [pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

342 this area which are round, because the rectan-
574 gular ones last longer and the people like
●123 them on this account, because all of them
must pay for a new one). They gave me roasted
bits of pork (tough and with plenty of fat),
and the palm beer, which was milky and strong.
I took photographs of them and they were
amazed.

342 This is a new kampong, and is merely named
[103] six (Anam). There are plenty of round houses,
but all of them with partly wooden walls. The
assistant says that there are still a fair
number of the real old style round houses with
no walls, especially in Tjibal.

574 In the afternoon I went to the mandur's house,
592 where he served a fine dish of ear corn, fresh
from the garden, and also some corn cooked by
steam in the leaves. We also had rice, etc.
He is a real host, and his old father talked
some. I took photographs of the family, inclu-
ing his handsome wife. She is from Pongkor.
Plenty of her sisters seemed to be about, and
he said something about how this is quite usual
for a wife's sisters to live with her.

114 Finally we pulled out of Ruteng in the morn-
ing on January 31, expecting to ship out of Reo
that day. I stayed in Reo waiting two days.

[487] Going down the mountains I noticed that the
567 land was largely empty. The road led through
the dalu Tjibal. Down this road used to come
the slaves for shipping to Bima from Reo.
They were sold especially for firearms. Many
Manggarai descendants must be all over Indonesia,
because so many slaves were exported. Thus
there is a section "Manggarai" in Batavia. And
of course there are plenty in Bima.

114 In Reo, which is a poor place, I went to
Kedindi, the port, or rather the beach with
sheds of palm. There was no ship. Therefore
I went back to Reo and stayed at the pasanggra-

FIELD NOTES ON INDONESIA, 1949-1950

PART III

FLORES

Roworeke - Wailolong - Weol (Veol)

124 647 485 Flores (preliminary): I talked with Riekerk, who was there three years ago, and got this: The Assistant Resident at Ende is Twerida; the Controleurs are Hettinga and Ariens; the Finance man is Fekkes. There are government station houses (pasanggrahans) at least in Ende, Detusoko, Wolowaru, Larantuka, Badjawa, Ruteng, Reo, and a place ten kilometers from Maumere.

131 Distances are: Maumere--Larantuka 130 km., Maumere--Ende 140 km., Ende--Badjawa 125 km., Badjawa--Ruteng 125 km., Ruteng--Reo 60 km. Running times, respectively, are 4, 5, 5, 6, and 2 hours.

634 The kepala daerah is the Radja of Sikka, Dom Tomas da Silva.

124 Possible kampongs for investigation are Sita, 50 km. south of Ruteng, or Ruteng kampong or one nearby, for Manggerai; Wologai, 50 km. east of Ende, and there is a pasanggrahan at Ndetosoko, 9 km. to the south, or a part of Ende itself, or Roworeke (population: five hundred) 161 near Ende in the hills, for Ende. The population of Ende is five thousand. The population of Maumere is about the same.

634 Kringa is the center of Tana Ai. There are many troubles here over the succession of the radjas and it has resulted in a number of difficult cases. He says to watch out.

634 Badjawa is the center of Ngada.
Boawai is the center of Nageh.
622 Kraeng Ngambut is the successor to the dead Radja of Mangegarai, but has not yet been installed.
631 In Flores there are many kapitanschappen, for example, there are two in the town of Ende. Other regions may be divided into kapitanschappen under kapitan, or into landschappen under more important rulers.
124 In general I did not get much information from him. I will see Pastor Raats, a member of parliament from Flores. Perhaps the radjas who are here now are going on the same ship to Ende. And Soumokil will send a cable to Papakai, a friend of his and possibly a member of parliament or something similar.

Flores: Before I left Makassar on December 12, three days late because of a ship strike and general irregularity of KPM, I went to see Pastor Raats, a member of the parliament from Flores. He is Dutch. He gave me some information about locations and general facts concerning Flores, but I did not learn anything very specific from him.

634 Following this we spent a wasted day and then on Monday, at 5 P.M., we sailed on a small ship "Kaimana". Most of the Flores radjas who had been in Makassar for a radja conference were on board this ship. The Sikka radja, Dom Tomas da Silva, appeared to be a spoiled and rather impolite person similar to the Arompone. He had a large mustache and looked like a Black Portuguese. I saw a photo of him in Levij's office and will receive a copy later. It shows him in a remarkable satin moujik blouse of black and with a Portuguese gold helmet. He is shown standing between two long upright elephant tusks.
634 He is decked out with gold stuff. He appears to
578 be vain and could be troublesome, but I heard

764 kampongs with plazas and tombs all over. The
latter are usually rectangular stone piles with
flat covers, which are evidently lifted in
342 order to put in more bodies. Some of the
houses have high pitched roofs coming down to
the floor on all sides. They appear to be
hooded, and are rather ragged inasmuch as they
use alang-alang grass for thatch. Some houses
are simpler and follow a more usual design, but
all have a different look from those in, for
[531] example, Celebes or Ambon. I saw no gaba-gaba
here, but rice stalks are used in the same way
and they look like narrower gaba-gaba strips. I
[778] asked at one kampong if they had pusaka houses,
and the answer was yes.

[782] I have seen no offering posts yet. I stopped
797 to talk with the priest at Ndetosoko. He was
named Nalles and has a church and school and is
starting to plant coffee for the church. The
nearby kampongs look pagan to me, but he says
that about half of the population in these vil-
lages have been converted. It is the usual
story: the older ones stay pagan. I talked
121 quite a while with him and he advised my choos-
●124 ing a kampong near Wolowaru. We then went back
toward Ende, and at 7 km. out we stopped at
Roworeke. It is on the side of the road, and
then we stopped at another kampong, Watu Roga.
The whole place looked ideal, with old style
houses, tombs in the plaza, primitive looking
folk, etc., and it is all very near Ende. We
talked with a couple of the men, and they said
that the kapitan (district chief) was in the
garden at kilometer 10. We said we would come
back later. I decided to take this kampong, or
rather this double kampong.

634 In the afternoon we went to see the Ende radja.
124 There was a large gathering there including five
Chinese, two hadjis (one kapitan of Nggobe, the
northern half of Ende town, and the other from

634 Keo), and the kapitan from Gunung Rodja (the
124 southern half of Ende town). After a long sales talk, the Radja offered all of his aid and said that on the next morning the kapitan of Gunung Rodja (evidently a kind of crony of the Radja, and one who usually wears an overseas cap, even while eating) would come to the pasanggrahan and take us to Roworeke. Meanwhile I asked a-
[611] bout Tana Ai, and they knew that it was matrilineal. Then the hadji from Keo said that it was matrilineal too, which was news to me. Then I asked about Wolo Wae, and they said it was in the mountains to the north, in Ende.
614 They seemed to think it was matrilineal too. I
582 then asked about clan exogamy and they said
178 that Mohammedanism was breaking it down, just as had happened in Tulehu in Ambon. But as in Ambon, clan exogamy is kept by the Christians here.

583 Incidentally, the priest in Ndetosoko said
178 that the Catholics are in favor of keeping the
797 bride price, as it strengthens marriages.

We finally left, and the next morning the
124 kapitan of Gunung Rodja appeared without his overseas cap. We got into the jeep and went to Roworeke, but the kapitan there was again in the garden. We went to kilometer 10 and saw the kapitan with several men wading across the river to the garden on the other side. We called him back and he got in suspiciously and we then drove back to his house. There he called the kepala kampong of Watu Roga. This fellow was a relative of his, an old man with an old sarong and short betel teeth, who looked somewhat like a Toradja. Later he called the djurutulis [scribe].

I gave a long sales talk and the kapitan
124 warmed up. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja helped
634 out and was quite enthusiastic. He is evidently
632 a powerful man, but the Controleur says that the

124 634 632 really most powerful man in Ende is not the Radja but the fat and rather fresh hadji kapitan of Nggobe (a descendant evidently of the age-old tuan tanah Ambu Nggobe, the ancestor of Ende). Anyway the talk went well and I settled down to getting some basic facts.

634 621 648 The border between Ende and Ndona, which is part of the state of Lio, is along the road in front of the kapitan's house. On the other side, in Lio, is Watu Roga. These are really twin kampongs, and there is much intermarriage, and the clans are all intertwined. That is, the Watu Roga are really Endenese, and the border should be at the river Ndona behind Watu Roga. Behind this there is a natural boundary between Ende and Lio, a high ridge. But the Dutch for some reason in 1924 cut Watu Roga away from Ende by moving the border a few hundred feet west and along the road. The people of Watu Roga were recalcitrant and would not follow the Lio radja, but the Dutch came and tied ropes around their necks and hauled them off to jail. They finally gave in, but they still feel more like Endenese. This explains why the fellow yesterday said that the Watu Roga folk are in Lio and the Roworeke folk are in Ende. This is true in administration, but socially they are both Endenese. The kapitan of Rewarangga (the one in 632 Roworeke), however, should be kapitan of Watu Roga too, but he isn't, and the latter kampong falls within the kapitanschap of Ndona, far off and under the Lio radja. This is mad on any grounds, including social, cultural, and personal feelings of the local people.

621 632 Anyway, I found that Ende has nine kapitanschappen: Gunung Rodja (the southern half of Ende town), Nggobe (the northern half of Ende town), Barai, Rukuramba, Numba, Nangapandan, Tangadje, Pulo Ende (the island in the bay) and Rewarangga. This last is the kapitanschap here, and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.

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764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I must find out how the funerals are run now. Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.
[797] The assistant has finished five grades of schooling in Ndona.

291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
178 men (old style) although this is changing fast, a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
[302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
286 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
531 looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the designs are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
●124 I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan. Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they have a holiday whenever there is the slightest excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I must find out about later, is how the kepala kampong is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some re-
624 marks about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan and others are not. I must get this kepala kampong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

621R
578 nature of these people. He said there are many
632 boundary disputes and have been many in the past.
144 Now I see the truth of the racial mixture zone here. All types are represented.

614 I get the impression that the suku were originally localized largely if not entirely. This is still so. Thus one part will be all or nearly all Odja, another similarly Wanda, another Tibo, etc.

591 I met a lad in Roworeke proper who is from a kampong which is rather far off. They said he had married a woman of Roworeke, and I thought perhaps this might be a case of ambil anak. This is not the case, however, and he had merely come there for a day, because his wife has land here. They live in his kampong. Residence is patrilocal usually. Kattenburg remarked that in
178 material culture and in level of living the young
578 people are not much different from the old. They
561 do wear different clothes, however, and as he says, in general outlook, religion, knowledge of and adherence to old thoughts and ways and religion, they differ. There must be an intergenerational conflict here, especially as they are so disputatious anyway. I must check on this.

The next day we[1] set out early and got them to
349 let us work in the office. This is an amazing
217 place, with cocoanut stalk walls and a dirt floor.
● 124 In one room (they are all empty of furniture), scattered on the floor, are the "files" of the kapitanschap. Some of them are in paper boxes and others are just on the dirt. They call the kapitanschap the "gemeente." We sat on the front "porch" on chairs that almost collapsed and at a table that leaned loosely at an alarming angle and slowly leaned more and more until it seemed impossible that it would keep from collapsing.
124 With us was the giri tumba of Rewarangga and later the kepala kampong (ata nggaeh nua) of Woro-

[1] [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg --Analyst]

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124 wai, a kampong a kilometer to the north which used to be part of Roworeke. Later still a policeman came from Ende who was there to help collect taxes. The kapitan drifted in and out and played around with the policeman's bike, and asked Kattenburg to get him a watch. He then asked Kattenburg to sell him some U.S. gold pieces. In general, he is a nuisance. If he could settle down he knows a fair amount about the genealogies, etc.

124 197 829 We started, as usual, with social organization and had a terrible time with it. They are all mixed up, or it is so partially wrecked that there is no order to it. I can't get to it because they don't get much of my Malay. Regarding the latter, they said not even twenty per cent of the people here can speak Malay, because the school has taught Malay only since the 1920's. Before that nobody here could speak Malay. Their Malay is full of queer words. Also, they know very little or nothing about the kampongs even a little way off although they may still be in the same gemeente. They know little about anything except in a very narrow circle.

632 621 I got the names of the kampongs in the gemeente (kapitanschap) Rewarangga:

My spelling	Kapitan's spelling
1. Roworeke	Rowo Reke
2. Worowai	Woro Wae
3. Manunggo'o	Mano Nggoö
4. Worowaku	Woro Wekoe
5. Arereke	Are Reke
6. Pu'uperi	Poeöe Peri
7. Kekawi'i	Keka Wiï
8. Koavena	Koa Wena
9. Vavoeü	Wawo Eoe
10. Ratebedi	Rate Bedi
11. Kekambero	Keka Mbero
12. Nioreko	Nio Reko

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632 then announces the chosen candidate. He has veto
624 power, and if he says no to a candidate, it is
final. The kapitan must come from either Re-
[614] warangga or Odja suku. If all agree, and the
giri tumba also agrees, they may choose a man
from Reandona suku, but this has never happened.

[178] In the old days the kapitan happened always
632 to be from Rewarangga suku, but recent ones have
565 been from Odja. If the present kapitan dies,
614 there would be about ten eligible candidates. I
611 think this means ten from Odja. These include
171 the sons of the old kapitan plus others from
eligible families. But there are over a hundred
families in Odja. Thus only certain families
are of the bangsawan high enough to be eligible
for kapitan. I could not get it straight who
these families are, but evidently they represent
the descendants of the great ancestor of the suku
Odja in the direct male line. This is always via
the oldest son. Thus the oldest branch of the
oldest branch, etc., as in Polynesia.

I asked if there was a name for the set of
613 noble kapitan families in Odja, and they finally
565 said, after much argument, Djo'bi Bene. To this
632 "lineage" belong the present kapitan, the scribe,
and the giri tumba. The kapitan came in and gave
the family tree of the lineage. So far as I
could see, it ran:

1. Neni
2. Djata
3. Odja
4. Koru Rudja
5. Djo'bi Bene

Thus these are the next ones to Djo'bi Bene.
I must come back again and find out exactly who
Djo'bi Bene was, and where his grave is located,
etc. This was frustrating, and I could not get
● [124] it straight at first. I was always worried about
the loss of time in such slow questioning.

159 wherein the kepala kampong is a Kottang. This is
[622] all right according to adat, he says. The guru is
an old fellow, sick with a cough. He was not there,
and his daughter, who might be any age from eighteen
to thirty, talked with us. She seems to be a queer
type, and it is strange that she is not married. I
get the idea there is some friction between her and
her father. She had five years of schooling at the
sisters' school in Larantuka. A son of the guru is in
Makassar as a clerk (I think in a church office),
and he married a Leloba girl recently. The guru
[582] married a woman from the same suku, but the daugh-
ter says this is all right as she was from Laran-
tuka. If she were from any kampong behind the moun-
tain, this would have been impossible. The house
was adorned with holy pictures. The guru said he
[797] was converted in 1907, and as he is now perhaps
771 sixty, that was when he was about eighteen. There
178 are no more pagans in Leloba, a change from Vatter.
The old pagan stuff in a material form is all gone.

● 124 After our talk we decided that perhaps Wailolong
121 was the best community in which to work, because
Leloba is entirely Christian. In addition, Leloba
was done by Vatter. Wailolong is about the same
size as Leloba and at the crossroads below. We
talked a great deal about adat and then came back
to Larantuka with the guru, who wanted to visit
the children in the school there.

In the afternoon we picked him up and went to
312 Wailolong. On the way we picked up the kepala kam-
pong Leloba and a few others. They were at the
[515] other crossroad near the sea, and here there were
many women bathing (there is no water in the kampong
for this). Women were also hauling water from this
place. The guru said they had to go even farther
778 for water originally. It seems as though all of the
kampongs have a higher negri lama, as in Ambon.
There are holy stones here too.

361 Wailolong is along the main road and is located
161 on both sides of this highway. It may have as
many as one hundred houses and a possible population
of seven hundred.

[See bibliography, Cat. 113-Analyze]

771 I see many old pagan men and women here, un-
301 like in Leloba. They wear necklaces, earbells,
291 and ikat sarongs. I saw one old man getting gin with bamboos. Many women here go about bare breasted.

304 Most people have their teeth filed. They are flattened.

621 The kepala kampong, who has sore eyes, say
124 that Leloba and Wailolong were combined in the negri lama. There is still much intermarriage and a very close relationship between these two. Later, when I got to work with the guru and he saw that I needed to get every name, etc., he was scared and said that it is easy if he has to do this in his kampong but hard in Wailolong. Thus there is a big gulf between even nearby kampongs. This question took us until 7:30 to talk over and we are still in trouble.

124 I knew this morning that I should not take a
123 man who is not a member of my kampong, but he is
115 so good in other ways that I yielded to the priest. It is clear that the main rule in this kind of research is: never take an assistant who does not live in the kampong. If you do he will not be received easily and he does not know the local gossip and intimate personal matters which would prove helpful. Also, I can't sit in his house in the kampong, and this is important for impressions. I may be able to work out a compromise at greater cost by using the Leloba guru but another assistant in Wailolong. This is a mess and from now on I follow my instinct on choosing an assistant. We finally left after dark.

797 At noon today I went to the mission headquarters to get gas. It alone has any, because V. and W. has no trucks here. I can see that the mission has everything. It is really the administration here. The pasanggrahan boy said that the Catholics here do not use the name "Christ" because this is taken to mean Protestant. In-

578 wars. There is no more head-hunting (but the
721 priest in the mission thinks it still goes on secretly, especially for the main post of a new korke).

53 The arts here are poor in all ways.

583 The bride price must be paid, but ambil anak
611 can occur. In the latter case a daughter or
237 daughters are given to the family in place of the
[556] price. This is especially true for the poor. Elephant tusks are needed for things such as the bride price, but this is evidently mainly for the uppers. And Krol said that nowadays, when the tusks have become rare, they often merely make the transfer in their heads, talking all night, and never actually transferring the real tusks from one family to another. It is a kind of clearing-house procedure. The tusks may be "transferred" up to twenty times in their heads, and they balance out in the end. Thus there is no real cost. It is a matter of delayed payment and really works out to a system of woman exchange between families. The tusk transfer is fictional. Thus A will "pay" tusks to B for a girl, and B will "pay" these to C for a girl, and C will "pay" them to A for a girl, and so on. The tusks, however, may even be non-existent in a particular case, and since they balance out in the end, no one really pays.

764 I was told that they used to put the bodies of
766 the war dead (I think) in trees before burial. Newborn children were buried in the kampong in front of the house. Cemeteries here were evidently placed outside the kampong.

124 We will return to Leloba tomorrow and try to
621 get the assistant matter straightened out. It
578 is notable that the guru said he is more comfortable working in an outside kampong. If the kakang gives the order the people must cooperate. This shows that the kampongs here are fiercely separatistic and only the upper government controls this atomism.

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000 trols this atomism.

124 212 115 The next day we went to the kampong, stopping at Mudakaputu, and Watuwiti, and other places on the way. These all seemed less good than Wailolong. For example, Riangkamiö had only two suku; others had none or only one korke, etc. At Leloba, the guru had another guru with him, and said that we must use him as he was not so good at writing. Then I asked about whether or not it might not be a good idea to use an assistant who lives in Wailolong, but they said nobody there can write well because most of them have attended only three grades of schooling. Then we went to the district chief, the kakang, who was formerly in Boschwesen, and who is a man with good authority. He said he would order the Wailolong folk to help and would put at my disposal a lad from Wailolong. Also, he said he would order them to let us use one of the rumah pemuda, or boys' houses, in Wailolong. We talked at length about the situation and it seems that there are really no people in Wailolong who are able to write well.

773 178 872 We talked about the way the old stories are dying out and the young people won't listen any more. The guru Roy and a few old men only are the ones who know very much. The guru is the best, and he knows all of the ancestors back for nineteen generations. He also complained about how the schools do not have books about Indonesia and the local affairs, but rather about Europe, which the children cannot understand.

632 622 693 614 We had taken in the jeep a lot of kepala suku and kepala kampong of Wailolong to the kakang where they were to have a case hearing. It is evidently a case concerned with marriage. The kepala suku are clearly old style fellows. Several
[30] of the old men had long hair and necklaces and one had a tattoo on his chest. The kakang gave a
614 speech ordering them to help us. Then we went to

We Then we went to
614 the boys' house in Wailolong, which turned out to
882 be a windowless house with sleeping benches in-
562 side. Here the boys from about twelve years on
[342] sleep. Thus there is a real men's house here. There are three, I think, in Wailolong, because some of the suku share houses. Normally the rule is one house per suku. It is taboo for the girls to enter these men's houses.

● 124 Then we went to Leloba and began on the Vatter[1] social organization material. They were delighted to see the Vatter book, especially Roy who noticed his name in it.

614 I started with the usual outline of groups and got the following list of suku and subdivisions and sub-subdivisions of the suku. I had told the guru yesterday that there must be a sub-subdivision, but he said no. He said he had thought it over and understood what I meant. The names
[171] often have direct references to parts of a house, and thus it looks like, as in Ambon, there used to be one suku to one house. Thus Ama Marang Do(ng) Lau(ng) means (the last words) bale-bale laut, i.e., in the old days the ancestors used to sleep on the bale-bale part on the sea side of the ancestral house they shared with the other division. Therefore, Ama Marang Do(ng) Rae(ng), which means bale-bale darat, or the bale-bale on the land side, was for the other division. The former has more power than the latter.

614 As for the recurring Lango' Bele', it means
565 big house, while the twin term Lango' Kene'
788 means small house. The former is the section of the subsib or ama, with more power. The latter is the section with less power. Maki(ng) means descendants. The whole system has reference to the rank of the sibs, which is symbolized in ritual animal killing. Thus Kottang holds the head and is the chiefly or head suku normally. The symbol is the head. Keleng holds the feet, and they are the assistant suku to the head.

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 — Analyst]

R Smaller private rites are held for such
755 cases as illness. A medicine man or woman (and in the example given they said woman; perhaps they are more frequent than men) is called in and magical rites are performed.

582 We got onto the suku exogamy matter, and
614 they said at first that one could marry within
178 the suku if the relationship was at least three generations off. But I pressed this a little further and they seemed less certain. I looked over the list which is now up to No. 190, and I noticed only a single case of endogamy. This proved to be a man from the outside who had been "adopted" by the Odja (he was originally from Lio) long ago. He was still separate, however, and I noticed that although he is still trying to find the name of his suku in the old place, the assistant left the suku slot blank for him and his children. This proved to be a case of no bride price and hence matrilocal residence. Thus there is not a single case of suku endogamy. I suspect that they
• [124] are either trying to fool me into thinking they follow only Catholic rules, or else they know the latter and talk about them. Or perhaps they just don't phrase the old rules in the same way any more, although they follow them actually in practice.

124 We got onto the schedule as he has written a few short answers already. They are not bad, but it is evident that thinking and writing are painful for him.

342 Formerly the kampong was much larger than it is today and the houses were bigger by far. They are still large. In regard to migration
166 the situation is not too clear, but it is quite evident that very few people leave. Most of the individuals who go away are police or soldiers who serve in other parts of Flores. There are also a few teachers who serve elsewhere in Flores. They nearly all come back later. Their

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166 property and status are kept for them. If any youth wants to go out to seek his fortune, his family and the kampong officers oppose this. They do not want people to leave. There is a [186] strong sense of localism here. For example, [829] I asked why they knew so little about the kampongs which are not far away from them when I had come all the way from the United States to find out something about them. They said that they never went to other kampongs unless it was necessary. This seems to be the Flores pattern.

166 Very few people have immigrated. There are some from other kampongs in Ende and Lio, and in fact these areas account for the examples of immigration aside from the women coming to marry in. Normally, women who marry men from another kampong go to live with their husbands. There are a few individuals from Savu, one [563] Chinese family, and a fair number of Ende town folk on the lower border. They are not members of the kampong.

423 There are evidently two kinds of land: the kampong land in the older parts of the kampong, which is used by members; and border land, which used to belong to Ende or other kampongs and which was bought by either the kampong folk or the Ende folk who live there. Thus the borders have expanded by the latter means. The fields may be used only four to five years and then must lie fallow for a long time. I must get more on the system of land ownership.

614 I had a hard time getting the truth about the 124 suku organization from these people. They are dumber here than in Larantuka by far, and they have lost much more of the memory of the actual rules involved. Still, in Larantuka, I notice that I have to ask many people in order to get answers to some of the complicated questions, for example, in regard to marriage rules. But

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614 here the process has gone much further and they
124 are slower in general to respond. Anyway I got
to the point where they said that there are
really only two "native" suku here in Roworeke,
[622] Odja and Rewarangga. Only an Odja can become
kepala kampong.

622 Incidentally, they agreed that in the old
624 days they had only four adat chiefs. The kepala
[177] kampong were superimposed by the Dutch. They
know this. I asked who were really higher in
rank, the mosa laki mere or the kepala kampong,
and they said that they were just different.
614 Other suku than the main two here are for example, Wanda, Ndoru, Songo, Soa, Fongi; all of which are from Lio, and are represented here by women who have married in mostly. Then there is Djawa, which has been here for a long time. Also there is Meo, from Nggobe; Gusi, from another Ende gemeente; Gusa (or Tibo), from Koavena; another Rewarangga kampong; and Woro (same).

778 Koa is the negri lama of the Gusa suku, and there the rumah berhala is located. It is the one that has the images. Many of the oldtimers live there. It is one kilometer uphill from the km. 10 mark on the road, just above the kapitan's garden. There is a rumah berhala in Worowai, where rites are held. I must get to see this.

There is no question here but that the
614 Rewarangga suku has the greatest power in all the gemeente. It may also have been the original suku. Next in order is Odja, and evidently next in line comes Reandona, whose native kampong is Manunggo'o, in the hills above Roworeke.

527 On December 27, after the ceremony of independence, came the same sort of thing as on flag day, but now for nearly a week there will be no
487 work. We left for Badjawa, the capital of Ngada. The road went along the coast through a number

311 241 cover for agriculture too, and this causes a great, economic problem.

114 He[1] said that much of Arndt's[2] and other scho-
● 124 lars' findings were wrong as they use Christian
159 gurus as assistants, and the latter do not tell
634 them exactly what the old men say. The young assistants "doctor up" the information. They also misunderstand some of the old ideologies. This was one of many implications in his talk that showed he was not uncritical of the Christians. He has been radja longer than any other in Flores, thirty-one years and seven months. In his youth he was a Dutch army man too. He says that there was no road built when he was first made radja but the mission was already there. He also says that he is the most important radja in West Flores, although all of the royal families here are interrelated. He says he represents the older sibling branch, and Nageh and Manggarai radjas are the younger sibling branches. It is true that the Manggarai radjadom dates only from 1929, and before this there were only dalu, three of whom were most powerful.

194 The Radja speaks Malay with remarkable gutteral sounds which Arndt[2] says are characteristic of Ngada folk. They also have at least one implosive, as in bhaga. He has his house in the kampong Radja, not far from the town.

361 The town is notably modern in appearance, with
797 the mission influence as usual. In the center there is a large plaza where the football field
[485] is located, as usual. The pasanggrahan is a
622 good one, and the mandur looks like a nickel-
634 head Indian. He was in the army once too and served in Sumatra, especially in Atjeh. He is evidently a friend of the Radja, as he enters
[565] and talks with him freely. The Radja mixes
443 freely with the people here, as we noted at the pasar malam. The latter, to which we went at

[1] [i.e., the Radja of Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

611 I think he[1] said it is possible to pay Also part of
614 the bride price and then to give some of the
583 children to the mother's group. This is not so
582 important, however, as the usual marriage is endogamous. They prefer to marry within the sib. They may marry out also. They have the same term for all cousins, and may marry with any cross or parallel cousin. Descent is patrilineal. Female descent is traced too, and thus there may occur cases of double descent with patrilineal emphasis and endogamy and clans. This is remarkable.

784 They also have totemism here with animal de-
824 scent and tree descent. A member may not kill or eat the animal totem and may not cut or burn or use in any way the wood of the tree totem. Two of the latter are ficus and lontar. The
583 amount to be paid as a bride price is a matter
554 of pride. Many kampongs have only one voi,
614 but others have several.

197 The language of Ngada is related to that of
193 Ende and is very close to Nageh. Manggarai speech, however, is quite different. Arndt says there are no affixes in Ngada, but instead they use particles.

614 Correction: Not all voi have women as an-
565 cestors, but most of them do. There are four
582 classes (not three as van Staveren[2] says). These are the nobles (ata gai or gai meze), upper commoners (ata gisa or gai giza), lower commoners (azi ana) and slaves (ata hoö). An upper woman may never marry a lower man, but the reverse is all right. The peo still stand.

124 We talked about the possibility of working in a Ngada kampong, but the Soa area has already been covered, and Arndt has a book nearly ready on the sociology of Ngada. There is practically nothing on Manggarai, so we decided to go to Ruteng first. We left in the afternoon, and after a hard drive, largely in the rain, we

1 [i.e., Arndt, pastor in Ngada area--Analyst]
2 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

[124] arrived after dark. We saw a very clear change
144 in physical type.[1] The Manggarai are clearly proto-Malay with a fair amount of Mongoloid blood in them.

[311] We went down to the coast through the empty
361 land, being burned off in large part, to Aimere.
342 Then we went across the wild and jungled peninsula to Mborong. We picked up a small girl from the hospital in Mborong who was going to school in the mountains. She got sick on the way. Then, up in the empty hills again, we saw a tree house on the way. Underneath it were some Mongoloid looking men and they said they were iron workers who were working on a bridge. They sleep in the tree house, which they built
[137] against mosquitoes which are bad here. They were from Ruteng. Later we heard that they have been here for years, "working" on a bridge.

[132] We ran into a terrible fog as we went up and up toward Ruteng. In the evening we attended
[443] the pasar malam, and there in addition to the
[525] gambling was a play with a story about how in-
536 dependence means decency and not rowdiness.
177 It was full of Catholic influence. Between the
533 acts there were instances of poor singing and dancing by a little girl who sang and stepped around and by some sillily dressed boys who went through marching motions to almost inaudible
[534] singing. The orchestra consisted of a violin and a ukelele, nothing else. The band consisted of a few horns. A small child held up the music for the trombone player, who didn't use the slide. The play was incredibly bad. Thus they lose the fine old singing and dancing and drama rites and instead of them they now have these imitation things which are bad beyond belief.

793 The next morning we went to the mission and
124 met several priests, including the rector, van Bekkum,[2] who wrote an article on Manggarai art. He was a bearded fellow and not bad. He said

[1] [i.e., the Manggarai vis-a-vis the Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[793] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here, and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

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592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more people in many of the houses. The complex ar-
243 rangement of rice fields stretches out far below and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but perhaps this is done merely by flooding. I must ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly situated on rises and they are small, for example, Weol has only about thirty houses in it. The priest says that there are many of the stones in kampong Ruteng located about 1½ km. outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each day, and the guru will bring the table and chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel. The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary, which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
177 houses were introduced here by a priest. The guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the
55 folk here, including the priests. Bathing is not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the relationship between partners is distant enough. Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans, called panga, and one may marry within these in the same way, according to the guru. I must find out more about this and also get the kin system. We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in the center of the town where they were playing football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

614 maybe it is a matter of the older and younger
582 lines. I must check on this. The mandur said
[624] there was no tuan tanah in Ruteng kampong.
Later the assistant said they must have one.

124 In the evening the assistant came to the pasanggrahan and talked with us. He seems to be the best one yet. He knows plenty about the old customs, and Christianity has not caused him to scorn the old ways. He is so enthusiastic that it was hard for us to stop him. We got onto the question of Weol.

178 He said that in the old days there was only
342 one large round house per kampong. The diameter
614 was perhaps twenty meters. If you saw two
624 houses, it meant that there were two va'u. And
582 up until twenty years ago (1927) all tuan tanah
778 lived in round houses. After that, however, a
801 change took place. For example, the tuan tanah of Weol now lives in a rectangular house. In the old clan house there were nine posts, in rows of three. The very center pillar was the main one and here sat the tuan tanah at religious rites. Others ranged around the walls in the front half of the house. The rear section of the house was for the tuan tanah and his family. Other panga had sections around the walls. In the center, behind the main post, was the kitchen. Later, when more than one round house was built in a single kampong, the tuan tanah occupied the main house, and here the main pillar of all was located. This pillar is especially holy, and the setting of it in place requires certain rites, sacrificial animals, etc. Other round houses had nine pillars too. Each house was inhabited usually by one panga, and in each there was a kepala panga, and smaller rites were held at each main pillar.

243 The circular rice field arrangement shows
782 certain similarities here. He says that even
778 now when they begin planting or have some other

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614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the relationships linking the individuals in this area became more and more distant. Thus they gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed, since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols, showing the effect of having worked with van Bekkum.[1] The priests try to discourage mother's brother's daughter marriages, but they always give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get the idea that the priests here are less firm regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka. This is probably because it is a relatively new field, and the Catholics go slowly and gradually in destroying what is old. The dodge they use here is special dispensation. This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price, is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with his wife's family until the bride price is paid. This may take ten years or he may never pay the bride price, but the children belong to his va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
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[1] [pastor at Ruteng; see also bibliography, cat. 113 - Analyst]

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241 five times. Then two men imitate mice and run
782 around, while others pelt them with clods of
231 earth. This part is called mburu pusu. After
624 this weeding can be done.
527 (4) Tege rego, when the crops are ripening. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok five times. (The tuan tanah always leads the procession of the people who have shares in the garden being rited.)

(5) Tjepa, just before the harvest. Each family concerned gives a pig, rice, etc. If the garden is a lingko randang, a buffalo must be sacrificed. The animals are assembled in the kampong, and the crowd, with one of the pigs, goes to the garden. Each one plucks a stalk and a hair. The pig is killed. Then they go back to the kampong and go around the "adat house" five times and then go inside to dance. Then all the other beasts are killed and the
[195] whipping starts. While harvesting, special words are used for animals and aliens.

776 At all feasts the poti empo are called and
769 the setan are chased. Therefore, the dead are never buried far from the kampong, and perhaps inside the kampong. Thus it is easier to call them. They live at their graves.

●124 We talked with the assistant Sunday and then
[524] took him home. (We discovered in Ende later that the bamboo clapping game is also practiced there.) Then we set out for Badjawa, which we reached in the evening. The next morning a lad named Alfons appeared and said that the Radja Kedua had told him to show us the Soa area when we were in Badjawa. He is the former guru agama [religious teacher] and had taught Malay and Ngada to many priests. He is good looking and intelligent and wears leather puttees.

361 Then we went to Soa, but first stopped at a
621 spectacular kampong named Lekedjere, on the side
614 road to Soa. It is pure Ngada, really a double

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 237 224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him 776 784 about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh 124 tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must 824 have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read 769 that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo [789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

243 where around the earthen plaza there are Every-
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They
looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the
peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it
were two great slabs set upright. In the cen-
ter of the plaza was a finely carved peo with
shelleyes. It was set in cement.

From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
132 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However,
● 124 when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from
Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of
two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we
had to stay overnight at the house of a former
kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the
oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see
the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of
Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan.
He constantly brings up the case with the govern-
ment, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and
his cronies are taking everything. There is
only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewar-
anga). He said the great majority of gemeente
Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed
from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And
now they are asking the Christians to move up

574 He furnished us with fair food, rice and chicken, and coffee, and then fixed up the beds without mosquito nets in one room. The son of 872 the mandur of the pasanggrahan of Badjawa was with us, on his way to school in Ende, and he had a little packet of clothes, a canteen and a ukulele. The latter was in sad condition. 484 He slept on the floor on a mat. The next morning we just about made it across the river with our goods lifted by the men in order to lighten the jeep. This was a hard experience, and we decided to make the western run only once 132 more, at the end. This rainy season is too hard here and it is dangerous because there is always a risk of delay from floods or landslides. Ende seemed luxurious after this run to the west.

The assistant was in Ende for a tax meeting 124 of kapitan, and after noon I took him and the kapitan and the latter's servant to Roworeke. They had to work on taxation in the afternoon, so I decided to start in tomorrow morning. Roworeke, as usual, is always troublesome. The jeep was overcrowded with many riders. I took them out, and came back with a load.

Incidental notes on Flores: We saw the use 482 of a tumpline in Sikka. This is true also for Nageh and Ngada. They use this for carrying loads especially in Sikka and also for betel ingredients in Ngada. They use small plaited bags.

Girls in Ngada and Nageh have half-shaved 302 tonsures. This is not true of all, but certainly of many of the girls. There are variations in style, including topknots. I note the latter on boys too.

721 A Ngada man denied head-hunting at any time 346 and said that there is no head under the new 231 ndaru, but rather a red dog, a pig, and a cock, all buried alive. But ENI says that there was [554] head-hunting and that Ngada heroes had goatskin bands under their knees formerly.

R

443 basis. They obtain products by purchase in the backland and sell them in Ende. They also sell gewgaws which they bring along with them.

186 829 Interest in local, foreign or international news is at a very low level. They insist that nearly everyone here knows just about nothing in regard to anything outside of the kampong. They are even ignorant of Rewarangga.

614 621 They said that originally each kampong consisted of only one suku. Then others moved in. Thus, at one time Wawatonda was the kampong of suku Rewarangga. Then they came down to Worowai. Here today there is a rumah berhala, [764] but it is a mere bone-grave hut, like Odja in Roworeke.

Rabu is now in three kampongs. It was one at some former time. It is ten kilometers from here. This is the place where the original kampong of the Odja suku was located. But they have now lost contact, and indeed, so complete was the move to Roworeke that probably no Odja folk are left in Rabu today.

124 829 The kapitan said an interesting thing when I was pressing him to give information in this regard. He said that only since I came here had he learned very much about the culture and the past of Rewarangga.

778 614 346 764 These rumah berhala, with images and a real house, or merely with the grave-bone shrines, are suku shrines. There are four real rumah berhala houses in Rewarangga. These are as large as a real old style high roofed house, [753] and in them there are images (ana deo) and per- [782] haps bone bundles too. These run as follows: (and anyone who visits them and looks into them must leave an offering, for example, money or cigarettes, etc.; otherwise he may get sick):

1. Volofeo has a real house and in it there are four ana deo, wooden images. There are no bones. This house was used by all four suku

R

778 feasts. Thus it is like Barupu in Toradja.
769 (Ratebedi is one of the Rabu kampongs.
346 Vavoëü is another, and so is the non-shrine
574 kampong Kekamberu. The others which have merely the grave-bone shrines have a feast only when they need to fix up a shrine.

632 The next day we went to Roworeke again. Note an error in the preceding notes: The sikesani besar, who lives in Worowai, is of the suku Nggonggora'ba. Thus the Big Four are as follows: Mosa laki mere of Rewarangga, Giri tumba of Odja. Ndeto au of Rewarangga, and Sikesani of Nggonggora'ba. The names of these posts mean: mosa, male (animal); laki, male (human); mere, big; giri, around; tumba, spear (he walks around with a spear); ndetu, many colored; au, bamboo; sike, here; sani, there.

181 I am always impressed by the combination of
●124 lack of courtesy and the cringing servility of
576 these Endenese. They constantly talk to each other when I am talking, pass remarks about me in Endenese, etc. At the same time they keep on "tuanning" and bowing. They are grasping too. For example, the kapitan looks steadily at my gold watch and band and asked me to sell him U.S. gold pieces. The assistant asked me to give him personally a ring-spiral notebook such as used for the work. He can't answer questions on the schedule, so I have to do it all. The kapitan is a bit better, and the guru is smarter, but I get the idea that these folk are a rather poor lot.

784 Again we got on to the subject of totemism.
262 The word for such taboos is pire. I doubt that
614 I got the whole story, but as far as I can see
562 there are three kinds of totem taboos and they apply to foods:

(1) Suku or pu'u taboo. This is called pire ngguäh, the latter term meaning "descen-

R

000 since then there have been no wars.

614 The great suku feasts are a kind of re-
574 fresher of the gemeente bond, as all the suku
632 of the area come and feast and pledge friend-
624 ship. Thus, if Odja has a suku feast for repairing the grave-bones shrine, the other five big suku (and also others who are invited) attend. (The five are Rewarangga, Nggonggora'ba, Reandona, Wanda, and Gusa-Tibo). Thus the suku feasts are gemeente affairs as well as of a genealogical group. The mosa laki mere must be present at all such feasts, even though it is not of his own suku. Incidentally, he is the same man as the kolu, mentioned by Suchtelen[1] as the "tuan tanah." This kolu word is evidently used especially in his function as an agricultural priest. Thus he is an adat judge and agricultural priest at the same time. The mosa laki mere involved is the mosa laki mere of the kampong involved; thus here he is the big one, as the kampong mosa laki mere of Worowai-Roworeke is also the mosa laki mere of the gemeente.

[237] He gets the lower jaws of all the sacrificed
[342] animals. Nowadays he throws them away after
[178] eating, but formerly all bones from such occasions were kept and were put on the houses. Thus there is a clear relation involved between the jaws on the Ngada houses of the tuan tanah there and such occasions (and distantly to the Mentawei and Punan animal jaws). Note that he gets the lower jaws.

538 As for legends and stories of the past, at
533 first they said that they have none, or rather
[124] that they had forgotten what they might have had. I prodded on and told them about the Balai Pustaka man getting stories of Indonesia for schools. They loosened up a bit, and it seems that they do have plenty. I instructed the assistant to get a few as samples. They said

[1] [See p.70 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat.113--Analyst]

The Demon or

614 Ili Djadi are the original people here because
173 the Padji are gone. They also are found else-
621 where, and where they and the Padji are found
829 together, as in Adonara, they still fight.
[578] The constant murders there are partly caused by this endless feud. They never live in the same kampong together.

3. Sina Djawa. These are descendants of people who came from the west. There are suku here which came from there. Thus the suku Lewonuhah (kampong, island) of Leloba is of Sina Djawa. So is the suku Lewato of Wailolong.

4. Tenemau. These people came from the submerged island Kroko Putang. There are suku here from these people. Thus, Lewarita suku of Wailolong is Tenemau. In the ceremony this
[769] morning the genealogy used to call the ancestors went back to the Tenemau. He says you can tell at once the origin of any suku by listening to the genealogies recited at the rites, because the ancestors are called.

582 Then we got onto the inter-kampong marriage
924 system, and this is not so complicated as the intra-kampong marriage system. I jokingly said that perhaps he got so tired figuring out the internal system that he decided to make the extra kampong rules simpler. He was amused. He also seemed amazed at the building-up process of anthropological research which I use; for example, when I first asked the names of the eight kampongs and then went right on to ask the names of the sons of Lenurat, he saw that
[791] I was getting directly at the system. He said that if the folk here heard me leading straight into the heart of the complete cosmogony they would think me a suwanggi. I also said jokingly that they couldn't call me a pontianak. He was also delighted with my admiration of how everything here falls into a system. He has learned
124 the word "sistim" and uses it all the time. He

Wae
●124 has also adopted the term kekuatan adjaib, and loves it.

582
614 The rules are as follows:

Wailolong man	marries	Leloba woman
I		II-2, III
II		II-2, III
III		I-2, I-3a, IV
IV		I-1, II-1
V		I-1a

Thus no man of Wailolong marries a Lewodoreng woman of Leloba.

Leloba man	marries	Wailolong woman
I-1a		V
I-1b		III
I-2		I
I-3a		?
I-3b		I
II-1		III
II-2		IV
III-1		IV, V
III-2		IV, V
III-3		IV, V
IV-1a		I-c
IV-1b		I-c
V-1		I, II
V-2		I, II

614
565 This brought out certain problems with the material recorded earlier. The subsibs in each suku are ranked according to first, second, and in some cases third. The terms are waru'i, waktukang, and tuhowutung. These mean, approximately, first, middle and last. Now we see that certain suku, subsuku, and sub-subsuku names are of one kind and some of another, and some have two names showing different meanings. These

Wae

582 I asked if there were many marriages between
614 Wailolong and Leloba. He said that before
177 there were many because they were allies and
578 nearby. In 1912, however, when the Dutch came
797 in, his father, who was the head man of Leloba, decided it was useless to fight. Wailolong, however, decided to resist. This strained the friendly relations which had existed before, and until recently there have not been too many marriages. I also wonder, inasmuch as he mentioned in this connection that missionaries entered the region in 1907, whether the more rapid Christianization of Leloba might not also have strained relations with the relatively resistant Wailolong.

124 After telling me that he was in fine spirits
177 because my pyribenzamine had cured his asthma,
578 he said he was also happy because he got such
123 a fine reception in Wailolong when he went from
609 house to house getting the census material. He had been afraid of this, and thought that the people would snub him. This would have made him much ashamed. This was also why he insisted that we get the kakang to order the Wailolong folk to give the information. Now he reports that he was received with open arms and that the Wailolong folk say they are delighted that a big man of Leloba is coming among them to work, and that also big men from the United States are getting their names and their customs down on paper. They said that they felt submerged for many years (and their kampong looks a bit dingy and dispirited) and that now they are having a rise. It looks to me as though Roy really feared a bad time, and this shows that the probable relations between these two communities were really distant until we came. We may have brought peace and good
609 will to the two kampongs. It is also amusing
123 to note his remark that when we first appeared,

We.

831 goat; and buffalo?). During other months they
614 may eat such food. This figures out to be
241 roughly about one half of the year. Some of
796 the ama have no nu'a luka, for example, Ama
784 Rere. Indeed, Roy says they must not be too
strict about this system because there are
plenty of holes in the ideal scheme. As we
115 were finishing up the work he got a note tell-
124 ing him to meet the Radja at the kakang's
house for a conference. Evidently he is be-
coming a big man here. We are perhaps partly
responsible.

He is making a map, and his daughter, who goes to the nun's school in Larantuka, is doing the drawing.

The next morning, Sunday, we went back, and
632 arrived while church services were being held.
796 They expected the Radja to visit today, so they
had removed a section of the fence to let his
car in. He never showed up, which was a disap-
pointment to them, as they were all waiting
[621] around. The name of the section of Wailolong
where we saw the rite yesterday is Apukule(ng).

We asked about the bonds of friendship and
578 enemy relations here. It is clear that seven
721 of the kampongs are always friendly, and are
never at war with one another. The eighth,
Riang Kamië, has been the traditional enemy of
each of them in turn. They are all descendants
of Lenurat, whereas the folk of Rian Kamië are
descended mainly from Kroko Putang folk, mixed
in with some Sina Djawa. Most enmity against
Riang Kamië has been, as usual, by kampongs
bordering Riang Kamië. Always, border wars are
the most frequent here. Thus, Leloba, Wailo-
long, and Lewohala are involved. The tradi-
tional enemy kampong is Lewowitin. The others
are brothers, just as in fact or legend their
founders were.

The main causes of wars were, in order:

We

764 bells in the chapel tolled and the service was held. The body was buried in the cemetery.

Roy has been full of life since I gave him
•124 some medicine for his asthma. He jokes and
123 laughs. He had a meeting of the Red Cross yesterday, and the Radja and Dr. Sutomo and other notables were there. He knocked them out with the new words he has learned from me (sistim, desas-desus, kekuatan adjaib, etc.). They asked how this came about, and he said that the American professor was responsible. He told the priest that I was better than Vatter,[1] as we talk over each point at length, and I tell him details too, and then we discuss everything. Also, he says, everything is told to me and nothing is hidden, as he puts it. He tells the people, even in front of me, that I am like a suwanggi, because I learn so fast and come with material that an outsider should not know, and because I anticipate things that are not yet told. At one point, he said that I could join up and become a member of the Kottang sib.

The ratio between men and women here is about
162 fifty-fifty. They think this is all right.
793 Perhaps only two per cent of the women never
589 marry, and it is exceedingly rare to find an old bachelor. There are no nuns or priests in Wailolong yet. Leloba has one nun now. There is a case in Lewohala at the present time of a father making a terrific fuss because his daughter wants to become a nun and his son wants to go to a seminary. (Is he a pagan?)

586 Formerly there was no divorce according to
178 adat. There are two pagan cases in Wailolong and this is considered new.

684 I asked about adultery, and Roy said that in the old days if there was a case of adultery, the woman remained the man's wife, but a fine had to be paid. Or, if the couple were found

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

634
632 not so long ago there were three radjas there[1]: Until
197 Sikka, Kangae and Nita, and there was trouble over putting Sikka in full power. This has never stopped. Arriens[2] agrees that the Dutch were a bit mad to chop things up this way. When he was new here the Assistant Resident sent him to Tana Ai to find out what the situation was. He found that the kapitan there had had a previous meeting with the kepalas warning them to say that everything was all right. Arriens pumped them and the whole thing came out. The Dutch, he said, met the radjas they liked and took their word to the effect that their areas were much larger than they actually were. (But why not try to make a better go of it later on, when they still were able to do as they pleased?) There is little excuse for the stupidity of the government. He has also
[661] heard of the fantastic behavior in regard to the rulers here, many of whom are crazy and others are certainly cruel. I can imagine the dirty work which goes on among the radjas. This must end.

697 In regard to the "jail parade" in Ruteng,
526 Arriens[2] said that in Kalabahi [on Alor], when it is Queen's Day, the regular event is a tug of war between teams of jail birds. They do this with a will, and after it each one gets a cake of soap.

R Roworeke: I started to work again here on
124 Thursday, January 11. It is depressing to be
624 with these inferior informants again after working with the guru Roy, but the secretary is better now since the kapitan is not here. Today two of the four mandurs of Roworeke were present and also the kepala kampong of Wolofeo. His kampong is located at kilometer 17 and is one kilometer up hill from the road. However, he has a house in Roworeke too. When he is away, the mandur is his deputy.

[1] [i.e., in Tana Ai--Analyst]
[2] [i.e., Controleur at Ende--Analyst]

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836 be very angry, and I think he said that he might kill her. As for the men, he says that the situation may be different, as there were easy women in the kampong, that is, for example, widows whom a boy might get. Thus, it seems that unlike remote Wailolong and Leloba, the boys tended to get some sex experience premaritally, but the girls were regularly virgins until marriage. The same situation exists today, he says. I guess there is little doubt that this is outside the free premarital belt.

582 178 Probably as astonishing a thing as I have seen in regard to marriage here is the younger age which they say now prevails everywhere. They are sure of this, and indeed they shout it out. This is a real and deep change.

124 123 181 Today the old mother of the kapitan sat with us, and had our questions translated for her. Also, there was a decent old lad there. He understood Malay and seemed to speak it too. He was middle-aged. There was the usual impolite talking while I tried to talk, and looking at the clock, even ringing the alarm at noon. And the secretary is as bad as the others. Then at the end, after I had heard enough in Endenese to know that they had been talking of it all the way through, the kapitan comes up to me and asks me to get a tanda mata (souvenir) for him too, that is, a briefcase. I said I would try to get one in Batavia as there was no place to get a good one here, but they have evidently talked that over and do not trust me, as he said, "Why not get one in the toko here and give it to me?" Then the secretary said on the way out that a good one for the kapitan would be the kind of zipper bag I carry. They are impolite, and so stupid that they think they can delude me. They have no shame, and they are crafty. They constantly pass around my cigarette case, obviously considering whether they might ask for one of those too.

797 Waibalun?). There must have been hundreds of them in this procession. Following this there was a long parade of a lot more. Perhaps this was the Confreria Santa Maria, the underground men's organization that kept Catholicism going in the kampongs during the long time when the Portuguese missionaries were not here. The second guru in Leloba told me that the white sheet cloak I saw on him as he was leading a funeral last week was the robe of the Confreria. In spite of everything, the mission is the only modern, efficient, and perhaps one of the few honest (how honest?) things in Flores.

I am glad I shall be leaving this truly
377 forsaken island before long. It gets on one's
181 nerves. One can't buy anything, few places have electric lights (the ones here just went off, but miraculously came on again after a few minutes), everything is broken down, the people are stupid, the radjas are hopeless.

Larantuka: I spent a final three days in
●124 Leloba finishing up the schedule on Wailolong, and it was lucky I did this, because, as usual, my assistants (the same everywhere in Indonesia so far, except in Makassar) did not finish the answers. They did do the census and the map. Anyway, I got onto the schedule at once, covering old spots which were not filled in yet, and finishing what was left undone.

We In 1913 the Dutch forced the people to move
648 down from the old hill location to the present
361 location of Wailolong. Formerly, it was located one-half kilometer from Leloba. Then, in 1922, it was allowed to move back, but it moved not all the way back to its former location, but only as far as it is now. This whole business is typical of the Dutch administration in the worst days, when, for the sake of "peace, order, and taxes," and for all I know, the mission, they made these poor people move out of the

Wae

727 was then that Keweluk said it was taboo to kill
266 (to kill women only evidently?). Maybe Vatter[1]
has a version? Anyway, he did admit that when
an enemy was captured in war, although they
didn't kill him in the korke (he was a bit
shocked at the idea), they would kill him out-
side the kampong. His father did this, which
was quite decent after all!

He insists that there was no cannibalism at
754 all, except that formerly (and even today?) the
[266] suwanggi did it. They were and are evidently
the devils here. They do the things that other
people wouldn't. I wonder if perhaps they are
the scapegoats for past practices. That is,
they say that their ancestors never did such
things, only the suwanggi did them. But, note
that there were plenty of suwanggi. Roy's
father had to kill fourteen in one day in Le-
loba alone! There is something fishy here.
Either he won't tell everything, or else he has
forgotten, or else I am really wrong to suspect
him.

681 The death punishment was given only to suwang-
684 gi (again the devils). It was also given in
cases of adultery if the offenders were caught
red handed.

Thus my work in Leloba--Wailolong ended. Roy
115 is a fine old fellow. His only requests were to
●124 ride with me if I happened to be going the "same"
way," and to take his relatives and family along.
He also wanted some photographs, and I will send
him a photograph of me. And a copy of my book.
I will also send him some medicine for asthma.
How different he is from the begging and crafty
Endenese.

Roy probably won't live much longer. He is a
dramatic figure.

He, more than anyone else, probably, killed
off paganism here. But he retains the tolerance
and respect for his ancestors, and a knowledge
of and pride in the legends and old things.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

R

	Men	married	Women
614	Djawa		Some other
582	Rewarangga		Wanda
	Wanda		Some other

At all crucial points, he doesn't know! But he does say that once it was not allowed to marry in the suku. And he also says that a daughter must not marry into her father's suku (and yet I am sure there are some cases), while a son by preference should marry into his mother's suku. He also says that if once one marries into a suku, the sons should continue this custom. This is why he says his son should marry into his wife's suku. Thus clearly we have mother's brother's daughter preference, and father's sister's daughter taboo. And they seem to have some memory of a regular circulating scheme so based. However, the system has broken down, and so has the exogamy to some extent (but my guess is that the records will show few if any endogamous marriages). The trouble is, I had no time to ask or rather have him investigate how many of the present marriages of men are with women of their mother's suku. I will try to do a little detective work from the records. Because of the Hebrew "bin"
[551] system of names, I may be able to spot father and son. Anyway, I may be able to see whether there is any pattern to the suku marriage choices of the men.

114 I pulled out of Ende for the last time on January 21, and had a difficult time getting across the Nangaba, which is still in flood. With pushing, I made it. The motor stalled on me, as it is filty. It was a long day across to Ruteng, but I had no further trouble.

We Weol: I started the last stretch of a week
● 124 here on January 23, on Tuesday. I went to the

We

●124 kampong, Tjantjar, and there the guru and the other person and a pastor from Maumere were found. The guru had received no letter from van Bekkum, and was afraid to start work until he had it. Also, there was an inspection of schools today. I got angry, and threatened to leave the place. Then we decided to go to Ruteng to van Bekkum, and when there it turned out that the latter had sent the leave papers to Pau, the guru's kampong, one-half kilometer from the mission, but it never reached there, or something happened. Anyway, we finally got things straightened out and we began work at the pasanggrahan. Tomorrow I will be at Weol.

We started by inspecting the records, which, though they have been filled out, have many holes. His map is good, but needs touching up. I don't know yet how his answers are. As for the questionnaire, I got as far as the end of the Weol names, but not onto the Ndung names. The following are some of the holes:

592 1. In exactly which houses do the various
582 households live? There are only six houses in
595 Weol (nine houses in Ndung). Incidentally, I note much polygamy. The kepala kampong has six wives. There are plenty of extra-kampong marriages, as there must be if there is kampong exogamy. But there are some endogamous va'u marriages. So far there are no endogamous panga marriages. Each house has a tu'a mbaru, and if in a house there is a tu'a panga he is also the tu'a mbaru. But there is one house, that of tu'a tenu, which has the latter for the tu'a mbaru, but there is another tu'a panga therein. There are tu'a mbaru who are not tu'a panga.

2. Religion is not noted.

565 3. The assistant did not note the class and clan and totem of those who married into the kampong, who were mostly women, but some were

We

583 who may not have paid the bride price, and that
591 is why they are living matrilocally (260, 285, 291, 296, 304, 347, and 352).

567 Then came the trouble. I saw that there
124 were no slaves on the list, yet Coolhaas[1] said there are many slaves here, especially in Rahong, this dalu. He said that this may be true, but that the people just will not tell him who might be descended from slaves. This is the trouble I get into by using a lad who is not from the kampong himself. But this brought up something else. He is very afraid of everything. Yesterday he wouldn't start work until he had permission from van Bekkum[2] in writing. Also, he worries today lest the inspector find anything wrong with his school work. And he is very much afraid of my asking embarrassing questions. I tried to get him to guess how many slaves there were in the kampong, but he would not. He wouldn't even say how many he thought there are in his own kampong. Maybe this is one of the sorest points here. Maybe it is because they themselves were so often enslaved by the kraeng and others and had to pay taxes in slaves to Bima. I tried to shame him into trying harder to give me some information on this by saying that I thought I would have to write that maybe Manggarai had few or no slaves because they were slaves themselves. This shook him, and he even admitted it in a way.

567 As far as I could get it, the system is something like this. In the kampongs Veol and Ndung there probably never were very many slaves, because these people were pretty poor before, and indeed they had to pay quite a bit in tribute to the alien rulers. It was even hard for them to keep slaves, perhaps, because they had to pay a tax in slaves (but this may not have been very much). Anyway, Cornelius[3] says there were plenty of slaves in some other places, and he

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e., pastor at Ruteng -- Analyst]
[3] [i.e., the assistant]

We

565 but a Minangkabau. He belongs to a soccer
634 team called ATOM (Anak Tanah Orang Manggarai).
578 Is there any "nationalistic" resurgence under the merdeka stuff here? Who would lead? There are only the gelarang. I can see a good chance for elective democracy here, because (1) the old adat system lives, and its class levels are minimal (as the assistant says, the gelarang are "middle"), (2) the dalu may represent Bima rule (and the assistant insists that they are of alien origin), (3) the radja represents the oppression of the kraeng of Todo and Pongkor. Thus the old shakiness of the Flores radjas is even more remarkable here, and the radja is very new anyway.

[124] But the assistant is not ready to talk. I tried to stir up things by saying that perhaps in twenty years there would be no more radjas in Flores. But I think the lesson of oppression has been too recent. It will take a little time for the revolution, if any, to get going in Flores.

565 The kraeng said, when I asked if there was
614 any difference in looks between the classes,
[576] that it was a matter of manners (he said it was a matter of with whom one associates) and money. But he said that you can tell by the manners. I get a definite impression that the kraeng are proud, and perhaps a bit snobbish. I then tried to get at the class business via the clans. I got this, which jibes with the kampongs, as the kampongs are largely clan units, although there is some mixture:

(1) There are one hundred per cent gelarang va'u, e.g., Veol.

(2) There are one hundred per cent leke va'u, e.g., Adjang and the other formerly lampang kampongs, Levat, and the other formerly sekontu va'u, and Lerong, and the other formerly mangko' pitu va'u.

We

342 or another va'u, who will not carry the naga
776 with them. They buy entirely new wood, even to the very small pieces. They can use no part of the old house. I can see a house built with modern tools being torn down because the naga had turned bad (here again is an interesting case of technique and adat, the new and the old).

•124 This is all good information, but it came entirely through questioning, and I had to drag things out a bit, because he is very slow in giving information on his own. Here again I see the secrecy, the reluctance, and the fear which is exhibited so often here. He is under a strain, I think. He sets his jaw and almost groans as the information is pulled out.

This is all new material. I doubt that much of it if any has been published.

166 In the past fifty years I do not know how many people have come to live in this kampong area, but right now the entrants are as follows:

Ndung: 29 women have married in.
9 men have married in.
14 couples have moved in from the outside.

Veol: 27 women have married in.
4 men have married in.
4 couples have moved in from the outside.

None of the people who have come into these kampongs from other areas has come from far away. The farthest that any of them has come from is Todo. I made a list of every case, but there is no use to keep it, because there is no pattern. They are all from nearby places. The suku information is more important in order to see what suku have married in.

The incomers are of three types: women who normally marry in; men who abnormally come to live matrilocally, either because they have paid

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609 presence too. They are always apprehensive. They are afraid of new things, such as schools (at least when they first came in). They are an apprehensive lot, and their history offers a good explanation. I can see this even in the assistant. Also, as the Maumere pastor says, they are extremely respectful. They hold one hand to receive a cigarette, and the tuan tanah [576] and others, when they leave me, bend way over. Sikka, he says, is different.

576 171 These people remind me of the "oppressed" and noble-ridden Buginese and Makassarese, and indeed through their contact with Bima they came under the same system of respect and the like. The pastor says that fifteen years ago they crept before a superior. How different they are from the Ambonese, or even to some degree different from the Larantuka and Ende people, although the latter are more this way (but how much less!). The Toradja were much different too. They were not hit so hard by the Buginese slave raids evidently. And it must be remembered that Buginese administration never really penetrated Toradja land.

797 The church does not mix in politics here.

The Catholics entered here about 1922. They went slow, and they are still not moving at a very fast rate. About fifty per cent of the population here now is Christian, says the assistant. In getting information for the records [595] the assistant found it difficult to get information on polygamy. ●124 I note that there are several interesting cases. For example, the tuan tanah of Veol rode to Ruteng with me today, with his second wife, who is young. She is a Catholic, but they were not married in church. The kepala kampong has six wives, and number five is Catholic, but there was no church wedding in this case either. However, there are other troubles in getting information, and he

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124 will tell them. He says that the pastors do
[797] not like it if a guru gets too zealous. They
want him to respect the old ways and go slowly.
This is indeed crafty.

771 Among the thirty-nine dalu, about twenty of
565 them are Christian, says the kraeng. About
796 thirty per cent of the gelarang are Christian,
183 says the kraeng, but the assistant says that
this is true only of their heirs apparent.
The trouble in regard to the rites which the
gelarang must lead is still to come. For example, the heir apparent of the Veol gelarang is Serai, who is about twenty-five years old and a Catholic. What will happen? The assistant says that he must lead the rites, but they will have troubles reconciling the old with the new Catholic ways. But so far everyone, including the Catholics, must go through the ceremonies, because they are so closely related to their livelihood. Agriculture, on which everything depends, is unthinkable without the rites!

601 Larantuka: I met Oudehand, "controleur" at
[115] Waingapu in Sumba, and had a talk with him.
He worked in Leloba and is writing an article for "Indonesia" about the adat there. We got onto the subject of kinship terms, and he had this to say. He says that opu is the term for affinal relationships. This goes for both sides. Thus, with the qualifier belake (my term for mother's brother) opu belake means all the relatives with whom a man is related by marriage, that is, his wife's (mother's brother's daughter) group. And on the other side, he says opu wai(ng) means all the relatives-in-law on the father's sister's side, i.e., the man's sister's relatives-in-law. The general term opu, he says, he got for mother's brother, mother's brother's son, and father's sister (all man speaking), and perhaps also father's sister's son (man speaking).

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533 school[1] is overcrowded, and it is the only place
797 where girls can rise above the lowest level in
[562] Manggarai. There were plenty of sisters around. The whole thing shows the good organization of the Catholics here.

[124] I used the last two days of work here to get through the rest of the schedule.

585 For weddings, the Christians go to church for a service as well as going through the old rites.
583 Formerly the bride price was not payable in money, but today it is, in part. The bride price (padja) includes buffaloes, horses, and formerly copper or brass (?) boxes. There are no more of these last objects, and money has been substituted for them. Also, cattle are now used, but were not included formerly.

The return gift (vida) includes cloth, bracelets, ear ornaments, etc. Also included are small elephant teeth (used as pendants on bracelets). They are about two inches long. The bride price goes to the girl's family, and the return gift to the boy's family. Formerly the bride price was not very high. Today it is higher. An average bride price includes about five animals.

Both Catholics and pagans still pay the bride
[591] price and make the return gift. If a bride
[611] price is not paid, the couple must live matrilocally until it is paid. However, the children are always patrilineally descended.

582 The distances of mate selection are about the
614 same as they were fifty years ago. There is a bit more marriage within the va'u, which was taboo before. However, the panga remain exogamous.

476 If the relatives-in-law live too far off,
602 there is no real, actual mutual aid. If they
614 are near, mutual aid is carried out between three groups: one's own va'u ana rona, and ana vina. The help comes especially in aiding a help-mate

1 [i.e., at Veol.—Analyst]

We

585 all of the men in the kampong come on horses. The bride may not dismount nor touch the earth, but is lifted off on the saddle. At the threshold she steps off the saddle and crushes an egg under her foot. The groom enters too. Songs are sung and a pig is killed as she en-
[783] ters ("to clean her feet" meaning evidently to clean the soil of her home kampong off or to remove bonds therewith). This indeed is the rite that removes her totem taboo and makes her take on her husband's totem. It is called ela penteng pitak, which indeed means to clean off the mud. Thus she leaves the old and takes on the new tjek'i. Thus she has entered her husband's va'u. Then there is a
[591] feast and they live patrilocally.

583 If there is no bride price paid, the boy
591 merely goes and moves in with the girl's fam-
585 ily. There is no ceremony, or perhaps it is a
●[124] little one. This is not regarded as nice (and note he says that he is afraid they might not tell him who in Veol and Ndung did not pay the bride price, as they are sensitive about this. He will send me a letter later about this and also about the percentage of mother's brother's daughter marriages). Only the poor people marry in this fashion.

When the bride price is finally paid, the real wedding ritual occurs as above. It may be ten years later. I made sure of this by laughingly saying that perhaps in such a case when they have the procession from the girl's to the boy's house their children go along too. And they said that that was correct. If the couple are Christian, they have a church wedding one day before the numpang. All the rest of the rite is the same.

864 There is no need for sex instruction, as the children see everything when they are still very young in these crowded houses. They are

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538 but many are still remembered. I get the idea that the decline here is not so great as in many other areas.

484 There is practically no desire here yet to go to places which are "happier."

721 There was no head-hunting here at any time,
266 nor was there any cannibalism, although they did drink blood for revenge pleasure in war. There was no human sacrifice and no torture.

681 The death punishment was given for murder, a slave having sex relations with a kraeng woman, primary incest (but more distant incest was punished by a purifying rite only). The way the death punishment was carried out here and in Pongkor was to throw the victim down into a river from a high point.

411 Note: To kill a beast the people here use
231 a spear or a long knife. It is nearly always the latter.

778 The tjompang tree may be only either waringin
824 or dadap.

515 I see plenty of lice-plucking here. The pretty wife of the head guru I saw plucking the head of another woman. And I see this all over. And here, judging by the smell, they seldom bathe. I see no bathing places. Toilets are evidently holes in the ground enclosed by a screen. I don't remember seeing lice-plucking in Makassar or Buginese areas, but perhaps they do it too. I also do not remember seeing it in Ambon. The Toradja certainly do it. Note that the Endenese and people in Larantuka bathe. The Toradja don't. I think it is probably mountain people (especially the dirty Ngada) who do not bathe and also who have more lice. In this regard, note the Manggarai Ngada, Toradja, and Batak. The Minangkabau, although living in the mountains, bathe (a sign of former coastal life?).

● 124 Thus ended the Manggarai work, and the as-

We

●124 sistant, Cornelius, was fine. I left him a stamped envelope and paper to get information on the bride price and mother's brother's daughter marriage frequency.

114 Van Bekkum[1] showed me a great volume typed
124 before the war by an assistant of his on Manggarai marriage customs. It was only two-thirds done, and he needs another year to complete it. It is all planned out and indexed. It is monumental and should be translated and published. Van Bekkum says that only Cornelius could do the book. He also went on a several months field trip for the mission to Pulu Island, off the Maumere coast, where there was said to have been an aboriginal population. He has a manuscript on the buffalo sacrifice there.

He is a remarkable fellow and importuned me only a little for palm wine and tobacco for the old men.

574 The last day we went along to the near end
123 of the road, to kampong Anam, one of the dalu
[273] kampongs. Here there were plenty of kraeng with hangovers, and some still a bit drunk. This is a very large kampong, with perhaps a population of six hundred. There is a tjompang in it and several tuan tanah. At the tjompang, which had stones newly and nicely arranged, were sticks stuck with wood chips on them with rice and bits of other types of food, offered at the New Year feast. I was invited into the main tuan tanah house, and there I sat with lots of men in a circle, on mats and on mat cushions. Women played fine drum and gong music, and men sang fine sanda songs, with solos and choruses.
[782] Hanging on the rafter near the center was the main naga bamboo food shelf, and in each family section along the walls were similar ones. Food was placed on them. The house was rectan-
[342] gular (there are no more tuan tanah houses in

1 [pastor at Ruteng --Analyst]

5: Kennedy--409 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OBl Indonesia
Flores OF9

Wae

	House	Suku	"Ward"
621	8	Datong (wife Hurint	Hurint
614	15	Lewodoreng	Hurint
582	17	Outside (guru)	Lewodoreng
592	18	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	21	Datong (wife Hurint	Hurint
	25	Hurint	Datong
	31	Hurint	Datong
	33	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	37	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	41	Leworita	Lewodoreng
	42	Datong	Lewodoreng
	45	Leworita (wife Datong)	Datong
	47	Leworita	Lewodoreng
	55	Lewodoreng (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	62	Hurint	Leworita
	65	Lewato	Leworita
	66	Hurint (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	67	Leworita (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	68	Lewodoreng	Lewato
	73	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	74	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	75	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	78	Datong	Lewato
	79	Leworita	Lewato
	80	Hurint	Leworita
	81	Hurint (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	82	Hurint	Leworita
	83	Datong (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	87	Leworita	Lewato
	89	Hurint	Leworita

Thus, out of 100 houses, 30 are "out of place." Of these, however, the wife belongs to the "ward of residence" in fourteen cases. This leaves only sixteen cases which are really "out of place."

624 I tried to fill in the offices and ran into
124 some trouble. By using the records and the map
614 on which he indicated the houses of the officials,

5: Kennedy--410 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OBl Indonesia
Flores OF-9

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[124]

I got the following information. However, in many cases the records did not jibe with the map, and others are questionable, so I sent him a letter about this.

Office	No.
Ama Datong kelake	24
Ama Datong ne'a luka	26
Ama Datong tuno wudjo	
Ama Datong Ama Radja kelake (rank 2)	24
Ama Datong Ama Radja ne'a luka	26
Ama Datong Ama Radja tuno wudjo	
Ama Datong Ama Belolong kelake (rank 1)	35 (277 aide)
Ama Datong Ama Belolong ne'a luka	36
Ama Datong Ama Belolong tuno wudjo	
Ama Datong Ama Rere Kelake (no rank)	14
Ama Datong Ama Rere ne'a luka	(none)
Ama Datong Ama Rere tuno wudjo	
Kepala kottang	140 (Belolong)
Leworita kelake	345
Leworita ne'a luka	361
Leworita tuno wudjo	355
Leworita Subamaking kelake (rank 1)	345 (616 aide)
Leworita Subamaking ne'a luka	361
Leworita Subamaking tuno wudjo	355
Leworita Harutmaking kelake (rank 2)	304
Leworita Harutmaking ne'a luka	
Leworita Harutmaking tuno wudjo	245
Leworita Tapupukang kelake (rank 3)	375
Leworita Tapupukang ne'a luka	
Leworita Tapupukang tuno wudjo	
Kepala Keleng	366 (Harutmaking)
Ama Hurint kelake	186
Ama Hurint ne'a luka	
Ama Hurint tuno wudjo	

5: Kennedy--427 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

Wa

Clans

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Veol	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol Clan	17	7	70	94
Other Clans	6	28	12	46
Total	23	35	82	140

Ndung	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol Clan	18	17	57	92
Other Clans	21	39	54	114
Total	39	56	111	206

Total				
Veol Clan	35	24	127	186
Other Clans	27	67	66	160
Total	62	91	193	346

[591] I can see that Veol keeps to the patrilocal rule, and that there is a great preponderance of the Veol clan. This is more evident in Veol than in Ndung, where there are lots of matrilocal couples, and also many outsiders. In regard to the marriage pairs, this can be seen below:

Marriage Pairs (including Widows)

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	Veol	Ndung	Total
Man (Veol)--Woman (Other)	23	22	45
Woman (Veol)--Man (Other)	4	10	14
Other--Other	4	15	19
Man (Veol)--Woman (Veol) (different panga)	3	6	9

582
●124

There is no use working out every marriage pair, because I can see that there is no system of marriage classes here. I note quite a few clearly mother's brother's daughter (tungku)

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582 marriages, and the assistant will send a letter
[124] to me about this later.

[591] He will also send me a letter about how many of the matrilocal residence cases are because of a failure to pay the bride price.

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Clan Membership or Derivation: Veol

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol	17	7	70	94
Paka	3	0	6	9
Leda	1	2	2	5
Leko	1	1	2	4
Poka	0	3	0	3
Papang	1	0	2	3
Kepe		2		2
Laru		1		1
Kole		1		1
Ling		1		1
Taga		2		2
Dalo		2		2
Nulang		1		1
Ndadjung		1		1
Tuke		1		1
Watang		1		1
P. Leok		2		2
Ndehes		2		2
Kuleng		1		1
Tjumbi		1		1
Adjang		1		1
Tjarep		1		1
Nanu		1		1
Total	23	35	82	140

125

Indonesia OB1
Borneo OC1
Land Dyak OC8
Flores OF9
Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8
Ambon OH4
Ceram OH9

/For a reproduction of the schedule employed by Raymond Kennedy on his 1949-50 field trip to various areas of Indonesia, see 3.: Kennedy, OB1 Indonesia, category 116, pp. 230-241./

123 panda, a kampong about thirty kilometers to the
west along the coast road. The drive was very
133 scary above tremendous cliffs above the sea,
but the scenery was magnificent, with Pulo Ende
in the bay and the mountains all around. The
road is extremely dangerous, especially when
the rains come. The kampongs here seem to be
[771] mainly Mohammedan. They are shabby. Only one
36 side, that which faces the sea, of Pulo Ende,
is inhabited.

123 When we returned it was too late, although the
men were sitting in the pasanggrahan. We talked
[582] for a little while and I got some information on
the non-existence of strict exogamous marriage
rules. We also talked a little about a map and
the schedule with the assistant. Then we took
them back to the kampong. We did nothing more
that day, but the kapitan suggested that we go to
Kilimutu, the colored lake mountain, on the next
day, Sunday. I refused at first, but then thought
that I might as well and get it over. I note that
[181] these people are not retiring and respectful like
the Buginese, although the kapitan is really quite
polite. Still he has an eye on the jeep as a
means of getting around. They are all mad over
the camera and talk constantly about photographs
I should take and give to them. I could easily
lose my patience with them. They keep asking for
things.

126 The next day we went to the kampong at seven
123 in the morning and tried to get away fast. But
we had to take photographs, and I was almost de-
luged with requests for more from all sides. I
took pictures of the two old mosa laki, the
kapitan, etc. The old mother of the kapitan, a
good type with the usual betel teeth, asked me
through the interpreter to take her photograph
before she died. I said I would on the return
123 from the lakes. Finally we got off, and I had a
terrible struggle insisting that I could take

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778 Theyagreed that Ndoeria had rebuilt many rumah pemali. I must go there sometime.

574 Back in Roworeke, the kapitan gave us sweet soft drinks and port wine (Chinese). Then he put 291 on his adat dress, including a batik headcloth 386 which was winged in front, and a fine ikat slen- [287] dang, and a woven sarong. There seems to be no more tapa around here. The colors of the woven and ikat stuff are dark, including blue, black, and dull red. They are not very attractive, and the cloth is quite heavy. I saw women with baskets full of leafy stuff (small leaves) and I asked what was inside. They said tarum [indigo] and that it is used to make the blue and black dye. Thus they still use locally made dyes, but in Roworeke the red dye is bought in a store.

● 126 I took a picture of the kapitan and his wife and family including the fine type old mother. 621 We then started on a tour of the kampong. We went first across the road to Watu Roga. It is small and evidently most of the Wanda suku are. 342 There is one large house, but most of the others 178 are rather small. They are not of the high pitched roof type. I was told that before the war there were more of the old high roof type, but the Japanese leveled many of them to make the people move into the hills as they said the population was too dense near the town. I can't quite get the point but new houses tend to be low, four sloped roofed, rather long and squat in type, but still look primitive because of the alang-alang thatched roof and many with the coconut leaf midrib walls. The walls, however, are usually low or invisible because they are under the low-hanging roof. Hence they are hooded.

349 In Watu Roga there is a high concrete struc- 769 ture looking something like a watchtower with 614 steps leading up. It has a four-sloped tin roof. 766 There is a low wall around a small rectangular space under the roof. The flooring is of tile,

349 and in the corner is a long wooden drum used in
769 certain ceremonies. Most amazing, however, is
614 a box under the roof and set on planks across
766 beams. This box is covered with old ikat clothes
and measures about 3x2x2 feet. In it are the
bones of the great ancestor of the Wanda suku.
The kapitan said they are "hundreds of years"
old. When they have a suku feast, hundreds of
people come here and kill buffaloes and dance and
sing and pray, asking the ancestors for favors.
They do not call them but call on them. All a-
764 round are the stone heap and slab graves of
lesser folk. Bodies put in them are bound in the
knee-to-chest posture. They often are too small
to allow lying down anyway. I was told that many
are placed in one cist, and new bodies are put in
by lifting the slab and moving the old bones over.

286 I saw a back-bar loom and two women spinning
126 on primitive wheels from cotton fluff. It is im-
181 pressive and the threads they make are good.
One old and one young woman were so employed. I
started to take a photograph of the old one and
a young lady came up and said that she was his
mother and that if I took a photograph of her I
had to give him one too. I closed the camera and
went away. These are the least agreeable folk I
have met yet in Indonesia. Still there are plenty
of fine people here. Nevertheless, they are not
uniformly polite as, for example, are most of the
Buginese.

181 We then got out of Watu Roga, leaving discon-
126 tent, it seemed, as we had taken photographs but
given none to the people as we had done across
the road in Roworeke. I get the impression that
the Watu Roga folk are a bit antagonistic possibly
to the people in Roworeke. I also suspect that
these Ende people are aggressive and competitive
and grasping anyway.

621 Then we went around the sections of Roworeke.
These are, so far as I can get them up to now:
[i.e., Watu Roga.—Analyst]

R

796 done in an excited pagan style, although on the
535 occasion of a Christian festival. We saw
144 clearly the difference between East and West Flores as far as racial composition is concerned. As you pass into Lio hills the proto-Malay becomes much more marked, though the Negroid element is still there. Some of the women are remarkably white. Such women are seldom or never seen in East Flores.

797 About the Malay here: When they want to say someone is converted, in Larantuka, they say that he "ikut Rom" [follows Rome]. The titles
554 are interesting: the territorial priest of
793 Flores is Tuan Regionale; then there are the Tuan Boswesen, Tuan Landbouw, Njonja HPB, Njonja AR (Assistant Resident), Njonja and Tuan Bestuur (Bestuurshoofd), and for a nun
[792] they do not use Njonja, but Tuan Zuster.
647 Note: The Controleur here is C. B. Arriens.

Although there is a general similarity in
342 house style all over East and Central Flores, there are differences. The tremendous high roofs are typical of Lio and Ende. The flat and large four-sloped ridges are found in Larantuka, and in between, in Sikka and Tana Ai, there is an intermediate form, with the four-slope ridge a bit on the rounded off side, and the whole thing appears to be smaller.

411 In East Flores especially the bow is still
224 used. We met a large band on Christmas not far
126 from Larantuka with bows and spears. They were coming up from a kampong with a large church. I asked if they were going to war or to hunt, and they said they were going to hunt deer. I took a photograph of them. They are always glad to be photographed. I can hardly take photographs, however, because they all rush in to be included, especially the children.

291 The style of clothing changes from place to
184 place, though here again there is a general

721 whips. Later the mandur of the pasanggrahan,
555 a Manggarai man from kampong Ruteng, said that girls especially like a man who has knocked out another's eye with a whip.! It looks like a head-hunting pattern, but so far I have gotten no response on the subject of head-hunting, and the priests say it did not exist here even in former times. I must check on this.

[126] We took photographs, and one of them was of
634 the Radja. He was a bit drunk, and said that
273 the dancers were hot inside too. He made what
537 seemed to me to be an unnecessary speech to
609 the men around him to the effect that we were Americans and not Dutch and as to why we were here. Later he said he was busy as this was the day of the kampong folk. He said he would see us later so that if we needed any help we could call on him, and he could also warn us of possible dangers. The latter reference was vague, and I can't see the point. He called a lad who came with a bottle of brandy and we had drinks in front of a great crowd. He wore a songko, which is strange for a Christian radja. Evidently, from what we hear, the Radja here has been in for only a short time, and this one is both young and new, as his father died recently (maybe not his father?)

614 Then we went back to the pasanggrahan and
582 talked with the mandur who said that in the Ruteng kampong there is still plenty of the old culture. He said it is possible to marry inside the va'u (this is the correct spelling) or outside. He said marriages usually occur outside. He said something about how if one partner was from the older sibling branch of the va'u and the other from the younger sibling branch, they may marry (could it be that here we have a subclan?) The assistant says they have panga inside the va'u, and he gave his own as the first, which I think means the older branch. Thus

! [i.e., during the ritualized mock warfare games; see p.92, c.rt. 116 --Analyst]

Every-
243 where around the earthen plaza there are corn
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They
looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the
peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it
were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with shelleyes. It was set in cement.

From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
132 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However,
124 when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from
Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of
two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we
had to stay overnight at the house of a former
kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
the present scribe. The former kapitan has the
[181] oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see
the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of
Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan.
He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and his cronies are taking everything. There is only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And
now they are asking the Christians to move up

R

000 tubu musu, but plenty were held formerly.

Thus ended my work in Roworeke, a trying
164 place. The last day, Sunday, I again had to go to Ndona to get the old dukun, who was coming to give the kepala kampong a final treatment. The old man looked at me with bleary eyes as he entered the jeep for the second time in his life (and probably the last), and he seemed a bit less scared. He took my hand to help him in. What was he thinking, if anything, about this which was probably his first direct meeting with a white man? I later asked the doctor in Ende what could have been the illness that caused the nose hemorrhage, and he said it was surely malaria tropica.

[126] I had to take a last photograph of the kapi-
661 tan, with his new bike, (and the giri tumba and a few others). The bike, Arriens[1] says, has been quite a case. Evidently the kapitan was avid for one and bought one for fl. 300.00. He then told the Radja and the latter scolded him, as he said he should have it for only fl. 150.00 on the distributie. Arriens said that he did not know about all of this when the kapitan and the Radja appeared and the Radja said why not give this man a bike. Arriens said that several other kapitan were in line for bikes ahead of him. However, the Radja said that the kapitan was doing good work and should have one. As I see the game, the kapitan, if he received the distributie bike, might sell the other one and get back something. Perhaps the Radja likes to keep one Christian kapitan, or perhaps the kapitan does good work. Or perhaps he is so dumb that he makes for little trouble.

651 Today, Sunday, the kapitan said there was plenty of trouble, because about fifty men say they will not pay taxes. He says it is because they think merdeka means no payment of taxes.

[1] [i.e. Controleur at Ende --Analyst]

Wa

582 sirable and that for hundreds of years the folk
835 had been doing this sort of thing (first cousin
827 marriages) without any ill effects, to counter
179 his saying that first cousin marriages caused poor offspring, for example, feeble-mindedness. He took this barrage with polite resignation, but said that he had seen plenty of bad cases of close inmarriage children. The probability is that there is some inbreeding chance of recessives coming out, at least enough to use this argument of rationalization, and surely the priests have played up this "scientific" justification. It is interesting, however, that he uses the pseudo-rational explanation and not the appeal to divine authority, which would at once raise the issue of the wrongness of a strong pagan rule.

562 The next day, our last, was a half day, as
887 I had to get to Maumere in order to get Kattenburg on the place to Makassar. At the end of the session we had lunch with the two guru, and the younger daughter served. Then I found out that in every house the oldest woman is the nu'a luka rumah tangga, paralleling the ritual functions for the women of the nu'a luka suku and the nu'a luka ama. The mother is in Makassar, and the eldest daughter is in the hospital, so this one acted as the server. The nu'a luka is important here, as she directs everything in regard to cooking and eating and also for caring for small animals, weaving, etc. She is the household manager. In this poor area food division is especially important.

•127 I looked up the 1930 census material in the report of the Controleur then and found the following:

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We

	Male	Female	
127 Watuwiti	127	124	
162 Mudakaputu	128	123	
Laneda	143	167	
Riang Kanale	107	114	
Lewohala	286	285	
Riang Kamie	430	427	
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Totals	1783	1823	3606

The Christians then totaled 1973.

133 Ili Mandiri is at an elevation of 1501 meters, the highest around here.

582 Wailolong intermarries with all of the other
621 seven kampongs, a bit more with those which are
578 near than with those which are farther away. During the period after the Dutch entered (1912) there were practically no marriages with Leloba, because Wailolong was sore that Roy's father would not fight the Dutch. (The present enmity of Roy against the Dutch may be delayed reaction to this.) Since then, there has been more intermarriage, but extra-kampong marriage is relatively rare. Roy estimates that not more than ten per cent of the cases are extra-kampong marriages. This holds for both sexes.

591 If a man lives matrilocally (which is optional
583 if no bride price is paid, or if the bride price is paid only in part), he keeps the privileges he has in his own kampong, but he works for his food with his father-in-law in the latter's kampong.

If the bride price is not paid, he may live in either kampong, and this is merely something which has to be agreed upon. Roy says that about half of such marriages follow patrilocal residence and about half matrilocal residence.

Wa

584 comes pregnant.) This sexual activity is about
836 the same as marriage anyway, as it leads finally to marriage. And anyway, there is no
584 adat rite of marriage. What happened in the
836 old days and what still goes on among the
178 pagans is simply that one day, when everything
178 is all right, the girl is brought to the boy's house, and the couple simply moves in. There is no ceremony.

Nowadays, with Catholicism, and with prearranged marriages, they have a church rite before they sleep together. But the other type of marriage goes on, and in this case they just confess and get married after having slept together. This is a pretty case. And even
595 prettier is the case of polygyny. In the old
178 days this was more frequent, but even now there
183 are Christians who have more than one wife. In this case the first one is married in church, but the second can have no church rites. (As he says, she has no sacramen.)

684 They are very prudish about molesting girls
832 (ganggu). If, for example, a boy squeezes the
721 breast of a girl, and even if she likes it and
128 says nothing, her father and brothers, if they
627 hear about it, go to his house and kill his animals and break up his tusks. They get directly at his property (and that of his ama or suku too) thus, and so it hurts. He has molested their property, and they get back at him in the same way. This might lead to war, and often did in the old days. Note that he mentions as the second most frequent cause of war that of molesting women.

832 He gave a fine case of trouble between kam-
684 pongs resulting from such a case. In his youth
628 three girls from Leloba were molested by boys from another kampong. The girls were getting water. The father and brothers of the girls became angry and smashed up the belongings of

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FIELD NOTES ON INDONESIA, 1949-1950

PART III

FLORES

Roworeke - Wailolong - Weol (Veol)

Flores (preliminary): I talked with Riekerk,
124 who was there three years ago, and got this:
647 The Assistant Resident at Ende is Twerida; the
485 Controleurs are Hettinga and Ariens; the Finance man is Fekkes. There are government station houses (pasanggrahans) at least in Ende, Detusoko, Wolowaru, Larantuka, Badjawa, Ruteng, Reo, and a place ten kilometers from Maumere.

Distances are: Maumere--Larantuka 130 km.,
131 Maumere--Ende 140 km., Ende--Badjawa 125 km., Badjawa--Ruteng 125 km., Ruteng--Reo 60 km. Running times, respectively, are 4, 5, 5, 6, and 2 hours.

634 The kepala daerah is the Radja of Sikka, Dom Tomas de Silva.

Possible kampongs for investigation are Sita,
124 50 km. south of Ruteng, or Ruteng kampong or one nearby, for Manggerai; Wologai, 50 km. east of Ende, and there is a pasanggrahan at Ndetosoko, 9 km. to the south, or a part of Ende itself, or Roworeke (population: five hundred)
161 near Ende in the hills, for Ende. The population of Ende is five thousand. The population of Maumere is about the same.

634 Kringa is the center of Tana Ai. There are many troubles here over the succession of the radjas and it has resulted in a number of difficult cases. He says to watch out.

361 jagged mountains rising all around the town.
[133] There are also two amazing, high, flat topped volcanic peaks. One is called Gunung Medja. The town stretches along the shore, with plenty of red and yellow flowering trees. There is a large impressive alun-alun [field, plaza] going down to the beach in the center. Behind this are a number of good houses. On the east side is the market and on the west side are good
[342] houses too. The houses are well constructed and there was evidently not much bombing here.
[346] As usual, the high church is but a shell, as it was bombed, this time by the Australians.

485 I found that the town of Ende has practically nothing. There was no running water in the pasanggrahan except for a trickle in the morning.
[377] Electricity is weak and tends to break down.
443 The toko have very little in the way of merchandise. It is impossible to buy beer because the stores are out of it. The cigarettes from the distributie have all been used up and one now has to buy such items on the black market.
495 There is no gas pump, and I have to get gas at the V & W, which pours it out dirty from the tin. Because of this I have had trouble with the jeep for the first time. This is a real end-of-the-world-like place, although the appearance is
[132] rather nice. It is also extremely hot and humid, in fact it is the worst I have experienced yet. At midday it is like taking a Turkish bath here.

485 As usual, the pasanggrahan is not arranged for people who work or read. This is the Indonesian style.

634 The town of Ende is the only main town in the state. There is another state in the mountains, Lio, with a radja at Wolowaru. Then to the east is Sikka, with a radja, and east of that Larantuka, also with a radja. To the west of here is the Radja of Nageh Keo, and to the west of that the Radja of Ngada, at the capital

[124] arrived after dark. We saw a very clear change
144 in physical type.[1] The Manggarai are clearly proto-Malay with a fair amount of Mongoloid blood in them.

[311] We went down to the coast through the empty
361 land, being burned off in large part, to Aimere.
342 Then we went across the wild and jungled peninsula to Mborong. We picked up a small girl from the hospital in Mborong who was going to school in the mountains. She got sick on the way. Then, up in the empty hills again, we saw a tree house on the way. Underneath it were some Mongoloid looking men and they said they were iron workers who were working on a bridge. They sleep in the tree house, which they built
[137] against mosquitoes which are bad here. They were from Ruteng. Later we heard that they have been here for years, "working" on a bridge.

[132] We ran into a terrible fog as we went up and up toward Ruteng. In the evening we attended
[443] the pasar malam, and there in addition to the
[525] gambling was a play with a story about how in-
536 dependence means decency and not rowdiness.
177 It was full of Catholic influence. Between the
533 acts there were instances of poor singing and dancing by a little girl who sang and stepped around and by some sillily dressed boys who went through marching motions to almost inaudible
[534] singing. The orchestra consisted of a violin and a ukelele, nothing else. The band consisted of a few horns. A small child held up the music for the trombone player, who didn't use the slide. The play was incredibly bad. Thus they lose the fine old singing and dancing and drama rites and instead of them they now have these imitation things which are bad beyond belief.

We The next morning we went to the mission and
793 met several priests, including the rector, van
124 Bekkum,[2] who wrote an article on Manggarai art. He was a bearded fellow and not bad. He said

[1] [i.e., the Manggarai vis-a-vis the Ngada --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

243 where around the earthen plaza there are Every-
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They
looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the
peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it
were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with shelleyes. It was set in cement.

132 From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
124 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However, when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we had to stay overnight at the house of a former kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is the present scribe. The former kapitan has the
[181] oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan. He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and his cronies are taking everything. There is only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And now they are asking the Christians to move up

574 He furnished us with fair food, rice and chicken, and coffee, and then fixed up the beds without mosquito nets in one room. The son of 872 the mandur of the pasanggrahan of Badjawa was with us, on his way to school in Ende, and he had a little packet of clothes, a canteen and a ukulele. The latter was in sad condition. 484 He slept on the floor on a mat. The next morning we just about made it across the river with our goods lifted by the men in order to lighten the jeep. This was a hard experience, and we decided to make the western run only once ●132 more, at the end. This rainy season is too hard here and it is dangerous because there is always a risk of delay from floods or landslides. Ende seemed luxurious after this run to the west.

124 The assistant was in Ende for a tax meeting of kapitan, and after noon I took him and the kapitan and the latter's servant to Roworeke. They had to work on taxation in the afternoon, so I decided to start in tomorrow morning. Roworeke, as usual, is always troublesome. The jeep was overcrowded with many riders. I took them out, and came back with a load.

Incidental notes on Flores: We saw the use 482 of a tumpline in Sikka. This is true also for Nageh and Ngada. They use this for carrying loads especially in Sikka and also for betel ingredients in Ngada. They use small plaited bags.

Girls in Ngada and Nageh have half-shaved 302 tonsures. This is not true of all, but certainly of many of the girls. There are variations in style, including topknots. I note the latter on boys too.

721 A Ngada man denied head-hunting at any time 346 and said that there is no head under the new 231 ndaru, but rather a red dog, a pig, and a cock, all buried alive. But ENI says that there was [554] head-hunting and that Ngada heroes had goatskin bands under their knees formerly.

F [404 cont.]
342 be mentioned. Here the house stands on piles 1.50 to two meters above the ground and has vertical walls about 1.50 meters high. Above this there is a very high roof which, except in front, F drops to the height of the floor, offering double protection inside [132] against the often very cold winds in these areas. [405] An inner gallery is built against the house on the front, with the floor lower than that of the house; it is partially closed off at the front by a wooden or bamboo balustrade. In front of it and somewhat lower still is an outer gallery that is not closed off. [Illustration appears here.] This is often attached to the galleries of the adjacent houses, so that a number of houses in the same row are con- F [531 554] nected with one another. The houses of prominent persons often have three galleries. Woodcarvings are common around the door and in other places. The houses of the Ngada serve as dwellings for only one or two small families [gezin]. During the day peo- F [512] ple stay in the front gallery and at night inside the house where a fire always burns.

I From the foregoing description it is already obvious that the 342 building materials are always wood and bamboo, never stone. An exception to this general rule is found in the houses on Bali B and a part of Lombok where clay and natural stone are used. L 342 "The typical Balinese dwelling is an oblong rectangle divided into three parts. The front part includes the rice granaries, or in some cases the cattle shed, and accommodations for guests; the second, the [406] sleeping rooms and the kitchen of the B family; and the third, the house temple. The living rooms are [316] of clay and covered with thatch or atap. In the stony areas of Karangasem and Bangli, which are poor in clay, natural stone is used for the walls and bamboo laths for the roof covering. Well-to-do Balinese divide their compounds, which cover a greater area, into more sections, each of which is used for a particular purpose" (1). [Illustration appears here.]

1. Encyclopaedie van Nederlands Indië, Vol. I, p. 121. See also the detailed

634 from Kupang was large, round, and of an almost
142 Caucasoid Negro type. He was very pleasant. He sweats a lot. Next to the Radja of Adonara, he seemed to be the most agreeable and the most intelligent. The Radja of Nageh Keo was obviously a minor radja in comparison to the others, while he was a nice lad, looking exactly like a Negroid Abdul Careem.

There were also two members of parliament, one from Larantuka but now resident in Ende, and the other from Kupang. They were young and agreeable lads. There was also the Radja of Ende, a smooth faced but dark fellow with straight hair. He looked a little like a dark Bao Dai. He was very pleasant and later helped a lot with getting a start in Ende. I had a few talks with these fellows, but I did not learn much.

122 We landed at Ende early on the morning of December 14, and I had to take the jeep off on a double barge. I drove it down the ramp to the beach.

As usual, the Information Office in Makassar had not sent the wire, or at least that is what the Dutchman said who met us. The Dutchmen who did come to meet us were Twerda, the Assistant Resident; two Controleurs, Ariens and Hettinga; and a Finance man Fekkes. The best one of these was the tall Ariens. All the radjas went
485 to the pasanggrahan and we nearly had to go to another one. Finally, however, we got a little room for two. We had lunch in state with the radjas at the pasanggrahan. The Ende radja was met by a delegation of hadjis recently back
771 from Mecca. The Ende radja is Mohammedan, and he told me later that in Ende the proportion of Christians to Mohammedans is about sixty-forty, but plenty of the people are pagan.

361 The town here is on a very picturesque bay,
133 with Pulo Ende rearing in it and with impressive

361 jagged mountains rising all around the town.
[133] There are also two amazing, high, flat topped volcanic peaks. One is called Gunung Medja. The town stretches along the shore, with plenty of red and yellow flowering trees. There is a large impressive alun-alun [field, plaza] going down to the beach in the center. Behind this are a number of good houses. On the east side is the market and on the west side are good
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123 panda, a kampong about thirty kilometers to the
west along the coast road. The drive was very
133 scary above tremendous cliffs above the sea,
but the scenery was magnificent, with Pulo Ende
in the bay and the mountains all around. The
road is extremely dangerous, especially when
the rains come. The kampongs here seem to be
[771] mainly Mohammedan. They are shabby. Only one
361 side, that which faces the sea, of Pulo Ende,
is inhabited.

123 When we returned it was too late, although the
men were sitting in the pasanggrahan. We talked
[582] for a little while and I got some information on
the non-existence of strict exogamous marriage
rules. We also talked a little about a map and
the schedule with the assistant. Then we took
them back to the kampong. We did nothing more
that day, but the kapitan suggested that we go to
Kilimutu, the colored lake mountain, on the next
day, Sunday. I refused at first, but then thought
that I might as well and get it over. I note that
[181] these people are not retiring and respectful like
the Buginese, although the kapitan is really quite
polite. Still he has an eye on the jeep as a
means of getting around. They are all mad over
the camera and talk constantly about photographs
I should take and give to them. I could easily
lose my patience with them. They keep asking for
things.

126 The next day we went to the kampong at seven
123 in the morning and tried to get away fast. But
we had to take photographs, and I was almost de-
luged with requests for more from all sides. I
took pictures of the two old mosa laki, the
kapitan, etc. The old mother of the kapitan, a
good type with the usual betel teeth, asked me
through the interpreter to take her photograph
before she died. I said I would on the return
123 from the lakes. Finally we got off, and I had a
terrible struggle insisting that I could take

123 only six, including me and Kattenburg, in the jeep. A wisecracking and obnoxious religious guru, who had started right off giving us a lecture on the virtues of Catholicism, got right in and displaced a better man.

632 The kapitan has no authority as I see it, and I remember the kapitan of Gunung Rodja who Ariens said has real power. He had told me that he had to help this kapitan all the time because he is so weak. He looks and acts this way, and is young anyway. He should have thrown the guru out. I would have done so, but I did not know what his influence really amounted to. Anyway, we finally got off with this unpleasant guru, who talked all the time in a raucous voice, the kapitan, the secretary (assistant) a nice lad, and a quiet relative of the kapitan who was dressed in adat clothes, a young man who sat in the rear box who said nothing. We went up the
487 dangerous road for 52 km., beyond Ndetosoko, pass-
133 ing a few kampongs, including the magnificent hillside kampong of Wologai, and Ndoeria. At km. 52 we turned off onto a grassy road and passed two kampongs on the twisting and high road to the mountain. We got there in two and one quarter hours in all, and it was a fine sight, on top of the world. The elevation is 1550 meters. Red lake is really almost brown. The green one is Nile green, and the blue one is robin's egg blue.
[262] We ate lunch, during which I found that in
521 Roworeke they eat dogs. The guru talked constantly, and the kapitan seemed to be dominated by him. The secretary was his butt and he constantly punched and pushed him like a real joker.

123 I got so sore at the pressure to take more than four of them along that I threatened to go
181 home and call off the trip. All the way I thought of how disagreeable these people were, except for the secretary and a few other young ones. The old ones are almost uniformly O.K. The guru is oily and loud and hearty.

769 or ngadu. These and the bhaga, which I could
346 not see clearly but which are evidently merely minature rectangular houses for female ancestors, are notable features in just about all of the Ngada kampongs. Arndt[1] says the bhaga are empty, but I wonder. These two sorts of structures are erected by the prosperous folk to show respect and honor to their dead ancestors. Each one is given the name of the ancestor. Evidently, a person may build one for himself.

They are always built in pairs, one male and one female.

159 The very fat Radja of Ngada came to the
634 pasanggrahan in a uniform with shoulder epau-
224 lets, four stripes, and above this a cluster
[292] looking like a sunburst. The uniform was white and not unlike that of a KPM captain. He can't write, and is still a pagan, but he says that his children are Christian. He is very jolly and although tolerant I can see that he thinks little of the missions. He also criticized the forced labor which the Dutch demanded for road work when he was young. He said that anyone who wouldn't follow orders, including the radjas, was jailed or deposed. He is the man who joked about the Dutch and the "modern"
[595] Florenese. He never does much in administration, but likes to hunt and has many wives. He told us that he has many children and grandchildren. He gets in trouble with the government for burning the vegetation in deer hunts. He said it is necessary to kill deer as otherwise they would hurt the gardens. This land has practi-
311 cally no trees on it, but consists mostly of
[137] [133] rolling naked hills as a result of overburning.
[224] Maybe the priest was right who said that he thought they were a hunting folk before and in those days they burned off the whole area in
[241] deer drives. Now they burn off the vegetable

[1] [See pp 366-69 of Arndt as cited in bibliography, Cat. 113 -- Analyst]

We

534 drums and gongs were brought here from several
535 kampongs. They are the real tuan tanah articles.
[624] At one time three little girls danced with
their eyes downcast and with very little move-
ment of the feet. They wore slendang and nice
dresses. The oldest man, looking like a nickel
[292] head Indian, had on an amazing costume with
rich embroidery, and a silver fringe under his
chin like a beard. For a head decoration he
had a gilded horse. He also carried two kris,
and each of the other men had one.

526 Now, at 6 P.M., after all day of it, taking
turns, the men are still whipping. This is a
tireless business.

609 We get the impression of real remoteness
178 here. These men are from the kampong nearby,
and in this large bowl of distant mountains they
are in their old dress doing the weird old
practices and it has little to do with modern
freedom and independence. When we go to such
a place they look more at us than at the per-
formers. We steal the show. But this is so
all over Indonesia for whites. And they stare
at us endlessly.

304 The tuan tanah of Weol has an elaborate set
of patterns tattooed on his arms.

291 The Manggarai men often wear plaited, flat,
songko-like headgear.

~~291~~ The horses here are important. Men and women
492 ride them, but mainly the former. The whole
[133] open land looks like the wild West. The priests
use only horses here. They are small and spir-
ited and bells are usually placed around their
necks.

614 The next day we went again to Weol and asked
[624] if the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong were
really brothers. If so, how could they belong
to different panga. I found out that they are
not brothers but merely distantly related.
The three panga names in Weol are the names

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346 not see clearly but which are evidently merely minature rectangular houses for female ancestors, are notable features in just about all of the Ngada kampongs. Arndt[1] says the bhaga are empty, but I wonder. These two sorts of structures are erected by the prosperous folk to show respect and honor to their dead ancestors. Each one is given the name of the ancestor. Evidently, a person may build one for himself.

They are always built in pairs, one male and one female.

159 The very fat Radja of Ngada came to the
634 pasanggrahan in a uniform with shoulder epau-
224 lets, four stripes, and above this a cluster
[292] looking like a sunburst. The uniform was white and not unlike that of a KPM captain. He can't write, and is still a pagan, but he says that his children are Christian. He is very jolly and although tolerant I can see that he thinks little of the missions. He also criticized the forced labor which the Dutch demanded for road work when he was young. He said that anyone who wouldn't follow orders, including the radjas, was jailed or deposed. He is the man who joked about the Dutch and the "modern"
[595] Florenese. He never does much in administration, but likes to hunt and has many wives. He told us that he has many children and grandchildren. He gets in trouble with the government for burning the vegetation in deer hunts. He said it is necessary to kill deer as otherwise they would hurt the gardens. This land has practi-
311 cally no trees on it, but consists mostly of
[137] rolling naked hills as a result of overburning.
[133] Maybe the priest was right who said that he
[224] thought they were a hunting folk before and in those days they burned off the whole area in
[241] deer drives. Now they burn off the vegetable

[1] [See pp. 366-69 of Arndt as cited in bibliography, Cat. 113 -- Analyst]

[124] arrived after dark. We saw a very clear change
144 in physical type.[1] The Manggarai are clearly proto-Malay with a fair amount of Mongoloid blood in them.

[311] We went down to the coast through the empty
361 land, being burned off in large part, to Aimere.
342 Then we went across the wild and jungled peninsula to Mborong. We picked up a small girl from the hospital in Mborong who was going to school in the mountains. She got sick on the way. Then, up in the empty hills again, we saw a tree house on the way. Underneath it were some Mongoloid looking men and they said they were iron workers who were working on a bridge. They sleep in the tree house, which they built
[137] against mosquitoes which are bad here. They were from Ruteng. Later we heard that they have been here for years, "working" on a bridge.

[132] We ran into a terrible fog as we went up and up toward Ruteng. In the evening we attended
[443] the pasar malam, and there in addition to the
[525] gambling was a play with a story about how in-
536 dependence means decency and not rowdiness.
177 It was full of Catholic influence. Between the
533 acts there were instances of poor singing and dancing by a little girl who sang and stepped around and by some sillily dressed boys who went through marching motions to almost inaudible
[534] singing. The orchestra consisted of a violin and a ukelele, nothing else. The band consisted of a few horns. A small child held up the music for the trombone player, who didn't use the slide. The play was incredibly bad. Thus they lose the fine old singing and dancing and drama rites and instead of them they now have these imitation things which are bad beyond belief.

We The next morning we went to the mission and
793 met several priests, including the rector, van
124 Bekkum,[2] who wrote an article on Manggarai art. He was a bearded fellow and not bad. He said

[1] [i.e., the Manggarai vis-a-vis the Ngada --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[793] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here, and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

634 that Flores is a hard place to be any kind of
578 a ruler in because of the feuds between chiefs
[648] and radjas of all grades. The Dutch complicated matters by changing land borders, putting favorites in offices instead of proper candidates, and altering the borders of petty states. Thus at one time Sikka was a much larger territory, but then Ende was made independent and after that Lio split off from it, and Ndona made a further split. The same thing happened in Flores as in Ambon formerly: the weaker chiefs were raised up and the stronger ones were lowered. Later on, in Roworeke, I heard much about this and how often after a split or a revision of frontiers or putting in an improper man, the people would rebel either passively or actively, and the Dutch would come and tie ropes around the people's necks and take them off to jail. I was told that whole populations might be thus taken in. Thus, one man said, the people finally became very much afraid and did not dare to disobey the rules of the government. Hence there are plenty of old scores and sores here. Now I understand why Riekerk said I must not get mixed up in the feuds of the Flores chiefs.

634 Anyway, there was also a Radja of Adonara on
●142 board. He looked rather Ambonese, dark with wavy and almost kinky hair and a bony Papuan face. He was rather short too. He spoke a little English and seemed more intelligent than the others. This was a surprise as I have regarded Adonara as a really primitive area. The Radja of Larantuka, who the Controleur Amiens later told me was next to Sikka in power and prestige, seemed to be shy and dopy and rather moody. He has rather light skin and is very dolichocephalic with his head running to a kind of long cone in the rear. He has kinky hair which grows down on either side brow. The Radja

634 from Kupang was large, round, and of an almost
142 Caucasoid Negro type. He was very pleasant. He sweats a lot. Next to the Radja of Adonara, he seemed to be the most agreeable and the most intelligent. The Radja of Nageh Keo was obviously a minor radja in comparison to the others, while he was a nice lad, looking exactly like a Negroid Abdul Careem.

There were also two members of parliament, one from Larantuka but now resident in Ende, and the other from Kupang. They were young and agreeable lads. There was also the Radja of Ende, a smooth faced but dark fellow with straight hair. He looked a little like a dark Bao Dai. He was very pleasant and later helped a lot with getting a start in Ende. I had a few talks with these fellows, but I did not learn much.

122 We landed at Ende early on the morning of December 14, and I had to take the jeep off on a double barge. I drove it down the ramp to the beach.

As usual, the Information Office in Makassar had not sent the wire, or at least that is what the Dutchman said who met us. The Dutchmen who did come to meet us were Twerda, the Assistant Resident; two Controleurs, Ariens and Hettinga; and a Finance man Fekkes. The best one of these was the tall Ariens. All the radjas went
485 to the pasanggrahan and we nearly had to go to another one. Finally, however, we got a little room for two. We had lunch in state with the radjas at the pasanggrahan. The Ende radja was met by a delegation of hadjis recently back
771 from Mecca. The Ende radja is Mohammedan, and he told me later that in Ende the proportion of Christians to Mohammedans is about sixty-forty, but plenty of the people are pagan.

361 The town here is on a very picturesque bay,
133 with Pulo Ende rearing in it and with impressive

632 The kapitan of Ambu Nggobe, whom I met in a new hadji costume before, is a rather oldish one. Ariens says he has the most power of any-
123 one in Ende. The guru is a hard, pushing, Christian type, who has lost the old respect forms and feels superior to all the others. This guru kept trying to find out whether we were Catholics, but we didn't tell him.

At last we went back to the kampong but stopped
191 off in a fine village near where the Kilimutu road leaves the main road. I forget the name. It has
[142] handsome women, proto-Malay type, who are ruined
[276] by betel. The men too are pretty good looking. Some of the children are very intelligent. I asked about the language situation and the guru said that only the schooled ones speak Malay anywhere in Ende. Thus the old ones do not, but this is not entirely so as some of the old ones who were never schooled are able to speak Malay.

342 In this kampong the houses as usual are roofed
343 with alang-alang thatch. There are many barns, which are small and have roofs which go to the
764 floor. The graves are in the plaza. One was
178 very large and of massive stone situated under a roof. It was the grave of an important ancestor. Others were of usual stone piles and slabs. One burial was set up last month, as it said on a wooden cross set up on top of the old style stone slab grave. The bodies here are laid out in a lying down position in the stone cists. From later evidence in Roworeke I think that many individuals may be placed in one grave. They lift the slab, move over the old bones, and set the new body in. In the old days they would put the body wound up with gemutu ropes in a tree until the whole thing rotted. Then the bones were placed in a box which in turn was placed in the cist. A rather long time ago the government made the people here dispose of the bodies at once.

[i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg--Analyst]

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778 I asked if there were no rumah pemali here. They then called it rumah berhala and said that there was none in either Watu Roga or Roworeke. They said there is one at kilometer 17, two kilometers up on a hill. It is the rumah berhala of Wolofea. They said that in it are many pictures painted by the ancestors and that it is big. The people who care for it live nearby. I would like to see this and may have the time to do so.

142 On this tour we saw plenty of good looking folk, especially the proto-Malay female type. Some were handsome. Many were bare to the waist.
736 Many were children. The kapitan said there are many orphans here, perhaps ten per cent of the children, because so many die. They are taken care of by others.

721 They said there used to be lots of wars here.

342 Then we went back to the kapitan's house and thence took the secretary along the road to Ende, and along this road are Aibou and Aiutu. The latter is a magnificent place with high houses. They said that this is because the Japanese did not level them in this place. This is the best
634 house area. The secretary went to his section,
621 Wolomere, on the Watu Roga side of the road.
578 Just beside the kapitan's house is an upright stone. It is said to be the boundary marker between Watu Roga and Roworeke. However, it is in from the road on the Roworeke side. Evidently, from his statement, although the road is the boundary of Lio and Ende states, Watu Roga has a slice on the Roworeke side of the road in Ende territory. This shows again the senselessness of putting any of Watu Roga in Lio. He said that there were many disputes, and when he ascended to the kapitan post he would put a marker up and then put his house half in Watu Roga territory and half in Roworeke. Thus he is "neutral." This again
[181] seemed to show up rivalry and the disputatious nature of these people.

Wai
000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass
thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in
area where there is a large bench for sleeping.
There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the
roof and often in front too. Here sit the women
while they work. If there are two families to a
house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
797 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel
as in other kampongs. The church to which every-
one here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamiß, but
since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
●142 same. It is notable how most of them are stan-
dard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are
nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have
brown hair or hair which is partly brown.

[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk
along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-
bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue
and black mostly. The designs are even poorer
than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used
for men and for women. They say that a cloth
takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many
304 men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
few old people, it seems especially the women,
have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All
727 of them were sold or taken during the Japanese
436 time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese
563 time too, but new ones are being made by
326 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and families. They had been in the mountains making wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They use the natives' gold. Much silver is now mixed in with the gold. They both had complete
[142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large, and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they
611 use money and animals for the bride price, but
591 they may also work it off, although it is not
237 really a case of ambil anak because the children follow the father's suku anyway. The girl must stay with the parents until the bride price is paid. Also, residence remains matrilocal until the bride price is paid. Thus we have an illustration of this in the case of a Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several children, because the bride price has not yet been paid. The children belong to his suku, however. Thus there is bride service, matrilocal residence, but the descent remains patrilineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally, has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to get the assistant to say that they still had tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the
624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before
632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evidently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases
[69] are concerned only with land and marriage questions.

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[798] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

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241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

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582 firm in stating that one had to marry within the
565 same class, of which there are three: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata hoö, but I forget the terms for the others.
[587] They say that a lower man may never marry up,
[567] but that a higher man may marry down for a second wife. They are more open here about slavery than I have found elsewhere.

142 The people are quite handsome and many of
144 them are of the proto-Malay type. There are relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay element predominates, and the East Flores Negroid types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars. There is also a great difference in the color of the skin, many people being quite light-skinned
[515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here
[197] say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not the Soa folk.

291 The clothes of the local people are shabby and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are
304 universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears.
[276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments
[301] in their ears today. Only the holes are noted. We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most men have their names or initials as well as figures tattooed on their forearms. This name
[177] tattoo is quite general.) (Perhaps this is the secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy tattoo.")

764 The burials here, I think, and certainly in
565 Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners, but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

632 The districts here are called kepala mereschappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan. This one is evidently Naru.

1:Alkema & Bezemer--444 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Timor OF20
Flores OF9

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Inhabitants of East Flores
Photo. Kol. Instituut. Coll. Leroux.

T
[342]

On Timor, for instance, the old-fashioned type of house is round, while the newer type is oval, and the houses of more prominent people and princes are square. [Illustration appears here.] According to Grijzen (1), the houses in North Tetoen (Béloe) in particular are oval in form.

1. Mededeelingen omtrent Béloe of Midden-Timor [Information concerning Béloe or Central Timor], 1904, p. 44.

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764 It is done in one day now, because the body be-
178 gins to smell otherwise.

144 The physical types in the mountains, the Lio
361 folk (who speak the same dialect as the Ende
[197] coastal dwellers but with a different accent,
and they are really only a mountain branch of
the Ende-Lio tribe) are mainly proto-Malay, or
at least that's the way it seems to me. One
can see this especially in the women, but also
in many of the men. It seems that the more
Melanesian and Papuan types are settled along
the coast, which makes me wonder if maybe there
might not have been a reverse movement of the
black people from the Timor area into Flores,
pushing the proto-Malay people back into the
hills. There are plenty of Melanesian types, and
Papuans, and even Australoid types in the hills,
however, just as on the coast. I get the impres-
[181] sion that the mountain people are nicer, better
looking, more polite, and perhaps even a little
cleaner than the coastal dwellers.

609 I notice that these Roworeke lads, especially
197 the guru, order the Lio folk around. They seem
771 to be regarded as hillbillies. However, they
speak the same language, and many mountain kam-
pongs are one hundred per cent Catholic. In fact,
I really wonder if maybe there might not be more
pagans in Roworeke itself than in many if not
most of the mountain kampongs. Certainly there
seem to be more obviously pagans in Roworeke
than I saw offhand in the mountain kampong. I
778 asked if the mountain kampong has a rumah pemali.
They said yes, but that it is quite far off, near
the main road. I didn't have time to see it.
291 Much of the clothing here is in the form of ikat
286 work, and I can see some of this material woven
on the local back bar looms (horizontal).

Much of the cloth is plain, unattractive, dark
material. The ikat work, and also much of the
plainly woven cloth, is dark and is used mainly

621R
578 nature of these people. He said there are many
632 boundary disputes and have been many in the past.
144 Now I see the truth of the racial mixture zone here. All types are represented.

614 I get the impression that the suku were originally localized largely if not entirely. This is still so. Thus one part will be all or nearly all Odja, another similarly Wanda, another Tibo, etc.

591 I met a lad in Roworeke proper who is from a kampong which is rather far off. They said he had married a woman of Roworeke, and I thought perhaps this might be a case of ambil anak. This is not the case, however, and he had merely come there for a day, because his wife has land here. They live in his kampong. Residence is patrilocal usually. Kattenburg remarked that in
178 material culture and in level of living the young
578 people are not much different from the old. They
561 do wear different clothes, however, and as he says, in general outlook, religion, knowledge of and adherence to old thoughts and ways and religion, they differ. There must be an intergenerational conflict here, especially as they are so disputatious anyway. I must check on this.

The next day we[1] set out early and got them to
344 let us work in the office. This is an amazing
217 place, with cocoanut stalk walls and a dirt floor.
124 In one room (they are all empty of furniture), scattered on the floor, are the "files" of the kapitanschap. Some of them are in paper boxes and others are just on the dirt. They call the kapitanschap the "gemeente." We sat on the front "porch" on chairs that almost collapsed and at a table that leaned loosely at an alarming angle and slowly leaned more and more until it seemed impossible that it would keep from collapsing.
124 With us was the giri tumba of Rewarangga and later the kepala kampong (ata nggaeh nua) of Woro-

[1] [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg --Analyst]

302 Kattenburg in a mountain kampong reported that he had seen a girl wearing lipstick. It was betel stain to which he is not used.

487 We left Ende for Larantuka on Tuesday, December 20, and after a long run through the mountains we reached Maumeri at noon. Then we went on an even harder run to Larantuka. This took all afternoon. The rain in the hills was bad. We passed through Tanai Ai and Lewotobi areas without knowing it. The land was very empty. I suddenly found that I was in Konga.

[485] Larantuka is the end of the world, and the pasanggrahan there was pretty primitive.

[443] It is hard to buy anything here in Larantuka.
[377] There is no electricity except in the mission,
797 and the latter runs the town and everything else of a western nature evidently. The place has an air of having been asleep for a long time. Behind it is the Ili Mandiri, the storied mountain of the ancestors of the Larantuka people. The
●144 town is a mixture of natives and descendants of intermixed Portuguese as well as Malays from Malaya who came in a long time ago with the Portuguese. One can see all sorts of physical types. Outside the town along the coast is a
361 Mohammedan kampong, Kampong Baru, but there are few Mohammedans elsewhere. Most kampongs are behind the mountain. There are also a few on the way to Lewotobi.

632 The next day we started out to see the area
361 behind the mountain, especially Leloba, where Vatter[1] worked. We passed through several kampongs of rather large but shabby look. This was especially true of Mudakaputu (seat of kakang of Mudakaputu formerly, although he is now at one of the other places, in Riangkamië, I think), Watuwiti, Riangkamië, and Wailolong. These are all together in one kakangschap (called gemeente here too by the people, and it is also one adat
632 area). This is the Blakang-Gunung. The Radja

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Wa
000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass
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304 men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
few old people, it seems especially the women,
have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

R

796 done in an excited pagan style, although on the
535 occasion of a Christian festival. We saw
144 clearly the difference between East and West Flores as far as racial composition is concerned. As you pass into Lio hills the proto-Malay becomes much more marked, though the Negroid element is still there. Some of the women are remarkably white. Such women are seldom or never seen in East Flores.

797 About the Malay here: When they want to say someone is converted, in Larantuka, they say that he "ikut Rom" [follows Roma]. The titles
554 are interesting: the territorial priest of
793 Flores is Tuan Regionale; then there are the Tuan Boswesen, Tuan Landbouw, Njonja HPB, Njonja AR (Assistant Resident), Njonja and Tuan Bestuur (Bestuurshoofd), and for a nun
[792] they do not use Njonja, but Tuan Zuster.

647 Note: The Controleur here is C. B. Arriens.

Although there is a general similarity in
342 house style all over East and Central Flores, there are differences. The tremendous high roofs are typical of Lio and Ende. The flat and large four-sloped ridges are found in Larantuka, and in between, in Sikka and Tana Ai, there is an intermediate form, with the four-slope ridge a bit on the rounded off side, and the whole thing appears to be smaller.

411 In East Flores especially the bow is still
224 used. We met a large band on Christmas not far
126 from Larantuka with bows and spears. They were coming up from a kampong with a large church. I asked if they were going to war or to hunt, and they said they were going to hunt deer. I took a photograph of them. They are always glad to be photographed. I can hardly take photographs, however, because they all rush in to be included, especially the children.

291 The style of clothing changes from place to
184 place, though here again there is a general

[124] arrived after dark. We saw a very clear change
144 in physical type.[1] The Manggarai are clearly proto-Malay with a fair amount of Mongoloid blood in them.

[311] We went down to the coast through the empty
361 land, being burned off in large part, to Aimere.
342 Then we went across the wild and jungled peninsula to Mborong. We picked up a small girl from the hospital in Mborong who was going to school in the mountains. She got sick on the way. Then, up in the empty hills again, we saw a tree house on the way. Underneath it were some Mongoloid looking men and they said they were iron workers who were working on a bridge. They sleep in the tree house, which they built
[137] against mosquitoes which are bad here. They were from Ruteng. Later we heard that they have been here for years, "working" on a bridge.

[132] We ran into a terrible fog as we went up and up toward Ruteng. In the evening we attended
[443] the pasar malam, and there in addition to the
[525] gambling was a play with a story about how in-
536 dependence means decency and not rowdiness.
177 It was full of Catholic influence. Between the
533 acts there were instances of poor singing and dancing by a little girl who sang and stepped around and by some sillily dressed boys who went through marching motions to almost inaudible
[534] singing. The orchestra consisted of a violin, and a ukelele, nothing else. The band consisted of a few horns. A small child held up the music for the trombone player, who didn't use the slide. The play was incredibly bad. Thus they lose the fine old singing and dancing and drama rites and instead of them they now have these imitation things which are bad beyond belief.

The next morning we went to the mission and
793 met several priests, including the rector, van
124 Bekkum,[2] who wrote an article on Manggarai art. He was a bearded fellow and not bad. He said

1 [i.e., the Manggarai vis-a-vis the Ngada--Analyst]
2 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

582 firm in stating that one had to marry within the
565 same class, of which there are three: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata hoö, but I forget the terms for the others.
[587] They say that a lower man may never marry up, but that a higher man may marry down for a
[567] second wife. They are more open here about slavery than I have found elsewhere.

142 The people are quite handsome and many of them are of the proto-Malay type. There are
144 relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay element predominates, and the East Flores Negroid types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars. There is also a great difference in the color of the skin, many people being quite light-skinned
[515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here
[197] say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not the Soa folk.

291 The clothes of the local people are shabby and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are
304 universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears.
[276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments
[301] in their ears today. Only the holes are noted. We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most men have their names or initials as well as figures tattooed on their forearms. This name
[177] tattoo is quite general.) (Perhaps this is the secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy tattoo.")

764 The burials here, I think, and certainly in
565 Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners, but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

632 The districts here are called kepala mereschappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan. This one is evidently Naru.

243 where around the earthen plaza there are Every-corn
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They
looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the
peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it
were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with
shelleyes. It was set in cement.

132 From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
124 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However,
when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from
Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of
two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we
had to stay overnight at the house of a former
kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the
oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
●144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see
the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of
Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan.
He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and
his cronies are taking everything. There is
only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente
Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed
from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And
now they are asking the Christians to move up

484 day at a time. Some people here go to the mountains, but they never go very far. Almost none has ever left the district, and those who have did so seldom and perhaps only once, for example to Nggobe or to another nearby area. Only the [625] police have been to Ngada or other Flores areas. And there are only two policemen.

[167] There are no soldiers here. No one here has ever left Indonesia.

[443] There are no regular traders in the kampong. One could say that there are no regular trips made to the outside.

Those few who have been outside of Roworeke relate, on their return, that other places are completely different from Roworeke. How true this is! They are not specific, however.

[178] There has been little change in the very non-moving character of the people here. They just know so little that they never think about leaving.

People here who have never seen any other place than Roworeke and Ende, i.e., just the [162] road to town and back, number about two hundred and fifty, that is about fifty per cent of the population. For example, these people have never seen even Rukuramba. This is especially true of the old people, although all except the children have seen Ende. Trips to Ende are not frequent. This is perhaps the most completely non-moving place I have seen yet.

484 Reasons given for not moving or visiting or
● 152 traveling outside of this immediate vicinity are
186 that there is too much work in the kampong for people to leave at any time. And formerly, there was a strong fear of war and a general fear of anyplace except home. There was never any reason to leave the area, but if one wanted to there was no objection. Aside from the war danger in former times (especially did Roworeke fight against Nggobe and Rodja), the old folk

R

484 are afraid to sleep outside, even today. They
952 fear evil spirits (they say setan) of the out-
186 side. This is a real and vivid fear to them.
[776]

Roworeke does not have a telephone, telegraph
20 or radio. Mail is brought by people who happen to go to Ende, and letters are mailed by the same means. A letter is first sent by the Post Office to the office of the Radja. It may take a long time to get here.

There is a gong used for signaling (it is located near the kapitan's house) on the occasions of the death of a noble, a tax meeting, and the like. News is spread fast by rumor, and the gossip here is uncanny. Everyone in the area knew when the kapitan went with us to Kilimutu.

There are no "local authorities" on the news front. The only people who would approach this are the two police. News bulletins from the Information Service are practically never delivered here. Such things simply do not get this far. There are no traders who give news.

There are markets and there is a market sys-
443 tem. The district markets are located at:

1. Kilometer 14. An empty place, merely. (Friday)
2. Kilometer 24. The same thing. (Saturday)
3. Kilometer 33. In Lio (Monday)
4. Kilometer 52. In Lio. (Tuesday)
5. Kilometer 66. Wolowaru. Lio. (Wednesday?)

Thus there is a circuit, and the Ende traders (papalele) go by truck, day by day, up to the mountains and then down to the start and then over again. Sunday is evidently out (Christian influence, evidently). These traders make little
[563] money as they are mere tools of the Chinese who
[426] lend to them at high rates or merely pay them salaries, or let them buy and sell on a commission basis.

R

346 here, and perhaps each ana deo is of one of
614 the suku. They are uncertain about this, but
778 thought that this was perhaps right. They
764 did know that the house was used by all four
suku. It is a kind of cooperative venture in
the ancestor cult. They got together and
built it. It is at kilometer 17, one kilometer's walk up.

2. Bu'ube'i, the most remote of the Rewarangga kampongs, is at kilometer 17 plus a ten kilometer walk. There is a real house there, but the kapitan does not know if there are any bones. They do not know what suku it belongs to. He was there, but was afraid to
[753] look inside. They fear illness. I asked why
[782] he didn't give a gift and thus insure his safety. He said it would be no use to take
[152] the chance. Thus he is a Catholic and thus he fears both outside magic and ancestral ghosts at the same time. It does have an ana deo.

3. Ratebedi has an ana deo, and bones too. The suku is unknown. This is at kilometer 13 plus a four kilometer walk.

4. Vavoëü has an ana deo, but with no bones. The suku is unknown. It is at kilometer 13 plus a one kilometer walk.

All others have either nothing or merely a grave-bones shrine.

5. Worowai has a shrine of the suku Rewarangga.

6. Roworeke has a shrine of the suku Odja. It is in a section of Roworeke Asal.

7. Worowaku does not even have a shrine.

8. Arereke has a shrine of suku Urureva.

9. Pu'uperi has a shrine of suku Rea (a different suku from Reandona).

10. Information is lacking for Kekawi'i.

11. Koavena has a shrine of the Gusa suku.

12. Kekamberu does not even have a shrine.

13. Nioreko has a shrine, but the suku is

We Today there are more meetings and greater
208 effort to get the opinions of the people. This
634 is especially so since this Radja came in about
178 eleven years ago. Formerly, the radja merely
663 ordered things to be done and paid no heed to
648 the local requirements, etc. Also, the radja gets around to more areas now. (We noted that the Radja is making a good-will tour, and probably all of them are scared of another Java.) He said that there is a much closer arrangement between the radja and the people now. Formerly the Dutch and the radjas worked together very closely, and anyone who spoke up was simply jailed. I can see this is as in Ende, and the Dutch here until the end used the jail as the solution for everything. They wouldn't listen to anything else. If the radja and Dutch work together the result is tyranny, and it is real here.

There is more justice here now, they say. They say this began about eleven years ago with the present Radja. But this may be out of respect, and they admit that the real change has taken place here since the war. The war really liberated Indonesia. There is no more use of brute force. People can speak up now.

789 We had a long talk about magical power. They
769 say that the power of the chiefs, from the radja
622 to the adat kepala kampong to the kepala suku to
[153] the kelake, is all a matter of fear of ancestral punishment. If they do not obey, they
● [152] become sick and have misfortunes. The magical power comes mainly from the ancestral spirits, but it is funneled through the magic stones of authority too. The curse power of an adat chief is very great. The power of the purely administrative chiefs, for example, the kepala kampong, who does not deal with adat, and the kalang, is that of the police, etc. This is actually not so because all of the chiefs are of the proper succession. If they ever tried to put one in

Wa.

797 that there was less open conflict than in Leloba.
798 There was a chance to mix the pagan with the new
177 and develop a syncretism. In Leloba it was a
184 life and death struggle, and indeed it was, as
578 the issue shows, a showdown. Perhaps Roy refused to compromise. This is a very interesting contrast. They had their fight out in Leloba and gave up paganism, while Wailolong held onto a little of the old. Indeed, he says that the Catholics in Wailolong do many of the pagan rites today, whereas the Catholics of Leloba have no ceremonies left to participate in.

[665] Since there are no political parties here,
797 and the real issue in Wailolong now is religion,
177 since all depends on it, I went right back to
798 the struggle on this point too. The leader of
578 the Catholics in Wailolong is the guru from Bama. His outside origin is a handicap. (I am just about sure that Roy is the main man to destroy paganism in Leloba. He was the perfect man for the job.) The leader of the pagans is Blawa, the kelake of one of the Datong ama. He is the one who shares the office with the legitimate kelake, Doeng, who is less able to do so. The Radja tuan of this head suku is not so eloquent, and so Blawa is the center of resistance. I asked if he got along all right with the guru and with Roy, and he said yes. Again the mild-
[181] ness of the folk stands out, together with their
●[152] tolerance. They simply do not show anger.

Anyway, the pagans, even Blawa, have given up. Their only struggle is over little things (please let us have at least one little girl for a tuno wudjo!). They just try to hold on, like their last gasp. They are going down the road to death, and after them the pagans will be eclipsed. It is dramatic.

166 The only people who go away from here usually
484 go to jail, as Roy says. This is the only trip they make.

Wa.

648 controleur around 1931, when the radja also was an unfit person.

167 I was surprised when he said that just about all the young men here would like to leave and see the world. But they have almost no chance. If they did have such an opportunity, there would be a great exodus here.

721 The only great fear in the old days was war-
152 fare, and this is an intermittent danger today also. Thus, Leloba was at war with Waibalun last month, and it is feared even to walk near there. He admits that there was some fear of bad spirits formerly, but this was relatively not so bad. Still, my guess is that there are few people who are brave enough to go and sleep in other places.

20 The kakang has a telephone in his office. The only telegraph here is in Larantuka. There is no postal service. Letters must be gotten at the Larantuka Post Office. There is no radio here, and hardly anyone has ever heard one.

The mandur of the kakang transmits important orders from the administration. Rumor is very important as a means of communication, but there is practically no other means here.

The few who receive or read the mission newspaper are asked about what is in the paper. Bulletins are never posted. They see them only in Larantuka town.

443 There are a few women who come here to buy
438 and sell some items. The small market at Okka crossroad on the beach is held once a week, on Tuesday, in the afternoon and until Wednesday. There used to be another market on the beach at Delang.

However, there is no market system here. Roy says they simply have too little surplus to sell, and nearly nothing to buy with. In Adonara, which is richer, there is a regular pasar ring system.

We.

178 the fields might not have been arranged like the
342 places of the various panga or families in the old round houses. If so, it is beautiful.

592 The assistant says that in the old days when
614 perhaps all of one kampong lived in a single house, the panga were like families therein. That is, since then the panga have expanded into subclans.

632 I asked if perhaps, before 1870, the tu'a
622 tenu gelarang might not have been the highest
152 chiefs except for the alien Bima sultan. He thinks that this is probably so, as there was no dalu until 1870. Then I asked if maybe even yet the tu'a tenu gelarang might not really be more of a real head to the people than the dalu. He said that in the district, in all adat matters, especially land cases, the tu'a tenu was indeed supreme. And even the dalu would not dare to tread on his power in these respects. Then I asked if the dalu were all of Bima origin. He said he thinks so, but that the people are afraid to say so. I asked if any of them have family trees, and he said they must have them. Then I caught him, as I reminded him that his wife was of the "dalu" bangsawan! I asked if her ancestors were aliens. He, embarrassed, said yes, they are said to have been. She is of the Rahong dalu bangsawan. I pressed the case by asking whether her ancestors came from Bima. He said that it is said they were from Pulo Rintja! This is a practically uninhabited island between Flores and Komoda!

This remark about being afraid to say anything about the dalu led me to remark that Manggarai seemed to be a part of Flores which was always under alien rule. He looked a little startled, but saw the point. Evidently, any mention of these "imperialist" matters causes a fear reaction. This came out when I asked if perhaps the tuan tanah was really more powerful

We

632 622 152 than the dalu. This, it seems, is the kind of thing that is not discussed!

I must get the dalu relationship straight.

634 I asked if there was really a Radja of Riung, and he said yes. He is on the same level as, for example, Nageh. He said that there has been a radja there for a long time. The radja there now is a Ngada, but the folk there are mainly Manggarai. The houses there are mostly 342 178 the old rectangular type (not the new style rectangular type which is coming in now) of East Manggarai. The round house area is West Manggarai, although there are round houses in East Manggarai too.

I noted that one of the three round houses in Ndung is going to be torn down shortly. Thus the new type house, which came in only about ten years ago, is swiftly replacing the round ones everywhere. I asked if, since originally Ndung 622 was a branch kampong of Weol, the tuan tanah there was not less in prestige than the tuan tanah of Weol. He said that in theory they are the same, but indeed the tuan tanah of Weol was like the older sibling.

614 114 It seemed to me that the va'u here are very large (e.g., va'u Weol has over two gelarang), and I told him so. He agreed and in fact said that he has found that there is a still larger genealogical unit (I must ask[1] about this; maybe it is like the isi that Arndt denies, but that Staveren says is found in Ngada above the voi 685 there). On the way back to Weol I saw a buffalo with one of its rear legs hanging nearly off with a deep cut behind the knee. I was shocked and asked how it had happened. He said that the buffalo had broken into someone's garden and that the owner of the garden, who had become angry, had crippled the buffalo. He said that this is done frequently here. I can see how a feud could be started in this way.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We
511 as I see more of this country. This area is terribly poor and overcrowded, full of stones, and has little water. The girls and women have
[312] to haul water for Leloba from the coast, which is three kilometers off. And there is little food in the town. They are really hungry.

Vatter told of great illnesses here, and I
164 can see many examples of this today. Sore eyes
511 are terrible and probably caused by lack of vitamins. There are many children with large bellies, skin sores, etc. Nowhere before have I seen such misery in regard to mere existence. Last year, a priest told us later, there was a famine here. And now I can see how vital the old rainmaking and the practices of the tuan tanah must be here.

797 At the mission headquarters in Larantuka we
634 were told that it is hard for the mission to
661 make plans here, because every time they get an
423 improvement, for example, in the land system,
427 the radja comes in and seizes the best land.
624 Also the tuan tanah stands up against all changes, and he is a "chiseler" also. Thus if they have a project which brings acres of improved land, the bigwigs wait until the work is done on it and then take the best part for themselves. The local people thus lose their land and many have thus been forced to work on the radja's land or for other big men as sharecroppers. Evidently the common division here is one-fourth of the crop for the sharecropper. The priests seem to regard the tuan tanah, who is the ritual and adat leader, as the worst.

622 We had some gin with the priest and then went
● 159 to the house of the guru Roy. He was Vatter's[1] assistant, and his house is the biggest in the kampong. He could be the kepala kampong, but because he is a guru, he passed the post on to his younger brother. They belong to the Hurin suku, which is different from the usual thing,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113—Analyst]

159 wherein the kepala kampong is a Kottang. This is
[622] all right according to adat, he says. The guru is
an old fellow, sick with a cough. He was not there,
and his daughter, who might be any age from eighteen
to thirty, talked with us. She seems to be a queer
type, and it is strange that she is not married. I
get the idea there is some friction between her and
her father. She had five years of schooling at the
sisters' school in Larantuka. A son of the guru is in
Makassar as a clerk (I think in a church office),
and he married a Leloba girl recently. The guru
[582] married a woman from the same suku, but the daugh-
ter says this is all right as she was from Laran-
tuka. If she were from any kampong behind the moun-
tain, this would have been impossible. The house
was adorned with holy pictures. The guru said he
[797] was converted in 1907, and as he is now perhaps
771 sixty, that was when he was about eighteen. There
178 are no more pagans in Leloba, a change from Vatter.
The old pagan stuff in a material form is all gone.

124 After our talk we decided that perhaps Wailolong
121 was the best community in which to work, because
Leloba is entirely Christian. In addition, Leloba
was done by Vatter. Wailolong is about the same
size as Leloba and at the crossroads below. We
talked a great deal about adat and then came back
to Larantuka with the guru, who wanted to visit
the children in the school there.

312 In the afternoon we picked him up and went to
Wailolong. On the way we picked up the kepala kam-
pong Leloba and a few others. They were at the
[515] other crossroad near the spa, and here there were
many women bathing (there is no water in the kampong
for this). Women were also hauling water from this
place. The guru said they had to go even farther
778 for water originally. It seems as though all of the
kampongs have a higher negri lama, as in Ambon.
There are holy stones here too.

361 Wailolong is along the main road and is located
161 on both sides of this highway. It may have as
many as one hundred houses and a possible population
of seven hundred.

[See bibliography, Cat. 113-Analytic]

769 or ngadu. These and the bhaga, which I could
346 not see clearly but which are evidently merely minature rectangular houses for female ancestors, are notable features in just about all of the Ngada kampongs. Arndt[1] says the bhaga are empty, but I wonder. These two sorts of structures are erected by the prosperous folk to show respect and honor to their dead ancestors. Each one is given the name of the ancestor. Evidently, a person may build one for himself.

They are always built in pairs, one male and one female.

159 The very fat Radja of Ngada came to the
634 pasanggrahan in a uniform with shoulder epau-
224 lets, four stripes, and above this a cluster
[292] looking like a sunburst. The uniform was white and not unlike that of a KPM captain. He can't write, and is still a pagan, but he says that his children are Christian. He is very jolly and although tolerant I can see that he thinks little of the missions. He also criticized the forced labor which the Dutch demanded for road work when he was young. He said that anyone who wouldn't follow orders, including the radjas, was jailed or deposed. He is the man who joked about the Dutch and the "modern" Florenese. He never does much in administration,
[595] but likes to hunt and has many wives. He told us that he has many children and grandchildren. He gets in trouble with the government for burning the vegetation in deer hunts. He said it is necessary to kill deer as otherwise they would hurt the gardens. This land has practi-
311 cally no trees on it, but consists mostly of
[137] [133] rolling naked hills as a result of overburning.
[224] Maybe the priest was right who said that he thought they were a hunting folk before and in those days they burned off the whole area in
[241] deer drives. Now they burn off the vegetable

[1] [See pp. 366-69 of Arndt as cited in bibliography, Cat. 113 -- Analyst]

311 cover for agriculture too, and this causes a
241 great, economic problem.

114 He[1] said that much of Arndt's[2] and other scho-
124 lars' findings were wrong as they use Christian
159 gurus as assistants, and the latter do not tell
634 them exactly what the old men say. The young
assistants "doctor up" the information. They
also misunderstand some of the old ideologies.
This was one of many implications in his talk
that showed he was not uncritical of the Chris-
tians. He has been radja longer than any other
in Flores, thirty-one years and seven months.
In his youth he was a Dutch army man too. He
says that there was no road built when he was
first made radja but the mission was already
there. He also says that he is the most impor-
tant radja in West Flores, although all of the
royal families here are interrelated. He says
he represents the older sibling branch, and
Nageh and Manggarai radjas are the younger sib-
ling branches. It is true that the Manggarai
radjadom dates only from 1929, and before this
there were only dalu, three of whom were most
powerful.

194 The Radja speaks Malay with remarkable
gutteral sounds which Arndt[2] says are character-
istic of Ngada folk. They also have at least
one implosive, as in bhaga. He has his house in
the kampong Radja, not far from the town.

361 The town is notably modern in appearance, with
797 the mission influence as usual. In the center
there is a large plaza where the football field
[485] is located, as usual. The pasanggrahan is a
622 good one, and the mandur looks like a nickel-
634 head Indian. He was in the army once too and
served in Sumatra, especially in Atjeh. He is
evidently a friend of the Radja, as he enters
[565] and talks with him freely. The Radja mixes
443 freely with the people here, as we noted at the
pasar malam. The latter, to which we went at

[1] [i.e., the Radja of Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

FIELD NOTES ON INDONESIA, 1949-1950

PART III

FLORES

Roworeke - Wailolong - Weol (Veol)

Flores (preliminary): I talked with Riekerk,
124 who was there three years ago, and got this:
647 The Assistant Resident at Ende is Twerida; the
485 Controleurs are Hettinga and Ariens; the Finance man is Fekkes. There are government station houses (pasanggrahans) at least in Ende, Detusoko, Wolowaru, Larantuka, Badjawa, Ruteng, Reo, and a place ten kilometers from Maumere.

Distances are: Maumere--Larantuka 130 km.,
131 Maumere--Ende 140 km., Ende--Badjawa 125 km., Badjawa--Ruteng 125 km., Ruteng--Reo 60 km. Running times, respectively, are 4, 5, 5, 6, and 2 hours.

634 The kepala daerah is the Radja of Sikka, Dom Tomas da Silva.

Possible kampongs for investigation are Sita,
124 50 km. south of Ruteng, or Ruteng kampong or one nearby, for Manggerai; Wologai, 50 km. east of Ende, and there is a pasanggrahan at Ndetosoko, 9 km. to the south, or a part of Ende itself, or Roworeke (population: five hundred)
161 near Ende in the hills, for Ende. The population of Ende is five thousand. The population of Maumere is about the same.

634 Kringa is the center of Tana Ai. There are many troubles here over the succession of the radjas and it has resulted in a number of difficult cases. He says to watch out.

159 wherein the kepala kampong is a Kottang. This is
[622] all right according to adat, he says. The guru is
an old fellow, sick with a cough. He was not there,
and his daughter, who might be any age from eighteen
to thirty, talked with us. She seems to be a queer
type, and it is strange that she is not married. I
get the idea there is some friction between her and
her father. She had five years of schooling at the
sisters' school in Larantuka. A son of the guru is in
Makassar as a clerk (I think in a church office),
and he married a Leloba girl recently. The guru
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tain, this would have been impossible. The house
was adorned with holy pictures. The guru said he
[797] was converted in 1907, and as he is now perhaps
771 sixty, that was when he was about eighteen. There
178 are no more pagans in Leloba, a change from Vatter.
The old pagan stuff in a material form is all gone.

124 After our talk we decided that perhaps Wailolong
121 was the best community in which to work, because
Leloba is entirely Christian. In addition, Leloba
was done by Vatter. Wailolong is about the same
size as Leloba and at the crossroads below. We
talked a great deal about adat and then came back
to Larantuka with the guru, who wanted to visit
the children in the school there.

312 In the afternoon we picked him up and went to
Wailolong. On the way we picked up the kepala kam-
pong Leloba and a few others. They were at the
[515] other crossroad near the spa, and here there were
many women bathing (there is no water in the kampong
for this). Women were also hauling water from this
place. The guru said they had to go even farther
778 for water originally. It seems as though all of the
kampongs have a higher negri lama, as in Ambon.
There are holy stones here too.

361 Wailolong is along the main road and is located
●161 on both sides of this highway. It may have as
many as one hundred houses and a possible population
of seven hundred.

[See bibliography, Cat. 113-

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578 children). There are no Ili Djadi descendants
621 in Riang Kamië at all. The folk are mostly
614 descendants of Kroko Putang, although there are
173 some from Sina Djawa. Among the kampongs which
united to form Riang Kamië were Lamalewa, Beluwela, and Lamaliang. There are now fifteen suku in Riang Kamië. The old kampongs are still used for the sections (as is so often the case in Indonesia).

[211] The Kroko Putang origin (Tenemau) is symbolized by the wooden prau model in the korke of Riang Kamië.

621 The Sina Djawa folk were liked by the Ili
614 Djadi people, however, because when they entered
they brought iron, flint and steel and other
173 "high" things. Many suku were taken into the
177 kampongs from the Sina Djawa. They brought
773 with them good weapons. Riang Kamië is the
largest kampong here. Its population is about
[161] one thousand three hundred (Wailolong and Leloba have about seven hundred each). There is a lot of material on the legendary relationships between the ancestors as seen now in the kampongs. Thus, the two original Ili Djadi were a brother and sister, covered with hair. They came out of the mountain and a Padji girl on the shore saw a fire on the mountain. They were then discovered, and the Padji girl, Hadumboleng (a different person from the Ama Hadumboleng in the suku list), married Lenurat. Thus the Ili Djadi are Padji on the mother's side. The girl, however, sister of Lenurat, married a Timor man, Pategolo. The Radja of Larantuka is descended from the latter union. Thus Timor is involved in the male origin and Ili Djadi in the female origin. Also, the kampongs which are descended from the Pategolo-Watuwele (this was the name of Lenurat's sister) union are on the beach side of the mountain, and they are Waibalun, Balela, and Lokea. The last is the Radja's kampong.

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764 in a new place and have children there, a tjompang, etc. (thus the Tjepang do not go back to their old home in the west).

764 614 823 Also, all women who marry out become members of their husbands' va'u and are buried there. If it is impossible to take the body back to the kampong of origin, they at least get a bit of dirt from the cemetery there and take it to the far-off grave (a spot of land that is forever Veol!). This is a real duty, and they may travel very far to get it. Thus, if a Veol man dies in a far away kampong where there is no tuan tanah and no privilege, a bit of earth from the Veol cemetery (near the road here) is taken to his grave. A small feast is given, at which time only a fowl is sacrificed. This is done in the far-off kampong at the burial. However, then the family travel to Veol, no matter how far off it may be, and there [775] they have the really big funeral feast. This is because the soul of the deceased always returns to the home kampong, that is, unless the clan section is already settled in a new place and has its own cemetery.

775 769 782 The souls of the dead live around the graves. There is no special deadland here. Thus, whenever there is a feast in the kampong, people go to the cemetery and invite the souls to attend. The assistant sang a song which they use. Also, they kill a fowl there, in order to give a little food in advance (he said "voorschot"). [776] Also, they go to the spring and invite the water spirits, and give them a fowl too. (Now I see why they have the cry, "Who will feed me when I am dead?")

161 769 The real population of Veol--Ndung is not three hundred and fifty, but thousands, as the dead live there too. The ancestor cult is thus tremendous in regard to the stature of the kampong.

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484 day at a time. Some people here go to the mountains, but they never go very far. Almost none has ever left the district, and those who have did so seldom and perhaps only once, for example to Nggobe or to another nearby area. Only the [625] police have been to Ngada or other Flores areas. And there are only two policemen.

[167] There are no soldiers here. No one here has ever left Indonesia.

[443] There are no regular traders in the kampong. One could say that there are no regular trips made to the outside.

Those few who have been outside of Roworeke relate, on their return, that other places are completely different from Roworeke. How true this is! They are not specific, however.

[178] There has been little change in the very non-moving character of the people here. They just know so little that they never think about leaving.

People here who have never seen any other place than Roworeke and Ende, i.e., just the [162] road to town and back, number about two hundred and fifty, that is about fifty per cent of the population. For example, these people have never seen even Rukuramba. This is especially true of the old people, although all except the children have seen Ende. Trips to Ende are not frequent. This is perhaps the most completely non-moving place I have seen yet.

484 152 186 Reasons given for not moving or visiting or traveling outside of this immediate vicinity are that there is too much work in the kampong for people to leave at any time. And formerly, there was a strong fear of war and a general fear of anyplace except home. There was never any reason to leave the area, but if one wanted to there was no objection. Aside from the war danger in former times (especially did Roworeke fight against Nggobe and Rodja), the old folk

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	Male	Female	
127 Watuwiti	127	124	
•162 Mudakaputu	128	123	
Laneda	143	167	
Riang Kanale	107	114	
Lewohala	286	285	
Riang Kamiê	430	427	
Wailolong	290	288	
Leloba	272	298	
Totals	1783	1823	3606

The Christians then totaled 1973.

133 Ili Mandiri is at an elevation of 1501 meters, the highest around here.

582 Wailolong intermarries with all of the other
621 seven kampongs, a bit more with those which are
578 near than with those which are farther away. During the period after the Dutch entered (1912) there were practically no marriages with Leloba, because Wailolong was sore that Roy's father would not fight the Dutch. (The present enmity of Roy against the Dutch may be delayed reaction to this.) Since then, there has been more intermarriage, but extra-kampong marriage is relatively rare. Roy estimates that not more than ten per cent of the cases are extra-kampong marriages. This holds for both sexes.

591 If a man lives matrilocally (which is optional
583 if no bride price is paid, or if the bride price is paid only in part), he keeps the privileges he has in his own kampong, but he works for his food with his father-in-law in the latter's kampong.

If the bride price is not paid, he may live in either kampong, and this is merely something which has to be agreed upon. Roy says that about half of such marriages follow patrilocal residence and about half matrilocal residence.

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764 bells in the chapel tolled and the service was held. The body was buried in the cemetery.

Roy has been full of life since I gave him
124 some medicine for his asthma. He jokes and
123 laughs. He had a meeting of the Red Cross yesterday, and the Radja and Dr. Sutomo and other notables were there. He knocked them out with the new words he has learned from me (sistim, desas-desus, kekuatan adjaib, etc.). They asked how this came about, and he said that the American professor was responsible. He told the priest that I was better than Vatter,[1] as we talk over each point at length, and I tell him details too, and then we discuss everything. Also, he says, everything is told to me and nothing is hidden, as he puts it. He tells the people, even in front of me, that I am like a suwanggi, because I learn so fast and come with material that an outsider should not know, and because I anticipate things that are not yet told. At one point, he said that I could join up and become a member of the Kottang sib.

The ratio between men and women here is about
162 fifty-fifty. They think this is all right.
793 Perhaps only two per cent of the women never
589 marry, and it is exceedingly rare to find an old bachelor. There are no nuns or priests in Wailolong yet. Leloba has one nun now. There is a case in Lewohala at the present time of a father making a terrific fuss because his daughter wants to become a nun and his son wants to go to a seminary. (Is he a pagan?)

586 Formerly there was no divorce according to
178 adat. There are two pagan cases in Wailolong and this is considered new.

684 I asked about adultery, and Roy said that in the old days if there was a case of adultery, the woman remained the man's wife, but a fine had to be paid. Or, if the couple were found

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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721 at me and raised his brows, saying, "Ah, but
789 you are forgetting the kekuatan adjaib. It was not a matter of men alone." I am accepted as one who can appreciate the magical things. In this case he was pointing to "those intangible factors which mean so much in warfare."

842 There are no limitations on the number of children in a family. There is not even a conflict here with the church. He did say, however, that they know or think they know a medicine (at least he has heard that some women know about this) which might limit the number of children a woman could have (or did I say this?). Anyway, it is unthinkable.

The bigger the family the better it is. A
[614] big family, ama or suku makes its members cocky.
[534] As Roy says, he is a member of Hurint, the biggest sib here, and he would like to see the so and so who would try anything on him. He would have to settle with the group. Thus numbers mean strength all along the line.

162 The average size of the family here is about
178 eight individuals. Formerly, about fifty per cent of the children did not grow up. Now they
165 nearly all live (I doubt this, but evidently
758 the change has been so dramatic with the introduction of modern medicine and cleanliness that it seems this way). I asked why, and they at once said new medicines and cleanliness.

355 Women do most of the upbringing. The father,
368 for example, just looks on once in awhile. The
178 mother is the crux, as well as other women. Later on, boys learn to work from their father and girls learn their tasks from their mother. The only change in all this is the school and church, especially of course the former.

581 There has been no significant change in the
178] concept of a "suitable man or wife." So little has the pressure for mere existence lessened that appearance and looks are minor. First of

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614 that the exogamy taboo is off, as he still is
597 half Gusa. Also, he still must attend all suku ceremonies of Gusa, as well as those of his adopted suku Odja. Thus, indeed, he is a double-sibbed man. Note that he could become kapitan only via adoption, because only an Odja or a Rewarangga suku man can be, and this does not apply to a man of Gusa. This is a good case.

583 In former times there was a strong force
178 behind the ruling which made a child marry anyone chosen by a father. This ruling has weakened, but still survives. The force, however, is no longer absolute. If a boy or girl remains adamant, the marriage is not forced. This is why they do not pay the bride price early any more, as they are not sure that the children will obey them when they are grown, and they stand to lose the payment for a non-fulfillment of contract. The bride price is paid, and that is all.

611 The system here is patrilineal, and there has been no shift away from this in any direction.

●162 The sex ratio here is about equal, and this is approximately the same as it was before. They think this is all right.

586 There is no divorce here, and there never
583 was. They at once said, "why in the world do that, when the bride price of a woman is so high?" (A good substantiation of the priest's point that the bride price is a good thing in order to keep and strengthen the marriage bond!)

684 I asked what happens in a case of adultery. They said that formerly as well as today a man was satisfied with a fine, and gets this anyway. If the spouse catches the couple in the act, he can kill both of them. This is the same as before. The wrong party, always the man in the case, must pay the injured mate a

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793 The first real pastor was placed in Riang Kamiß in 1926. Before this there was only a guru (a chapel, that is).

771 About eighty per cent of the population here
162 is Christian. (Note from the partial Leloba census that there are still pagans there too.)

797 Roy repeats that there were three phases in the Christianization of this area: the easy welcome, the troubled period, and that of resignation. There are two gurus in Wailolong: one from Larantuka town and the other from Bama. This, he says, delays the speed of Christianization, because they are "aliens." It is better to have local gurus. He clearly implies that the reason Leloba became Christian so fast is that he did it, as a powerful local man. He repeats that Laba, the last powerful pagan, argued against him quite a bit.

Leloba now has one guru (the assistant of my assistant). Roy resigned actively in 1940. Nearly all of Leloba is Christian.

Roy says that they are first given instruction in Christianity and then baptized. Thus there are a lot of "aspirants."

771 There are no Mohammedans here. When I
797 asked why, he said it would be impossible,
782 because pig killing and pig eating is so important a part of the ritual life that a Mohammedan could not get along here. (I see clearly in this the real actual importance of the pork taboo in holding back Mohammedanism. I remember this being said in Toradja country, and I think also in Ambon.)

Another deterrent to Mohammedanism is that Mohammedans could not slaughter in accordance with the old rules. They would have to kill according to Mohammedan custom, and this simply couldn't be. Thus it is remarkable to see how strong the old killing theme is here, that is, the ritual and the custom, and how all of this

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771 actually makes Mohammedanism impossible. Mo-
797 hammedanism is out here because it (1) taboos
782 certain kinds of flesh, which Christianity does not and (2) because it requires a special kind of slaughtering, which Christianity does not. This is an amazing case of how a "small" thing can explain why a great religion fails and why another succeeds.

624 Roy went further and said that it is impos-
782 sible to have a radja tuan system or even several radja tuan without pigs and ritual killing. The pig killing rite is thus the very center of the whole social scheme. (I had some
[262] pork here, and it was fat, greasy, and tough. But these folks are always hungry evidently, and even more so perhaps now than ever. Again I see how meat means so much.)

162 Perhaps twenty per cent of the Wailolong
771 population is still pagan (see the census). In Leloba there are perhaps only twenty persons who are still not Christian. But these are, or at least some of them, preparing for baptism. They are mostly old people. However, they burst out, there are plenty of persons in both kampongs who are only partially Christian. They think of them as being half pagan as they do not understand much about Christianity. They are Christians in name only.

797 And, Roy said, when I said that Krol said that Catholicism allowed plenty of ceremonies that if this were not so perhaps Catholicism would lose many adherents. The Catholics must compromise. Thus the gurus agree with the priests. Moreover, just as Krol said, they wouldn't get any more converts if they became too rough on the pagan customs. Thus I see that the way here is to make haste slowly, and to let the pagans keep as much as possible, and to gradually wean the young to the true one hundred per cent faith. This is clever and it

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114 Roworeke: I started on the last two days, January 21 and 22, and went to work on the schedule.

797 Fifty years ago there were no Christians here at all. In 1922, and the kapitan says that it was in October or November, the Catholics entered. They cannot remember who the first convert was. At first acceptance was very slow (and this may be linked with the wars against the Dutch), but there was no strong resistance. These folk took it, they say. But I note that there are plenty of pagans even today.

771 The assistant says that this area is about sixty per cent Christian. All have been in
162 contact with Christianity, as even the pagans have relatives who are Christians. There are also relations with Mohammedanism, as there are many Mohammedans near here, although few in this kampong. There are no troubles with any religion.

875 There are two school teachers in Watu Roga, and two religious teachers. The school build-
797 ing belongs to the mission, but the government
[658] pays the costs and the salaries of the teachers. Perhaps it is a mere subsidy. There are no real troubles in regard to religion in school, partly because the teachers do not propagandize much, and partly because the people seem not to worry about religion. In fact, they kept on saying that I, as an educated man, might fuss over points of religion, but they knew so little that they would not know if they were being propagandized. Thus, I suspect that the gurus do not ever attack paganism directly, as this might cause trouble. Instead, they just slide in the Christian belief as though it were normal.

They have no trouble with Mohammedan teachers, as there is only one such in the whole Ende area. He is the son of the big kapitan Nggobe. The

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582 people married earlier, because they got their
291 clothes earlier. Cornelius says that until
178 about twenty-five years ago you could see quite old and young people going about naked. He remembers this. They do not like too young marriages (!). Also, they do not like them if the partners are too old.

[561] There are no age grades.

614 The Veol clan is very large, but there are clans which are even larger. Not a single clan has ever become extinct. However, some panga have. There is one such panga in Veol.

562 Formerly, the position of women was really
178 low, like that of slaves. Now they are a little
584 higher. Today there is a beginning in the direction of freer choice in marriage. Formerly all marriages were arranged by the elders.

611 The system here is all patrilineal, and there have been no changes.

162 In 1930, Cornelius says, there were five thousand extra women in all Manggarai. I will check the records for the ratio.

587 The levirate obtains if there is a widow. If
768 there is no brother, her family must take her back, and pay one horse. The children stay with the dead father's family. If the levirate goes through, the man pays one horse.

[583] If a widow remarries to a man other than the brother of her deceased husband, the price must be paid to the family of the dead husband, and the "bonds" are "broken." The sororate is not required. The bride price is required in the case of a sororate. It is quite usual, because the sister of the deceased is accustomed to the widower and his children. The children of course stay with the father's family always.

586 There is not much divorce, but it did occur and still does.

[587] The main cause of divorce is discord, not barrenness, as in this case a man simply gets another wife.

[i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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797 are the ones who most often get lost to the
183 church, and they are the ones who fight bitter-
578 ly against the church. Perhaps here Mohamme-
595 danism might have an advantage, but the pig necessity at ceremonies would stop it cold. These people can get along without more than one wife, but without pigs the whole ritual life would be unthinkable. Thus each church has its weakness.

634 The first Radja of Manggarai, Baruk, was
595 put in by the church, actually. He was a
797 Catholic. The present one has two wives, one
578 of them a Minahasan. The mission is worried.
183 This is why the radja is only a deputy or acting radja and not a full radja. The mission runs Flores and will not agree to let him become a real radja as long as he remains a polygamist. The mission is on the spot. Probably the present man will never get the full status. This is checked by Degens, the Controleur.

Later, in Waingapu, Oudehand, the former Controleur in Larantuka, told me that the Radja of Larantuka also has several wives and keeps them, although he is "Catholic." One of them, the head one, is the daughter of the Sikka Radja.

This is all beautiful material in regard to acculturation and Catholicism. The Catholics are as tolerant as they can be, but they can't accept polygamy.

554 Note: The title nyora (from Portuguese sen-
177 hora) is used here as in Ambon for the guru's
171 wife. I don't know whether it is also used, as in Ambon, for a chief's wife.

771 There is no Mohammedanism here, and no tendency toward Mohammedanism. Polygamy would work out all right, but the pig taboo would be very difficult indeed.

● 162 Degens says that the population of Manggarai is about one hundred and ninety thousand. Of these, about ninety thousand are Christian.

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●162 Here in Veol the Christians and pagans are also about fifty-fifty. It is notable that here in Veol many of the young people are still pagan. There is plenty of paganism still, and the Catholics, I am sure, are largely pagan. The [578] main conflict is over polygyny. But there is also plenty of general friction. It is especially bad if a man has a barren wife. He must remarry. Who will feed him when he is dead? Also, what about the ceremonies? It is all right for the Catholics to say that Christians may attend community rites, if they do not pray in pagan style, but what will happen if all of them turn Catholic? Who will be there to do the rites?

797 Note also that the last of the rites means
769 the end of relations with the thousands of dead
775 inhabitants of the kampong. The Catholics try
788 to fix this up. For example, Roy tried to do this by saying that they are probably not around the graves but have flown off to heaven. But this is revolutionary, and changes the whole character of the settlement into a kind of "empty" place, with only living persons living in it. He told how his father's father, when his father was a boy and the guru tried to convert him, had ordered the boy not to change. And the boy didn't. He now has four wives, one of whom is the assistant's mother. Note the [771] similarity with Toradja Protestant rules. Catholics may not pray in pagan style and may not hold private rites, and they may not officiate at the rites, but they may attend.

865 Note: At the Sunday singing performance I was impressed by the good behavior of the children. This always seems to be true here in Indonesia. They are amazingly unmischievous. The guru says that almost never is there a disciplinary problem. I can see this all over. The children are adults really while still very

000 formerly in Minahasa.

There are many sellers of ikat cloth here.

The high center parts of the roofs here are special Sumba signs.

Halmahera: Oudehand was in the Tobela and Galela area of North Halmahera. There are no sibs there now, but he thinks there were before. He says, however, that there is no bifurcation of kin, and so I doubt it. He says that these people are on the coast, and he thinks they came from Ternate. They are proto-Malay entirely, he thinks. The mission is strong there. There are no kampongs in the interior, except for a bit in Kau, where there is a road. There, however, in the center there are many remote kampongs. The mission has been a great influence in setting up kampongs. Formerly they had only temporary settlements.

On the ship from Reo to Batavia I got around to the tabulations which follow:

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WAILOLONG

Males	344	Children (all)	450
Females	344	Houses	100
Total Population	688	Children to House	4.5
Sex Ratio	100	Households	112
		Children to Household	4.0
		Children to Adult	1.8

Children under 15	270
Children under 15 to Adult	0.63
Children under 15 to House	2.7
Children under 15 to Household	2.4
Population per House	6.9
Population per Household	6.1

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Catholic	565	Pagan:	Male	53
Pagan	123		Female	70
Total	688		Over 60	40
			50-59	33
			40-49	28
			30-39	13
			20-29	4
			10-19	1
			Under 10	4

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Schooled:	269, all Catholics
Over 60	0
50-59	1
40-49	10
30-39	30
20-29	89
10-19	169
Under 10	30

Above three grades:

4th	8	(male 5, female 3)
5th	6	(male 4, female 2)
6th	2	(male 2, female 0)
7th	0	
8th	1	(guru)
Total	17	(male 12, female 5)

All 10 to 16 years of age, except the guru, who is 30 years old.

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Clans:

Ia. Ama Datong Ama Radja		18
Ib. Ama Datong Ama Belolong		51
Ic. Ama Datong Ama Rere		72
Ic1. Ama Datong Ama Rere	62	
Ic2. Ama Datong Ama Rere Ama Tobi	10	
Total I. Ama Datong		141
IIa. Leworita Subamaking		93
IIb. Leworita Harutmaking		48
IIc. Leworita Tapopukang		31
Total II. Leworita		172

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162 614 IIIa. Ama Hurint Hadumboleng		69
IIIa1. Ama Hurint Hadumboleng	56	
IIIa2. Ama Hurint Hadumboleng Nipatale	13	
IIIb. Ama Hurint Marimaking		58
IIIc. Ama Hurint Melamaking		80
Total III. Ama Hurint		207
IVa. Lewato Ama Waru'ing		25
IVa1. Lewato Ama Waru'ing	21	
IVa2. Lewato Ama Waru'ing Nipatale	4	
IVb. Lewato Waktukang		21
IVc. Lewato Tuhowutung		31
Total IV. Lewato		77
Va. Lewodoreng Ama Waru'ing		7
Vb. Lewodoreng Engamaking		43
Total V. Lewodoreng		50

Thus the clan members of Wailolong total 647. There are 14 others from Leloba, and 27 from other places. The final total is 688.

[565] The "slaves" (Nipatale groups) total 17.
The "captives" (Ama Rere) total 62.
The "returned emigres" (Ama Rere Ama Tobi) total 10.

The marriages are as follows:

614 582 Ia: IIIb; IIIc; Leloba Keleng Belolong (2); All OK.

Ib: IIIa1, IIIb (3); Leloba Keleng Belolong; Ib; IIa. The last two are taboo. Letter to him.

Ic1: IIIb (5) IIIc (2); Leloba Keleng Belolong; IIIa1. The last is taboo. Letter to him.

Ic2: IIIa1. This is taboo. Letter to him.

IIa: Ia; Ib (3); Ic2; IVa1; outside (3); IIIa1;

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624	Djurutulis (scribe)	475
614	Mandur	382
	Guru sekolah (school teacher)	94
	Mandur sekolah	313
	Molang	616
	Marang besar (prayer leader)	616
	Marang besar	626
	Radja tua (Lewodoreng) of Riang Epu Kehule	672

624 162 871 771 212

Examining the ranks by age, education, and religion, we find the following (and not all information is in yet; see letter to him):

(1) Of the 5 kelake suku, 1 is in his 30's, 3 are in their 50's, and 1 is in his 60's;
1 has finished 3 grades of school, 4 are illiterate;
1 is Catholic and 4 are pagan.

(2) Of the 13 kelake ama, 1 is in his 30's, and 4 are in their 40's, 5 are in their 50's, and 3 are in their 60's;
2 have finished 3 grades of schooling, 11 are illiterate;
2 are Catholic and 11 are pagan.

(3) Of the 3 kepala kampongs, 1 is in his 30's, 1 is in his 40's, and 1 is in his 50's;
2 have finished 3 grades of schooling, and 1 is illiterate;
all 3 are Catholic.

(4) The djurutulis is 36;
he has finished 3 grades of schooling;
and he is Catholic.

(5) The mandur is 40, illiterate, and Catholic.

(6) The guru sekolah is 30; he finished 8 grades

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162 of schooling; and he is a Catholic.
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871 (7) The mandur sekolah is 37; he finished 3 grades,
771 and he is Catholic.
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(8) Molang is 48; he is illiterate, and pagan.

(9) Of the 2 marang besar, both are in their 40's;
1 has finished 3 grades, the other is illiterate;
1 is Catholic (!!), the other is pagan.

(10) The Radja tua of the Riang is 40, illiterate, and pagan.

(11) Of the 7 ne'a luka, 1 is in his 40's, 4 are in their 50's, 2 are in their 70's;
1 has finished 3 grades of schooling, 6 are illiterate;
1 is Catholic, 6 are pagan.

(12) Of the 5 tuno wudjo, their ages are 3, 4, 5, 6, 54; all are illiterate;
4 are Catholic (small childre); 1 is pagan.

Note the large percentage of offices still held by pagans. This is far out of proportion to the actual numbers involved in the local population.

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ROWOREKE

621 Sections are:
162

I.	Ae Uta	VII.	Nua Mere
II.	Ae Bou	VIII.	Bita
III.	Puu Djambu	IX.	Ae Mura
IV.	Kopo Edo	X.	Wolo Mere
V.	Pau Dari	XI.	Tana Ri
VI.	Rowo Reke Asal	XII.	Ndetu

5: Kennedy--414 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

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	Male	Female	Total	Sex Ratio	Houses	Households	Population per House
I	80	73	153		12	27	13
II	25	33	58		7	10	8
III	25	24	49		5	11	10
IV	9	12	21		2	5	11
V	18	13	31		2	8	16
VI	19	18	37		7	8	5
VII	21	19	40		8	8	5
VIII	15	26	41		8	10	5
IX	13	17	30		5	7	6
X	37	38	75		10	14	8
XI	34	31	65		16	17	4
XII	19	26	45		9	10	5
Total	315	330	645	95.2	91	135	7.1

	Children	Children under 15	Children to Adult	Children to Household	Children under 15 to Adult	Children under 15 to Household
I	92	82				
II	37	35				
III	28	28				
IV	12	9				
V	18	17				
VI	19	14				
VII	20	18				
VIII	24	24				
IX	18	18				
X	44	39				
XI	29	28				
XII	27	23				
Total	368	335	1.3	2.7	1.1	2.5

5: Kennedy--415 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
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	Pagan	Moham-medan	Chris-tian	% Pagan	% Moham-medan	% Chris-tian
I	60	3	90	39	2	59
II	15	6	37	26	10	64
III	22	0	27	45	0	55
IV	6	0	15	29	0	71
V	10	4	17	32	13	55
VI	17	0	20	46	0	54
VII	14	0	26	35	0	65
VIII	7	4	30	17	10	73
IX	18	5	7	60	17	23
X	26	4	45	35	5	60
XI	0	65	0	0	100	0
XII	8	18	19	18	40	45
Total	203	109	333	31	17	52

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	Schooled	Illiterate	% Schooled
I	54	99	35
II	18	40	31
III	11	38	22
IV	7	14	33
V	7	24	23
VI	4	33	11
VII	12	28	30
VIII	9	32	22
IX	1	29	3
X	26	49	35
XI	10	55	18
XII	4	41	9
Totals	163	482	25

Schooled by age-periods:

Under 10	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and over
32	75	19	18	17	2	0

5: Kennedy--416 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

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162 871 [771]	Schooled:	Christian	146	44%
		Mohammedan	14	13%
		Pagan	3	1.4% (all 1 grade only)
[562]	Schooled:	Male	111	35%
		Female	52	16%

Schooled above 3 grades:

Grade 4: three: (ages) 40 (Christian, male), 25 (Christian, male), 15(Christian, male).

Grade 5: six: (ages) 40 (Christian, male) [Assistant], 40 (Christian, male) [Mandur], 15 (Christian, male), 15 (Christian, male), 12 (Christian, male), 10 [?] (Christian, male).

Grade 6: five: (ages) 50 (Christian, male) [Ceram], 15 (Christian, male), 15 (Christian, male), 14 (Christian, male), 9 [?] (Christian, female).

5: Kennedy--417 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 CBI Indonesia
Flores OF9

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	Clans												
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Total
Odja	84	1	24	1	-	6	15	2	13	24	-	9	179
Gusa (Tibo)	4	31	15	19	-	12	5	-	3	-	2	9	100
Wanda	4	1	7	-	16	-	9	19	-	11	2	1	70
Ndoru	19	2	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	21	-	3	49
Djawa	1	18	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	7	30
Reandona	8	-	-	-	4	1	1	-	-	3	-	-	17
Woro	7	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	10
Rewarangga	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	4	-	-	-	9
Mboti	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	5	9
Foa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	9
Wadja	-	-	1	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Wai	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	4	-	-	8
Soa	4	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	7
Ndosi	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Bangova	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	6
Gusi	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5
Kora	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	5
Meo	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Mbonggi	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Baoru	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3

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Clans

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Total
Pare	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	3
Lenalaba	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Watu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Penawuri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Songo	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Fongi	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Sue	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Dake	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Unknown	5	-	-	-	4	7	2	1	-	1	-	-	20
Lio Unknown	1	-	-	-	2	-	4	1	1	-	3	-	12
Nggobe Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	5	-	27	-	36
Rewarangga Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	-	-	5
Ende Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2	7
Ceram	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	6
Savu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	9

Big 5 are:			
	Odja	179	I, III, X, VII, IX
	Gusa	100	II, IV, III, VI
	Wanda	70	VIII, V, X
	Ndoru	49	X, I
	Djawa	30	II

• (10 or over)

5: Kennedy--419 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
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I looked at the list of adult married males with wives living, and found some evidence of concentration of clans. In most cases, though I didn't work this out, if the widowed males were included, I would get a slightly more concentrated picture of the clan. As I reckon it, there are 111 cases.

I. Odja 15 plus 5, married with Odja wives: total number of cases 24 (63%, 83%).

II. Gusa 4 plus 3, married with Gusa wives: total number of cases 8 (50%, 88%).

III. Gusa 5 (63%)
Odja 3 (38%)
total number of cases 8.

IV. Gusa 5
total number of cases 5 (100%).

V. Wanda 4
total number of cases 6 (67%).

VI. Gusa 2 plus 2, married with Gusa wives: total number of cases 7 (no good)

VII. Odja 4
total number of cases 8 (50%).

VIII. (Complete spread, 5 cases)

IX. Odja 3
total number of cases 5 (50%).

X. Odja 5 (37%)
Ndoru 5 (37%)
total number of cases 13.

5: Kennedy--420 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OBl Indonesia
Flores OF9

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162 XI. Nggobe Unknown 8
614 total number of cases 16 (50%).
582 (Maybe this is Nggobe clan?)

XII. (Complete spread, 6 cases)

Note that this comes out differently from the test made by merely totaling the members of clans.

Marriage Pairs

Odja:	Wanda	7	
	Ndoru	4	
	Meo	4	
	Gusa	3	
	Reandona	2	
	Woro	2	
	Djawa	1	
	Rewarangga	1	
	Soa	1	
	Gusi	1	
	Odja	1	(kapitan; he is really a Gusa)
		27	
	Unknown	8	
	Total	35	
Gusa:	Gusa	4	(they say they are at least 7 generations distant; 3 are in Kopo Edo; could it be that Gusa and Tibo were once separate?; both names are used)
	Odja	3	
	Wanda	3	
	Soa	2	
	Gusi	2	

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	Woro	1	
	Fongi	1	
	Mboti	1	
		17	
	Unknown	2	
	Total	19	
Wanda:	Reandona	2	
	Rewarangga	1	
	Ndoru	1	
		4	
	Unknown	4	
	Total	8	
Ndoru:	Odja	4	
	Wanda	4	
	Gusa	1	
	Woro	1	
		10	
	Unknown	1	
	Total	11	
Djawa:	Gusa	2	
	Odja	1	
	Wanda	1	
	Sue	1	
	Djawa	1	(case unexplained)
	Total	6	
Wadja:	Odja	3	
Ndosi:	Odja	1	
	Wanda	1	
Reandona:	Ndoru	2	
Woro:	Odja	1	
	Gusa	1	

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162 614	Penawuri:	Baoru	2
582	Bangova:	Wanda	1
		Unknown	1
	Foa:	Wanda	1
		Unknown	1
	Soa:	Ndoru	1
	Wai:	Reandona	1
	Mboti:	Wadja	1
	Mbonggi:	Unknown	1
	Kora:	Gusa	1
	Outside:	Outside	2
		Odja	1
	Unknown:	Unknown	13
		Rewarangga	2
		Gusa	1
		Baoru	1
		Total	17

Remarks on marriage: Of the six evidently endogamous marriages, one is not really endogamous, because the kapitan was born into Gusa but [597] adopted into Odja. Of the four Gusa endogamous pairs, three, in Kopo Edo, he maintains are distant. The other two are unexplainable: 1 Gusa and 1 Djawa.

These are pairs having frequency above 1:

Odja--Wanda	7--0	Gusa--Gusi	2--0
Odja--Ndoru	4--4	Wanda--Reandona	2--0
Odja--Meo	4--0	Ndoru--Wanda	4--1

5: Kennedy--423 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
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162	Odja--Gusa	3--3	Djawa--Gusa	2--0
614	Odja--Reandona	2--0	Wadja--Odja	3--0
582	Odja--Woro	2--1	Reandona--Ndoru	2--0
	Gusa--Wanda	3--0	Penawuri--Baoru	2--0
	Gusa--Soa	2--0		

Thus, of the 15 frequencies, 11 are not reversed; 4 are. This might look a bit like mother's brother's daughter marriage. Note that Wanda never marries into any of the Big 5; but perhaps this does occur in Watu Rota (?).

To get anywhere in this area on the subject of marriages, one would have to collect this sort of data for all cases or from many kampongs. My guess is, whatever the original system was, that there are no marriage classes. However, there probably is a lot of mother's brother's daughter marriage.

599 162 Polygyny cases: (numbers refer to ages)

(1) 38: 30, 20 (sisters); Odja-Meo; pagan; illiterate; No. 5.
(2) 30: 25, 20; Odja-Ndoru, Meo; Christian, Christian, pagan; illiterate, 3, illiterate; No. 8.
(3) 50: 50, 50; Odja-Reandona, Wanda; pagan; illiterate; No. 24.
(4) 40: 30, 20; Ndosi-Wanda, Odja; Christian, pagan, pagan; illiterate; No. 54.
(5) 45: 45, 45, 45; Odja-?, Wanda, ?; pagan; illiterate; No. 62 (giri tumba)
(6) 50: 50, 35; Wadja-Odja; pagan; illiterate; No. 313.
(7) 30: 20, 18; ?-Rewarangga; Christian; 3, 3, illiterate; No. 426.
(8) 40: 30, 40; Bangova-Wanda, ?; Mohammedan; 3, illiterate, illiterate; No. 554.

565 There is not much to say about classes and

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565 ranks. There is really no nobility here, only persons who are in line for posts. As for slaves, the assistant gives only the following: No. 183, male, 40, a Gusa, and a pagan. Something is probably queer here.

624 614 771 871 The only offices the assistant gives are:

1. Ata nggaeh nua: No. 1, 60, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
2. Giri tumba: No. 62, 45, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
3. Guru agama: No. 81, 25, Odja, Christian, 4 grades.
4. Kepala kampong: No. 135, 40, Odja, Christian, illiterate.
5. Kapitan: No. 350, 30, Odja, Christian, 3 grades.
6. Djurutulis: No. 509, 40, Odja, Christian, 5 grades.
7. Mandur djalan: No. 532, 40, Ndoru, Christian, 5 grades.
8. Hadji: No. 554, 40, Bangova (Nggobe), Mohammedan, 3 grades.

Odja has the most posts. The pagans seem to keep the adat posts.

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VEOL--NDUNG

	Male	Female	Total	Houses	Households	Children	Children under 15
Veol	70	70	140	6	25	82	69
Ndung	89	117	206	9	44	111	105
Total	159	187	346	15	69	193	174

5: Kennedy--425 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
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	Sex Ratio	Population per House	Children per Adult	Children under 15 per Adult
Veol	100.0	23.3	1.4	0.97
Ndung	76.1	22.9	1.1	1.04
Total	85.0	23.1	1.3	1.01

	Children per House	Children per Household	Children under 15 per House	Children under 15 per Household
Veol	13.7	3.3	11.5	2.8
Ndung	12.3	2.5	11.8	2.4
Total	12.9	2.8	11.6	2.5

	Households per House (The law requires that the maximum ratio shall not be over 3!)
Veol	4.2 (5, 8, 2, 4, 3, 3)
Ndung	4.9 (3, 7, 4, 3, 6, 6, 1, 4, 10)
Total	4.6

Population per House

Veol		Ndung	
No. 1	38	No. 7	11
2	46	8	32 (round)
3	9	9	20
4	11	10	10
5	19	11	25 (round)
6	17 (round)	12	28 (round)
		13	6
		14	19
		15	55

5:Kennedy--426 E-5 (1949-1950) 1955 OB1 Indonesia
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	Pagan	Christian	% Pagan	% Christian
Veol	74	66	53	47
Ndung	72	134	35	65
Total	146	200	42	58

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	Schooled	Illiterate	% Schooled	Males Schooled	Females Schooled
Veol	20	120	14	13	7
Ndung	22	184	11	14	8
Total	42	304	12	27	15

[771] (all Christian)

Ages of Those Schooled

	Under 10	10--19	20--29	30--39	40--49	50--59	Over 60
Veol	-	14	3	3	-	-	-
Ndung	9	6	2	5	-	-	-
Total	9	20	5	8	-	-	-

Above 3 grades

Veol: 1 (16 years old, male, 6 grades)
Ndung: 1 (15 years old, male, 4 grades)

CLASS

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	Dalu	Gelarang	Leke	Mangko Pitu	Sekontu	Lampang
Veol	21	109	0	5	1	4
Ndung	20	177	3	1	0	5
Total	41	286	3	6	1	9
(Women	14					

(All these married in)

5: Kennedy--427 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
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Clans

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Veol	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol Clan	17	7	70	94
Other Clans	6	28	12	46
Total	23	35	82	140

Ndung	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol Clan	18	17	57	92
Other Clans	21	39	54	114
Total	39	56	111	206

Total				
Veol Clan	35	24	127	186
Other Clans	27	67	66	160
Total	62	91	193	346

[591] I can see that Veol keeps to the patrilocal rule, and that there is a great preponderance of the Veol clan. This is more evident in Veol than in Ndung, where there are lots of matrilocal couples, and also many outsiders. In regard to the marriage pairs, this can be seen below:

Marriage Pairs (including Widows)

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	Veol	Ndung	Total
Man (Veol)--Woman (Other)	23	22	45
Woman (Veol)--Man (Other)	4	10	14
Other--Other	4	15	19
Man (Veol)--Woman (Veol) (different panga)	3	6	9

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There is no use working out every marriage pair, because I can see that there is no system of marriage classes here. I note quite a few clearly mother's brother's daughter (tungku)

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582 marriages, and the assistant will send a letter
[124] to me about this later.

[591] He will also send me a letter about how many of the matrilocal residence cases are because of a failure to pay the bride price.

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Clan Membership or Derivation: Veol

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol	17	7	70	94
Paka	3	0	6	9
Leda	1	2	2	5
Leko	1	1	2	4
Poka	0	3	0	3
Papang	1	0	2	3
Kepe		2		2
Laru		1		1
Kole		1		1
Ling		1		1
Taga		2		2
Dalo		2		2
Nulang		1		1
Ndadjung		1		1
Tuke		1		1
Watang		1		1
P. Leok		2		2
Ndehes		2		2
Kuleng		1		1
Tjumbi		1		1
Adjang		1		1
Tjarep		1		1
Nanu		1		1
Total	23	35	82	140

5: Kennedy--429 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
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Clan Membership or Derivation: Ndung

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	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol	18	17	57	92
Tjumbi	6	8	14	28
Leko	3	1	6	10
La'o	1	1	6	8
Manong	2	0	5	7
Tjarep	2	2	3	7
Budjung	1	-	3	4
Gulung	1	-	3	4
Kuang	1	0	3	4
Pau	2	0	2	4
Paka	1	-	2	3
Ndoso	0	3	0	3
Nati	0	1	2 (widow's children)	3
Senda	1	0	2	3
Kota		1		1
Kole		1	1 (adi /younger sibling/)	2
Popo		2		2
Tjepang		1	1	2
Pane		1		1
Ntala		1		1
Tamong		2		2
Nao		1	1 (no explanation)	
Liong		1		1
Ndori		2		2
Bung		2		2
Ruteng		1		1
Ngkaer		1		1
Dese		1		1
Maras		2		2
Pongkor		1		1
Kawong		1		1
Dimpong		1		1
Total	39	56	111	206

5: Kennedy--430 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

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Officers: Veol

	No.	Clan	Age	Religion	Education
Tuan tanah	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan panga lambar	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan panga Rinteng	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan panga Rundu	62	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 1	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 2	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 3	127	Papang	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 4	122	Leko	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 5	80	Veol	35	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 6	99	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Kepala kampong	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate

Officers: Ndung

Tuan tanah	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan panga Rosong	168	Veol	30	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan panga Nggurus	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 7	304	Tjarep	30	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 8	324	Senda	20?	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 9	347	Leko	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 10	214	Veol	25	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 11	186	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 12	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 13	285	Leko	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 14	260	Manong	45	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 15	151	Veol	60	Christian	Illiterate
Kepala kampong		(Lives in Meler)			
Tuan panga Rosong (helper)	151	Veol	60	Christian	Illiterate

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842 family." This shows [a] the belligerent nature
181 of these people and [b] their distrust of most
[578] other people). Girls are good for weaving, house work, and for the bride price that they bring in. When I pressed the matter, they said that perhaps it was better actually to have a few more girls than boys, because of the money they bring in. This is different from Larantuka, and perhaps shows the greedy nature of these folk. They don't like all girls or all boys.

842 They have no knowledge or idea of limiting the number of children. As usual I told them about birth control in the United States, and they were very much surprised. They seem to have heard vaguely that there may be some sort of medicine used to prevent having children, but they never think of using it.

163 They are unclear, but they think that the
178 average number of births per woman is between five and six. This may reflect the late marriage age here. Of these, three or four live (perhaps the population here is indeed relatively stationary). They think there has been little change in this regard, and this may be true, as it seems to be about as dirty and uncared for medically as it was before, or at least there has been no great improvement. They said that a great number of children die in infancy.

855 There was a chorus of agreement to the ef-
887 fect that the mother is the important one here. The father is away working all the time. Old women help in caring for the children.

584 There is no modern courtship. Intermediaries are used.

581 Although they do not like ugly women in a showdown, the ugly worker wins over the pretty drone. In fact, they think first about her skill as a worker and second in terms of her

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586 another wife.

In the case of adultery on the part of a
586 woman, a fine must be paid to the grieved hus-
684 band. The wife pays only a little, her paramour
562 a lot. In the case of a man committing adultery, there is no fine or punishment of any sort. The wife may be angry, but that is all.

A man may divorce an errant wife, but there is no bride price return. This just about never occurs. A man is satisfied with the fine.

Adat here does not allow for killing an adulterous couple caught in the act. This may be done later, but it is still not allowed, and not condoned. The payment of a fine is the thing here.

If a divorce is requested by a man, there is no repayment of the bride price, and he must pay one horse. If a wife asks for a divorce, the price must be repaid. The children always stay with the father's family.

842 The people here like many children; the more the better. There is no set limitation. When I talk about birth control, often, all over they say about condoms that they are "like the Japanese use." He was surprised about other methods of birth control. Until now there has been no thought of limitation.

Cornelius[1] says that about ten children are
● [163] born per woman, but only about half or a little more live to adulthood. Sons are more important. If a couple has only one child, they prefer a son. A few more sons than daughters are wanted. Va'u and bride price considerations are important.

868 When the children are very young the mother takes care of their education. Then the children follow the parent of the same sex and learn their roles and work.

584 There is just about no courtship. Formerly
178 marriages were all prearranged. Now, most frequently the young people tell their parents

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

Wa.
511 as I see more of this country. This area is terribly poor and overcrowded, full of stones, and has little water. The girls and women have
[312] to haul water for Leloba from the coast, which is three kilometers off. And there is little food in the town. They are really hungry.

164 Vatter told of great illnesses here, and I
511 can see many examples of this today. Sore eyes are terrible and probably caused by lack of vitamins. There are many children with large bellies, skin sores, etc. Nowhere before have I seen such misery in regard to mere existence. Last year, a priest told us later, there was a famine here. And now I can see how vital the old rainmaking and the practices of the tuan tanah must be here.

797 At the mission headquarters in Larantuka we
634 were told that it is hard for the mission to
661 make plans here, because every time they get an
423 improvement, for example, in the land system,
427 the radja comes in and seizes the best land.
624 Also the tuan tanah stands up against all changes, and he is a "chiseler" also. Thus if they have a project which brings acres of improved land, the bigwigs wait until the work is done on it and then take the best part for themselves. The local people thus lose their land and many have thus been forced to work on the radja's land or for other big men as sharecroppers. Evidently the common division here is one-fourth of the crop for the sharecropper. The priests seem to regard the tuan tanah, who is the ritual and adat leader, as the worst.

622 We had some gin with the priest and then went
159 to the house of the guru Roy. He was Vatter's[1] assistant, and his house is the biggest in the kampong. He could be the kepala kampong, but because he is a guru, he passed the post on to his younger brother. They belong to the Hurin suku, which is different from the usual thing,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113—Analyst]

R

304 Formerly almost everyone filed his teeth
178 down to the gums. Now this is optional, although most of them still file their teeth down a little for evenness. No more do they file them down to the gums. Women do not file them until they are married. Then they may or may not file them. Before, it was required. There is no specialist to do this. It is simply done by a clever person, with a
[302] stone. The teeth were blackened with varnish before, but now they let them color up with betel (and how they do). Tattooing was a matter of choice formerly as it is today. The tattooing of personal names, of course, is recent, and it is very frequently seen. There are no special beliefs in this regard. There was never any cutting here.

123 The next day I had to bring several people
181 to the hospital, and I became irritated and scolded at the way these people always pile in whenever I take any one of them anywhere. Even later today, just when I was thinking the assistant was going well, he made me the proposition that I should give him a tanda mata (remembrance, so he won't forget me) when I leave. He suggested a briefcase. He was very "sly" about it, but I can see that it is pure grasping. And they are too dumb to realize that I see through them. They think I can't see what they're doing.

●164 We worked at the pasanggrahan and later took the patients back to Roworeke. The assistant's wife has a three-week swelling, which looks like a bad bone condition, on the brow to the side. These are unhealthy folk. We brought
754 back the assistant's "foster mother," an old
756 woman who had been in the hospital for a week for some blood trouble. She is a bisa mari, a sorcerer, and the best one in Roworeke. She is also a dukun, and the folk call on her all

R

000 tubu musu, but plenty were held formerly.

Thus ended my work in Roworeke, a trying
● 164 place. The last day, Sunday, I again had to go to Ndona to get the old dukun, who was coming to give the kepala kampong a final treatment. The old man looked at me with bleary eyes as he entered the jeep for the second time in his life (and probably the last), and he seemed a bit less scared. He took my hand to help him in. What was he thinking, if anything, about this which was probably his first direct meeting with a white man? I later asked the doctor in Ende what could have been the illness that caused the nose hemorrhage, and he said it was surely malaria tropica.

[126] I had to take a last photograph of the kapi-
661 tan, with his new bike, (and the giri tumba and a few others). The bike, Arriens[1] says, has been quite a case. Evidently the kapitan was avid for one and bought one for fl. 300.00. He then told the Radja and the latter scolded him, as he said he should have it for only fl. 150.00 on the distributie. Arriens said that he did not know about all of this when the kapitan and the Radja appeared and the Radja said why not give this man a bike. Arriens said that several other kapitan were in line for bikes ahead of him. However, the Radja said that the kapitan was doing good work and should have one. As I see the game, the kapitan, if he received the distributie bike, might sell the other one and get back something. Perhaps the Radja likes to keep one Christian kapitan, or perhaps the kapitan does good work. Or perhaps he is so dumb that he makes for little trouble.

651 Today, Sunday, the kapitan said there was plenty of trouble, because about fifty men say they will not pay taxes. He says it is because they think merdeka means no payment of taxes.

1 [i.e. Controleur at Ende --Analyst]

Wa

721 at me and raised his brows, saying, "Ah, but
789 you are forgetting the kekuatan adjaib. It was not a matter of men alone." I am accepted as one who can appreciate the magical things. In this case he was pointing to "those intangible factors which mean so much in warfare."

842 There are no limitations on the number of children in a family. There is not even a conflict here with the church. He did say, however, that they know or think they know a medicine (at least he has heard that some women know about this) which might limit the number of children a woman could have (or did I say this?). Anyway, it is unthinkable.

The bigger the family the better it is. A
[614] big family, ama or suku makes its members cocky.
[534] As Roy says, he is a member of Hurint, the biggest sib here, and he would like to see the so and so who would try anything on him. He would have to settle with the group. Thus numbers mean strength all along the line.

162 The average size of the family here is about
178 eight individuals. Formerly, about fifty per cent of the children did not grow up. Now they
•165 nearly all live (I doubt this, but evidently
758 the change has been so dramatic with the introduction of modern medicine and cleanliness that it seems this way). I asked why, and they at once said new medicines and cleanliness.

355 Women do most of the upbringing. The father,
368 for example, just looks on once in awhile. The
178 mother is the crux, as well as other women. Later on, boys learn to work from their father and girls learn their tasks from their mother. The only change in all this is the school and church, especially of course the former.

581 There has been no significant change in the
178] concept of a "suitable man or wife." So little has the pressure for mere existence lessened that appearance and looks are minor. First of

We. The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof,
are easier to keep clean and are better in
general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the
kampong, and even fewer move out of or into
the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration
from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas
beyond Larantuka.

The kakang has the only telephone here.
20 There is no telegraph. There is no mail ser-
vice. There is no postman. The priest has a
battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië.
Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not
Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to
change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few
people have much knowledge about the world.
This is really the lowest place I have been in
yet. Most of the people are strongly attached
to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is
very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong
is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they
had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at
war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an
enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

R Smaller private rites are held for such
755 cases as illness. A medicine man or woman (and in the example given they said woman; perhaps they are more frequent than men) is called in and magical rites are performed.

582 We got onto the suku exogamy matter, and
614 they said at first that one could marry within
178 the suku if the relationship was at least three generations off. But I pressed this a little further and they seemed less certain. I looked over the list which is now up to No. 190, and I noticed only a single case of endogamy. This proved to be a man from the outside who had been "adopted" by the Odja (he was originally from Lio) long ago. He was still separate, however, and I noticed that although he is still trying to find the name of his suku in the old place, the assistant left the suku slot blank for him and his children. This proved to be a case of no bride price and hence matrilocal residence. Thus there is not a single case of suku endogamy. I suspect that they
[124] are either trying to fool me into thinking they follow only Catholic rules, or else they know the latter and talk about them. Or perhaps they just don't phrase the old rules in the same way any more, although they follow them actually in practice.

124 We got onto the schedule as he has written a few short answers already. They are not bad, but it is evident that thinking and writing are painful for him.

342 Formerly the kampong was much larger than it is today and the houses were bigger by far. They are still large. In regard to migration
166 the situation is not too clear, but it is quite evident that very few people leave. Most of the individuals who go away are police or soldiers who serve in other parts of Flores. There are also a few teachers who serve elsewhere in Flores. They nearly all come back later. Their

R

166 property and status are kept for them. If any youth wants to go out to seek his fortune, his family and the kampong officers oppose this. They do not want people to leave. There is a [186] strong sense of localism here. For example, [829] I asked why they knew so little about the kampongs which are not far away from them when I had come all the way from the United States to find out something about them. They said that they never went to other kampongs unless it was necessary. This seems to be the Flores pattern.

166 Very few people have immigrated. There are some from other kampongs in Ende and Lio, and in fact these areas account for the examples of immigration aside from the women coming to marry in. Normally, women who marry men from another kampong go to live with their husbands. There are a few individuals from Savu, one [563] Chinese family, and a fair number of Ende town folk on the lower border. They are not members of the kampong.

423 There are evidently two kinds of land: the kampong land in the older parts of the kampong, which is used by members; and border land, which used to belong to Ende or other kampongs and which was bought by either the kampong folk or the Ende folk who live there. Thus the borders have expanded by the latter means. The fields may be used only four to five years and then must lie fallow for a long time. I must get more on the system of land ownership.

614 I had a hard time getting the truth about the 124 suku organization from these people. They are dumber here than in Larantuka by far, and they have lost much more of the memory of the actual rules involved. Still, in Larantuka, I notice that I have to ask many people in order to get answers to some of the complicated questions, for example, in regard to marriage rules. But

Weo

614 All the people in Weol gelarang are of va'u
166 Weol. There is one exception, the va'u Tjepang. These folk came in before from Boleng, in North Manggarai. They settled in kampong Weol, but when things became crowded, they went below to kampong Tjantjar. The latter alone has many people who are not of the va'u Weol, except for real newcomers, such as the Ruteng folk in Ndung, who came to work in the gardens (evidently as coolies) and settled down. There are many outsiders in the mixed and new kampong Tjantjar.

614 The original ancestors of the va'u Weol came
773 out of a bamboo at a spot near the present spring
824 below Weol. There are bamboo trees there de-
784 scended from the original one. The original ancestors were a pair: Vako Dangka and Ine Karas. Not only is the bamboo taboo but also the lusa (red beans). For example, if a child eats these unwittingly, a fowl must be killed. They do not "cut off" the tongue symbolically with a leaf as is done in some other areas.

614 Women from other clans marrying into Weol
784 must take on the taboo of their husbands. A
562 Weol woman marrying into another clan may eat
783 lusa, but only after performing the rite called ela penteng pitak, which means "to clean off the mud." She must take on the totem taboos of her husband's clan. The woman marrying into Weol gives up her own taboos, but must also do the ela penteng pitak. This ceremony involves a pig sacrifice. Thus every woman marrying into another clan must do this rite to give up her own totems. The name of the totem taboo is tjek'ki.

565 There is a nobility which applies to the
632 radjas, dalu, and gelarang. The gelarang are
624 the tuan tanah (and kepala kampong) of the cen-
622 tral kampongs of the gelarang districts, for
[634] example, Weol. Thus Weol has two gelarang, and Ndung has only one, because the kepala kampong

114 brothers may not marry two sisters, as this is
582 very much taboo. A man may marry two sisters,
[632] however. They agreed that Coolhaas' on marriage
114 rules of the dalu seems correct. As for the
582 folk, the rules indicate preferred clans, but
614 they say this is not too strong. Thus the
rule is that Weol men get wives from Manges, a
va'u and gelarang in the dalu Velak, to the
west, although not very far. It is about a one
day walk from here. However, this is not by
any means the method followed at all times, and
actually only about twenty-five per cent of the
women married in here are from Manges (Manges
is now called Regak). These were originally
from Lelak or Relak, which is a neighboring
gelarang to Weol. Thus it looks like a clan
localized in district terms with marriage rules
between clan-districts as in Wouden's style. The
women of Weol usually marry men of Tjepang, the
clan which used to live in Weol also, when it
was a two-clan kampong, but who now have moved
down to Tjanjar. However, Tjepang is the name
of a kampong just to the west, also in the Velak
area. It looks as though the fact that Tjepang
[166] men married Weol women led to more and more
Tjepang men coming to live in Weol, until it
finally became half Tjepang. (Even now the
Ruteng folk who have houses in kampong Ndung
are mainly, if not all, men who have married
Ndung women, and the latter have gardens here
and so the men must come to live in their wives'
kampong.) I must get the marriage rules of
Ndung.

Men of Manges may not marry women of Weol.
582 And men of Weol may not marry women of Tjepang.
614 Thus it goes that Weol gives women to Tjepang,
583 but gets women from Manges. However, Tjepang
gives women to Lalong, and another clan gives
women to Manges. Bride exchange is taboo, which
582 is in line with the mother's brother's daughter
rule.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

243 where around the earthen plaza there are Every-
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They
looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the
peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it
were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with
shelleyes. It was set in cement.

From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
132 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However,
124 when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from
Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of
two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we
had to stay overnight at the house of a former
kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
the present scribe. The former kapitan has the
[181] oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see
the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of
Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan.
He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and
his cronies are taking everything. There is
only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente
Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed
from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And
now they are asking the Christians to move up

634 166 861 into the hills with their Christian and pagan relatives and leave the lower lands for the Mohammedans.

632 634 771 578 I wonder if the kapitan of Nggobe, the fat and aggressive man, plus the kapitan of Rodja, who seem to be the right hand men of the Radja, may not form a triumvirate of Mohammedan rule here. The Christians rely on the priests to intervene (the Dutch are no longer here for appeal), and it will result in a funny situation if there is Mohammedan-Catholic trouble here. Note also that of the seven radjas here, only one (Ende) is Mohammedan; and one pagan (Ngada). The others are Christian (Manggarai, Nageh, Sikka, Lio, and Larantuka). This presents a curious pattern, especially when one considers that the RIS is mainly Mohammedan. This is similar to the Ambon situation. The Christian majority locally is in a difficult situation with the former local Mohammedan minority now in the majority group of all Indonesia. No wonder the Christians of Indonesia are frequently against independence.

632 829 The former kapitan is quite bitter, but he is clearly glad to see us and talked a lot to us about his troubles, with the obvious although vague idea that we might get the United States to help in some way. He was impressed by the United States elective system and especially gasped with pleasure when we told him that if a leader was not good to the majority of the folk he would not get reelected. He was also impressed with the fact that we told him there are no radjas. But I reminded him that his claim to office rested on inherited succession, and he began to think. They like succession when it is to their advantage, but see the useful points in the elective system when they can visualize that such a condition might ruin their rivals.

000 bands under their knees formerly.

R Roworeke: On the next day we saw some pro-
582 gress made in making out the census. There are a couple of cases of endogamy, but they are seven "layers" distant.

I asked about the oro pesangga, which Such-
782 telen says are offering posts set before each
346 house in Ende. They said that oro is merely a more polite word for ata, man. And pesangga means merely to stab. Thus it means only a man who stabs, i.e. the one who does the sacrifice. This is very unclear. I got no further with it. Perhaps it is only in the mountains.

The central offering post, tubu musu, mentioned by Suchtelen, is found in Roworeke Asal. I must see it. Suku Gusa has one in Wolowaru,
[361] the deserted kampong lama above here. There the original settlers were Odja and the Gusa folk came in later. Then they both moved down to the present Roworeke.

166 The Ende folk who live in the border areas
361 of Ndetu and Tana Ri are papalele, i.e., people
[441] who have no land generally but who buy and sell. They have mere huts to live in, and they come for awhile and then leave. However, many of them have been in their huts for four to five years, so all of them will be entered in the census. They are not full members of the kampong, and indeed are regarded as mere "people who have arrived."

632 The list of gemeente in Ende is as follows (and the proper spelling is Rewarangga):

1. Nggobe (~~town and~~ inland).
2. Rodja (town and peninsula).
3. Rewarangga (five to eight kilometers).
4. Pulo Ende (island).
5. Rukuramba (km. 8 on the way to Badjawa).
6. Berai (km. 6 on the way to Badjawa).
7. Numba (km. 18 on the way to Badjawa).

[See p. 133 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

We

582 in other areas, or working in the gardens lo-
476 cated in another kampong. Here again, it is a
602 matter of marriage. Indeed, only if marriage
621 gives a person some sort of privilege to work in the other kampong does one usually engage himself in such work.

632 Relations between districts have not changed
582 much in recent years. If there are marriages
602 between the districts involved, the same situation obtains as between the kampongs just described. Similar situations are those involving different tribes. Bonds are formed if there are marriage links; if there are no such
[438] links there are no bonds. Trade is so small a factor that it is unimportant in intercommunity relations.

186 The people here love their own kampong and
621 feel that they are lost when they are outside.
●166 Figuratively and literally, they have no place in another kampong. They can see good in another kampong, however, and if they go elsewhere and return they tell about the good things there and may even adopt them themselves. Only the young people, and few of them, want to get out and see other places. Once they are married they never leave.

609 They say that if they leave their own kampong for another they become outsiders. They are then nipatale (beyond the fence). The other term used in suku terminology for outsiders is rere. It means "low." The opposite term, which also occurs among the suku, is belolong ("high").

578 All seven kampongs have been enemies of Riang
621 Kamië. The seven have remained about the same
614 in relationship to each other, but tales tell a
173 bit about the ranking among them. Riang Kamië was formed by a union of several kampongs which were separate formerly. These united into one kampong in defense against the Bai Pitu (seven

Wai

797 that there was less open conflict than in Leloba.
798 There was a chance to mix the pagan with the new
177 and develop a syncretism. In Leloba it was a
184 life and death struggle, and indeed it was, as
578 the issue shows, a showdown. Perhaps Roy refused to compromise. This is a very interesting contrast. They had their fight out in Leloba and gave up paganism, while Wailolong held onto a little of the old. Indeed, he says that the Catholics in Wailolong do many of the pagan rites today, whereas the Catholics of Leloba have no ceremonies left to participate in.

[665] Since there are no political parties here,
797 and the real issue in Wailolong now is religion,
177 since all depends on it, I went right back to
798 the struggle on this point too. The leader of
578 the Catholics in Wailolong is the guru from Bama. His outside origin is a handicap. (I am just about sure that Roy is the main man to destroy paganism in Leloba. He was the perfect man for the job.) The leader of the pagans is Blawa, the kelake of one of the Datong ama. He is the one who shares the office with the legitimate kelake, Doeng, who is less able to do so. The Radja tuan of this head suku is not so eloquent, and so Blawa is the center of resistance. I asked if he got along all right with the guru and with Roy, and he said yes. Again the mild-
[181] ness of the folk stands out, together with their
[152] tolerance. They simply do not show anger.

Anyway, the pagans, even Blawa, have given up. Their only struggle is over little things (please let us have at least one little girl for a tuno wudjo!). They just try to hold on, like their last gasp. They are going down the road to death, and after them the pagans will be eclipsed. It is dramatic.

●166 The only people who go away from here usually
484 go to jail, as Roy says. This is the only trip they make.

R

000 does not amount to much.

178 When new things first came in there were
578 certain troubles, but now most of that is over. Nowadays when the old men get drunk they flare up about the old days, but otherwise they keep quiet.

●166 The next day the kapitan said that the young men are now starting to talk about going off and becoming sailors or policemen. He has discussed this with the Radja, because he fears that if this goes on too much, the district will be drained of its present population (!). The Radja told him that he would allow only police trainees to leave. Does this mean that the people here have no freedom of movement? Perhaps an impelling factor in this talk is that the kapitan's younger brother recently left here after a vacation. He is a policeman and is being transferred to Sumba. It would take only a few examples to get the wanderlust going perhaps.

601 After a terrific struggle I got the kin terms, and as closely as I can figure them out they go as follows:

father	baba
father's brother	baba susu
father's sister	ho'o
father's brother's son	ari, ka'e (male speaking); nara (woman speaking)
father's brother's daughter	veta (man speaking); ari, ka'e (woman speaking)
father's sister's son	edja (man speaking); aki (woman speaking)
father's sister's daughter	veta (man speaking); ipa (woman speaking)

Wa

361 hills and down to the coast. This caused much
[648] malaria and misery all over Indonesia. And after many years, the Dutch let them move up higher again, having stopped the spirit of revolt. (One can find this very expression in the reports.)

Five families from Wailolong have moved into Balela, a kampong inside the town of Larantuka (note that several Leloba families have moved there too). Balela is a little uphill, and perhaps this is the reason for the movement. I also think that it may have some relations with the "behind the mountain" area. Anyway, of these five families, only one has moved back to Wailolong. They simply do not move very much.

443 No one, but no one, has moved into the kam-
438 pong, except for women marrying in (and the
[166] two gurus). There are no toko or shops in Wailolong. They do not even have warong here. The women come from the beach area to sell and buy a few things (e.g., to buy arak, and to sell fish). These women come from such places as Waibalun, Larantuka, etc. But there is not much trade.

484 Everyone here has seen at least some other kampong, if only a nearby one. There are some old people who have never seen Larantuka town, or at least that is what he thinks.

167 Only two people that he knows have left Wailolong to work in some other place. One of them at least went to Borneo. As yet they have not returned.

697 Roy said that all who have been to jail have
648 seen Larantuka town. This is one way to see the world. There is real bitterness here about the jail business, and I hear it cropping up
648 constantly. The Dutch really ruled here with an iron hand, especially Seegeler, they say, whose report I got from Twerda. He was the

342 in Tjantjar they use some nails, but also many
178 wooden pegs; perhaps the nails are expensive and hard to get).

Now comes the last stage, when the rectangular houses are coming in all over. A certain pastor went around showing how to build the rectangular type houses, and now everyone follows his model exactly. They do not know any variations! Until 1948 all houses in the Veol--Ndung area were round. Now there are only three left, and Number 11 is to be torn down this month, and they intend to tear down Number 8 soon. In the old days, and now, a round house lasted only ten years, anyway.

166 Usually, when they build a new house the
178 whole population of the old one moves out and
[342] into the new one en masse. This took place every ten years. They seldom move from the kampong. An exception was the mass move of Tjepang to Tjantjar twenty years ago.

In the past fifty years the only movement he knows of was the Tjepang one. Before this there were many moves out of Veol, and Veol
[614] va'u kampongs are found all over the area, as well as families from Veol. But this was all before fifty years ago.

The places to which Veol folk have moved are all in Manggarai, and only in the two or three nearby dalu or gelarang, for example Rahong and Tjibal.

Families move because of four causes, accord-
166 ing to the assistant: (1) arguments over whose
578 pigs are using the troughs and when, (2) arguments over pigs getting into gardens, whereupon the pig would be cut (like the buffalo I saw yesterday), (3) arguments between women over the use of pestles, and (4) marriages of men who went to live with their wives, taking the Veol name with them. Thus it seems that the main cause or causes are arguments, and they

We

166 578 affect mainly the younger branches of panga. The older ones are too important to leave.

[592] Most of the people who leave go as households, except for the men who marry out.

166 574 621 527 Those who leave never come back, as far as the assistant knows, but there have been returnees in other kampongs. They do come back, however, for the big feasts in the mother kampong. There are five kinds of festive returnees: (1) for kampongs in the gelarang Veol, all must come to Veol for the big feast, and so must Veol go to the tjabang kampong feasts. (2) for kampongs in the dalu Rahong, but in other gelarang, if there is a big feast, a delegation must be sent to the mother kampong, and vice versa. These kampongs have their own tuan tanah in the new Veol kampongs, whereas type (1) kampongs have only a tjabang tuan tanah. (3a) For kampongs outside the dalu Rahong, they may come if they want to, but they need not do so, and vice versa. They have their own tuan tanah. (3b) Isolated Veol families which live in kampongs among other va'u always come back, as otherwise there is no ritual life for them in relation to the ancestors, etc. (4) The Ndung and Veol folk, because they are nearby and of the same va'u, always come to each other's big feasts. (5) The Ndung area kampongs (Ndung gelarang) come to the Ndung feasts. Any of them may come to the Veol feasts too, and vice versa. The pattern in the gelarang Ndung is not so complex, as it is actually a branch of Veol.

527 574 756 The big feasts so treated are: (1) "New Year" which comes in November or December. It is not on any set day, but takes place when the gardens are all set and growing. The work is then over; (2) the building of a tuan tanah house; (3) a "buffalo feast," i.e., a cleansing of the kampong, a time decided by one of mbako, who decides that

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574 troubles in the kampong are due to influences
756 which must be exorcised.

756 This led to a discussion of the mbako.
[887] There are two to three mbako per kampong. They may be men or women, although they are usually men. They are called to work, a job which is not hereditary. They are always old people. They dream, see spirits (e.g., naga), look at their paraphernalia (for example, glass pieces, wood pieces), etc. However, there is no shamanism.

This led to a discussion of the secrecy surrounding the identity of the mbako. He is rather vague and said something about how they don't want to appear "proud." But this doesn't ring true, so I asked the mandur and he said it is because several mbako were imprisoned here because of witchcraft murders (what kind?). Anyway, here is the pattern of secrecy and fear which I see all over here.

166 Of those who have gone away, none has re-
574 turned to Yeol, as far as the assistant knows.
783 But there have been returnees to other kampongs.

If a returnee is a man who was imprisoned (note how often the jail theme comes up here; indeed the Dutch ruled by jails!) a feast must be given and buffalo killed. It is called the buka tali, to remove the rope. It also cleanses the returnee of the bad influence of the jail. When the Controleur Bedbeder and Pastor van Bekkum came back from Japanese imprisonment, wherever they went there was a buffalo feast in order to set them finally free.

If a family left the area without an argument,
166 then no feast is required on their return, un-
574 less it is a long time afterwards and they have
769 come from far away. For example, a policeman or a soldier who has been away for a long while would go through such a ceremony. Then there must be a feast given for two purposes: to tell

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166 the ancestors that they are back, and to offer
574 something to all the relatives who have died
769 since they went away. This applies to an individual who has been away for a long time and at some distance. If a family departed in anger and with hot words, they must give a feast on their return with the sacrifice of an animal "to clean off the dirty talk."

166 They like to see people return, because they always like to see their kampong and va'u increase in population.

When they move they take with them movables, cattle, etc. If they have relatives in the new kampong, they are received easily. It is notable that the assistant says the ones who leave are always the younger branches, and so they have no status to lose. As for land, the situation is not too clear. I suppose they lose it.

166 If they are merely moving to some nearby
578 kampong, for example, within the same dalu,
614 there is little opposition. If it is within
769 Manggarai, it is not so bad. But if there is a desire to move really far off, there is great trouble, and a youth would probably have to sneak away. The assistant helped a brother of his to sneak off to become a soldier (I think). They try every means to keep them home. All relatives try hard in this. If someone leaves anyway, they have a feast and there is much mourning. The bonds are very close and strong.

One of the main reasons for this family resistance to leavers is because they do not want to have the population of the family, panga, or va'u lessened. There is a great fear of depleting the strength of these units. No greater catastrophe can take place than to become extinct. And I found a beautiful ancestor cult reason on the part of the old. The assistant says that the father mournfully asks, "Who

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166 will give me food when I am dead?" This is
578 exactly like the ancestor cult of China, in
614 that there must be descendants to make sacri-
769 fices for the soul of the deceased. And there is the same mournful asking by a pagan father whose sons turn to Christianity and therefore probably will not keep up the rites for the dead ancestors: "Who will feed me after I am dead?"

776 This led to a discussion in regard to the
361 guardian spirit of the kampong. Each kampong
778 has such a re, called naga, and its abode is
[166] in the stone heap and the tree thereon in the pusat of the kampong. This is called the tjompang. If there is a great deal of trouble, e.g., illness, a succession of bad crops, etc.,
[756] the mbako may say that the naga is no longer any good, and if all the people so agree, the whole kampong is moved en masse. When this happens, the old tjompang and tree are left there in the old place and are abandoned. Thus it happens that a naga which for a long time has been benevolent may turn to be malevolent. This may be because the people have not pleased him, or just because he got wicked. He is no longer a good naga, and the people had better get out and get a new place and a new naga (how do they get a new naga? There is a very big feast for a new kampong, so perhaps a new naga is then installed).

Veol moved about two to three generations ago from the place noted on the map (c) on higher ground above the vatu Veol. I thought it was strange that the stone was there, outside of Veol and above Ndung, and also strange that the highest spot was empty. This is where Veol used to be, but the naga became so bad that Veol was moved about one hundred meters below. Also, I noted when I first entered that the tree was small, and when I asked why, they said it was

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776 because it was new. This is because it was
778 planted when they moved (or maybe it was a
361 second new one, as they said the old one died).
Anyway, there is no tree on the old site, just
an empty place and some stones. The old tree
has evidently died, as he says they do not cut
them down. No one would dare live in that
place again. They may go there occasionally
if there is a reason to do so, but they do
not remain there. It is a cursed spot. The
vatu Veol is a man, but he does not yet have
the story. When the kampong moves, they get
a new stone heap and tree (tjompang).

[166] Many kampongs have moved because their naga
have turned bad. Aside from Veol he mentioned
Meler and Ladja. They must keep the naga
happy, or the situation may become dangerous.
Thus the rites held at the tjompang have real
meaning. They are for the kampong naga.

342 The house naga lives in each house. His
776 place is the main post. High on this is a lit-
782 tle shelf hung from strings. On this place
from time to time the occupants place eggs,
rice, and bits of meat. Also, each family
apartment or section has a little hanging shelf
for the house naga's food. The main post is
especially important, and that is why at cere-
monies they must give it blood from animals,
etc. (There must be a link here with the giv-
ing of food to the posts of the Larantuka korke;
note that Roy said they must "feed" the posts.)

342 If there is much trouble in the house, the
776 mbako may say that it is because for one reason
[756] or another the house naga is no longer any good.
Then they must dismantle the house and build a
new one. Many and many a house has been torn
down and the folk have then built a new one for
this reason. And when they do this, a great
expense is entailed, because they may not use
the old wood. They sell it to another family

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342 or another va'u, who will not carry the naga
776 with them. They buy entirely new wood, even to the very small pieces. They can use no part of the old house. I can see a house built with modern tools being torn down because the naga had turned bad (here again is an interesting case of technique and adat, the new and the old).

This is all good information, but it came
124 entirely through questioning, and I had to drag things out a bit, because he is very slow in giving information on his own. Here again I see the secrecy, the reluctance, and the fear which is exhibited so often here. He is under a strain, I think. He sets his jaw and almost groans as the information is pulled out.

This is all new material. I doubt that much of it if any has been published.

In the past fifty years I do not know how
166 many people have come to live in this kampong area, but right now the entrants are as follows:

Ndung: 29 women have married in.
9 men have married in.
14 couples have moved in from the outside.

Veol: 27 women have married in.
4 men have married in.
4 couples have moved in from the outside.

None of the people who have come into these kampongs from other areas has come from far away. The farthest that any of them has come from is Todo. I made a list of every case, but there is no use to keep it, because there is no pattern. They are all from nearby places. The suku information is more important in order to see what suku have married in.

The incomers are of three types: women who normally marry in; men who abnormally come to live matrilocally, either because they have paid

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166 no bride price or come for some other cause; and those who have come to "work in the gardens" and have settled in the kampong.

166 425 624 This last category accounts for the many outside couples. Thus I discovered that they can sell land to people from outside, with the consent of the tuan tanah, who, so far as the assistant knows, never makes any trouble over this. The person merely informs the tuan tanah that from now on the tribute from his field such and such will be paid by so and so. There are families which have sold all of their land, but this is rare. They usually sell a part of the lands. What happens is that once a new garden is laid out (and most of the gardens here are in the star shaped pattern) and the tuan tanah has divided the wedges among the families, the assigned section belongs to the family until or unless it is abandoned, whereupon the claim lapses and it is given to another family. The family can sell its garden land (so assigned) to anyone, with notification given to the tuan tanah. The outside people are those who have bought land here, and have come to live here. Thus the assistant, whose family land is in Pau, has bought land in Tjantjar and has moved there.

425 624 This led to a discussion of the division of land. Only when a new garden is laid out is the lodok pole set up. The tuan tanah stands here when he divides the wedges. Each family must get a slice, or perhaps if there are too many families and thus the wedges would be too small, some families await their turn when a new garden is laid out. Once the lodok is used, it stands until it falls. Then a stone is placed at the navel, and there each year the rites of the garden are held.

[565] [634] [661] Then came the "low-down" about the radja. I asked how then do the kraeng get land? Do they

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565 Pongkor. The whole thing is in the dark. I
624 must check Coolhaas at length. The names of
167 the dalu are all Manggarai, and simple. The
174 Radja merely has a Manggarai name.

166 The newcomers in the kampongs here are no
621 cause for worry, because the original kampong
614 dwellers keep control, no matter how many newcomers there are and how few of them are left. There is a kampong where there are only three old households left, and there are about forty outside households. The three keep control.

Those who have come into the kampongs here comprise both unmarried and married folk. The former all marry in. Some of the present folk [567] who are named as of va'u Veol may well be of slave origin. Slaves were taken into the va'u of their owners. Everyone in the kampong knows which families in the va'u are of slave origin, but they will not tell outsiders. It is certain that the slaves are among the va'u Veol folk, if any.

Usually newcomers have relatives within the kampong, and this is the way so many Tjumbi entered. These relatives form an opening wedge, and others follow. This is like immigration in the United States.

Very few come into the kampong and then leave. The only case is the Tjepang clan. It entered long ago and left about twenty years ago for Tjantjar, en masse. This happens often. A clan enters and increases so much, while the original clan also increases in size, that in the end the original clan says that the immi- [624] grant clan must move. Then the other clan is given a gong-gendang, one of them becomes the tuan tanah of the branch kampong, and off they go. This is what happened in the case of Tjantjar.

624 The man who becomes the branch tuan tanah is
[614] the tuan panga of the clan. He gets the gong-

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624 gendang (the aradjang pattern) from the head tuan tanah of the original kampong.

166 609 [443] [335] The groups of people who visit the village more or less regularly (actually only occasionally) are as follows: (1) pastors, (2) traders to buy stock, Chinese, Arabs, etc., (3) a Chinese pedlar who comes with a coolie carrying a pack, (4) government men, and (5) specialist carpenters who come to build houses.

They stay for a short time only, except for the carpenters, who stay for about two months.

One other class is important. It comprises the outsiders who have gardens in the kampong. They come to work in their gardens, stay awhile and leave. They sleep with the kampong folk as their guests.

Family relationships are definitely interrupted by migration. [584] Usually one starts the ball rolling by marriage or by buying a garden, and then relatives follow. This is important in regard to marriage because the young folk become acquainted in this way. It is a case of "propinquity".

The immigrants must follow the local adat absolutely. 166 609 518 They take part in the same rituals, pay the tributes of the land, etc. Thus there is no trouble. However, there are occasional difficulties in managing the gardens. For example, the local people become jealous of the outsiders who have big crops, or argue one way or the other. There is not much trouble, however, and usually things are quite serene.

There are no specific ideas about the outside world. [783] Still, when one returns after a long stay in some other place, they have a rite to "clean the dirt." I am informed that there is no opposition shown toward those who accept the outsiders. However, I wonder if there may not be at certain times. Evidently there is no policy of "exclusion," and my guess is that if outsiders are not welcome they are told so and that is all.

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000 that is all.

166 609 567 614 769 There are no rites for ordinary folk who just enter the kampong. In the old days, however, when new slaves came in they had to have rites in order to tell the ancestors that they were new members of the clan. This pretty well clinches the slave entering va'u matter. They just do. This is why the former slaves are members of the clans. Only those on the inside know who is who. The longer the time gets from slavery days the more it is not brought up.

563 443 793 The only Europeans here are the pastors. The traders are Chinese and Arabs and natives. The business of the occasional Chinese pedlar with his coolie is quite usual here. They stay usually for only a few hours.

The pastors tell stories to the local people about Europe, etc. The Chinese who are regular [203] pedlars have been in Manggarai for a long time, and they spread some news.

484 In these local kampongs everyone has been to another kampong. The women go outside their own kampong less often and do not go so far [438] away as the men. Men go out to trade horses, buy tobacco, etc. During the Japanese occupation they ranged far in order to buy cloth, etc. However, all of this was within Manggarai. All have been to Ruteng.

All have been outside Rahong, as they have been to Ruteng. At least fifty per cent of the local population have never seen the sea. One person has gone to Ende, and two have gone to Kupang as soldiers. One went to Makassar to [167] work. The Japanese took several to Riung to work, but most of the people have never left Manggarai. No one from here has ever left Indonesia. In all Manggarai, the assistant thinks only one person has ever left Flores. He is a pastor, I think.

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484 In the Japanese time trips were made to
166 seek cloth, etc., but now this is done to a
lesser degree, and the people never leave Mang-
garai although there is quite a bit of movement
[438] within the area. The people who do this moving
are the men who buy and sell horses, tobacco,
etc. If they are away for long or at some dis-
tance, there is a feast when they return. The
four who have left the area have not yet re-
turned. When they do there will be a great
gathering to hear their experiences. The as-
sistant has seen this happen in Pau. Formerly
there were no relations really with even near-
by places like Tjumbi, except for marriages,
and if they went to war in the dalu's army, or
had internal wars, (which were rare). Nowadays
there are many more relations within Manggarai.
[621] In the rituals the only environs mentioned are
the environs of the kampong. This comprises
the ritual world and the social world of yore.
484 Today they travel more than they did before,
178 but still they do not go very far. Formerly
492 any outsider was fair game for robbery and
166 murder. Thus they were afraid to go afar.
[609] There is little in the way of transportation
here. Also, the kampong is a bit too far from
Ruteng to make regular trips back and forth
easy. However, the horses make Manggarai peo-
ple greater travelers than, for example, the
inhabitants of Larantuka. Every household has
[422] at least one to two horses. They are a big
thing here, and now I see why I got the impres-
sion at once that there is more internal move-
ment here than in most of the Flores areas. It
is the horses. The people are fine riders, and
the horses, although small, are fast and
[562] spirited. Women used to mount carefully and
the horse on which they rode was led. Now they
jump on and gallop off (still, I don't see many
women riding horses).

War

829 all, have heard of Holland and Japan. Beyond these very little is known. Many people know the word America. Wilcox was here recently and then they heard of England. But these are just names. The gurus in Tjantjar know a bit about the outside world.

Nothing is known about the population figures of Indonesia or even for Flores. The school level is too low for even children to know these things. The assistant, however, knows the population of Indonesia, and of the world (exact! two billion!). He knew that there were four hundred and fifty million people in China too! But he did not know about India or the rest of the countries. He was surprised that Holland was so small.

186 Formerly, in the wartime, there was a great feeling for the kampong, but no real thought in regard to patriotism. They like their place and their adat. They dislike Ngada. They say that the people in Ngada kill, are coarse, etc. They don't like Ende, Larantuka, Sikka, etc. They simply do not like the adat from other areas. This is the main point. They hate Bima, and have vivid memories in this regard. Formerly there was no criticism of the Dutch, but now they are getting onto colonialism a bit in retrospect. However, there is no real thought on these things. They know that the Chinese are tipu orang (crooks). They consider Arabs as better people; in fact, they are O.K. They are rich. They have no knowledge about other people.

166 There are kampongs which are declining in population and seem not to amount to much, but the people stay there because it is their kampong. They simply do not move unless they decide their naga is no good.

764 A dead person must be taken back to the home kampong for burial unless (1) it is too far or impossible, or (2) they are already established

[1 i.e., author of "White Stranger, Six Moons in the Celebes", London, 1949 — Analyst]

505 Reo) and went out to a good cattle ship Waikelo.
166 I talked with a Manggarai lad who was a guard at the pasanggrahan, and he said that there were plenty of Manggarai in Reo now, living in a mixed kampong. They are all Catholics. They no longer have any ceremonies. They have no tjompang. They are from all over and come to seek work because the mountains are so poor.

000 After one day in Sumba: I went to Waingapu, in the Kambera area, and there I met Oudehand, who was formerly at Larantuka. He is a fine man, but is looking for funds to carry on adatrecht work in North Halmahera where he was located before. He is quitting his job soon. We talked for a long while about Leloba, as is apparent from the notes. He lent me his car to drive around the area.

Most of the people in the town of Waingapu are from Savu, Roti, or Minahasa; mainly the former two. The real Sumba folk live in the kampongs. I saw no real big old stone tombs, but I did see a cement one which was large. It was the tomb of a radja, with two horse-riding human figures on top. The stone table grave monuments are all over. They are flat and heavy and are set on uprights. I talked with one of the main radjas at the house. In front were the cement tomb and many tables. He chewed betel and had a headcloth, and a Minahasa assistant (who like many Minahasa officials here can speak a bit of English), and he was a terrible drinker. He is a big radja, but not so big as the two biggest (for East and West Sumba respectively). Oudehand said later that he is supposed to be a Christian (most of them here are Catholics) but seldom goes to church unless he is drunk, when he rides his horse into church.

I asked about the clans (kabisu), and he made a classic gesture of thumbs and fingers in a

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau OD10 Buru OH8
Enggano OD6 Ceram OH9
Flores OF9 Gayo-Alas OD7
Redjang-Lampong. OD12

2. *Localized clans.*—The complex of localized sub-clans seems to occur in the interior of many of the smaller islands (*e.g.*, Enggano, Buru, Ceram and Flores).[16] Along the coasts, however, mixed villages have grown up consisting of over-seas aliens and emigrant family groups from the interior. In moving toward the coast, kinship groups keep their independence. Even though they live together with the family groups of other clans in villages under a village chief (korano), they occupy their own exclusive land. The village chief, however, has but little authority over those who are not his fellow-clansmen.

3. *Regional communities of mixed clans.*—Mutually unrelated sub-clans, which make up a territorial community are reported, in the first place, among the Minangkabau. Matrilineal clan members not living in the same "nagari" do not form an autonomous community. The communities are, firstly, the family group (sub-clan) inside the village. These family groups are parts of the same portions of different clans. Those that are of the same clan have become independent by fission; secondly, some (not all) unions of such parts of family groups belonging to unrelated clans; thirdly, the "nagari" formed of sub-clans consisting of family groups, organized or not into units. Minangkabau clans, like the Gayo and the Pubian and many others, have their own names.

It is impossible to find a description of the Minangkabau which does not begin with the warning, "Do not generalize." In consequence, to an even greater degree than in other regions, only main outlines can be presented. If their social organization is to be formulated through a reconstruction of its development from the basic units on up, it is necessary to begin with a given number of clans. At a given instant, women of different clans (along with brothers and their brothers' wives) settle on either unowned land or desert land in the area of disposal of some territorial community. Gradually, the joint families grow in size, and so also the settlement.

The process is as follows. Family groups spring up from the women who are looked upon as the first mothers of the settlement. Subdivisions of clans group themselves as indivisible autonomous communities around the family property (lands, the residence, heirlooms, the family title of the head of the family). The family group (sa buah paruiq) should be imagined as originally located in a family house of its own, with the oldest man of the senior genera-

[16] In the recently explored interior of Dutch New Guinea, localized clans have also been discovered.

484 day at a time. Some people here go to the mountains, but they never go very far. Almost none has ever left the district, and those who have did so seldom and perhaps only once, for example to Nggobe or to another nearby area. Only the [625] police have been to Ngada or other Flores areas. And there are only two policemen.

[167] There are no soldiers here. No one here has ever left Indonesia.

[443] There are no regular traders in the kampong. One could say that there are no regular trips made to the outside.

Those few who have been outside of Roworeke relate, on their return, that other places are completely different from Roworeke. How true this is! They are not specific, however.

[178] There has been little change in the very non-moving character of the people here. They just know so little that they never think about leaving.

People here who have never seen any other place than Roworeke and Ende, i.e., just the [162] road to town and back, number about two hundred and fifty, that is about fifty per cent of the population. For example, these people have never seen even Rukuramba. This is especially true of the old people, although all except the children have seen Ende. Trips to Ende are not frequent. This is perhaps the most completely non-moving place I have seen yet.

484 152 186 Reasons given for not moving or visiting or traveling outside of this immediate vicinity are that there is too much work in the kampong for people to leave at any time. And formerly, there was a strong fear of war and a general fear of anyplace except home. There was never any reason to leave the area, but if one wanted to there was no objection. Aside from the war danger in former times (especially did Roworeke fight against Nggobe and Rodja), the old folk

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361 hills and down to the coast. This caused much
[648] malaria and misery all over Indonesia. And after many years, the Dutch let them move up higher again, having stopped the spirit of revolt. (One can find this very expression in the reports.)

Five families from Wailolong have moved into Balela, a kampong inside the town of Larantuka (note that several Leloba families have moved there too). Balela is a little uphill, and perhaps this is the reason for the movement. I also think that it may have some relations with the "behind the mountain" area. Anyway, of these five families, only one has moved back to Wailolong. They simply do not move very much.

443 No one, but no one, has moved into the kam-
438 pong, except for women marrying in (and the
[166] two gurus). There are no toko or shops in Wailolong. They do not even have warong here. The women come from the beach area to sell and buy a few things (e.g., to buy arak, and to sell fish). These women come from such places as Waibalun, Larantuka, etc. But there is not much trade.

484 Everyone here has seen at least some other kampong, if only a nearby one. There are some old people who have never seen Larantuka town, or at least that is what he thinks.

●167 Only two people that he knows have left Wailolong to work in some other place. One of them at least went to Borneo. As yet they have not returned.

697 Roy said that all who have been to jail have
648 seen Larantuka town. This is one way to see the world. There is real bitterness here about the jail business, and I hear it cropping up
648 constantly. The Dutch really ruled here with an iron hand, especially Seegeler, they say, whose report I got from Twerda. He was the

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648 controleur around 1931, when the radja also was an unfit person.

●167 I was surprised when he said that just about all the young men here would like to leave and see the world. But they have almost no chance. If they did have such an opportunity, there would be a great exodus here.

721 The only great fear in the old days was war-
152 fare, and this is an intermittent danger today also. Thus, Leloba was at war with Waibalun last month, and it is feared even to walk near there. He admits that there was some fear of bad spirits formerly, but this was relatively not so bad. Still, my guess is that there are few people who are brave enough to go and sleep in other places.

20 The kakang has a telephone in his office. The only telegraph here is in Larantuka. There is no postal service. Letters must be gotten at the Larantuka Post Office. There is no radio here, and hardly anyone has ever heard one.

The mandur of the kakang transmits important orders from the administration. Rumor is very important as a means of communication, but there is practically no other means here.

The few who receive or read the mission newspaper are asked about what is in the paper. Bulletins are never posted. They see them only in Larantuka town.

443 There are a few women who come here to buy
438 and sell some items. The small market at Okka crossroad on the beach is held once a week, on Tuesday, in the afternoon and until Wednesday. There used to be another market on the beach at Delang.

However, there is no market system here. Roy says they simply have too little surplus to sell, and nearly nothing to buy with. In Adonara, which is richer, there is a regular pasar ring system.

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546 the sound track was just a gramophone playing a kind of spoken accompaniment to the pictures! This shows either that he has actually never seen a movie since sound came in, or that he did not understand. If the latter, it shows that few if any Malay language films come to Ende. Yet the Dutch I asked said that they thought there had been a few (but they seemed to be not certain about this). What a revelation, if this is true, it will be in Ende to a lot of folk when the first Malay movies come in. I can hardly believe this. Maybe the kapitan has seen only silent movies at the mission. I should have asked more closely, but I always have such trouble working with these restless people that I forget to follow up, and I am glad to get what I can and move on.

538 I get the idea that tales are important here, though probably much less so than in such places as Larantuka.

527 I wonder if any of the three holidays they have here mean much to these people, who work only in the gardens. They probably just keep on going. But I seem to note more men about on Sundays than on other days, and my guess is that Sunday has become a kind of holiday.

167 They say that many young men would like to
651 see the world but have no opportunity to do so.
486 The kapitan says that perhaps nearly all in the town districts of Nggobe and Rodja would leave if they got the chance. But the radja would not give permits anyway. I asked Arriens[1] about this infringement of freedom of movement, and he says it is for the purpose of collecting taxes. I guess it is also because traditionally these small units have been like nations, with everything outside the radjadom to be considered as foreign. I can see why there is chiseling and why the radjas do not want their

[1] [i.e., Controleur at Ende--Analyst]

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167 651 486 men to leave, as the tax is on each household headed by an adult man (fl. 12.50 annually), and thus the radja would lose income if they emigrated.

266 681 754 There was head-hunting here before. They say that the only cannibalism was the eating of the hearts of enemies in order to gain additional strength. There was no human sacrifice, they say, but they have heard of the Lio stuff (and I checked with Arriens[1] and noted that de Bruine[2] in a report on Lio did not list this as among the crimes of the executed Radja of Lio--whose alias was Pius!--but Arriens says that he did it anyway). The only way a person could be given the death punishment was to be proven a suwanggi.

778 831 178 More about the tubu musu. They say that "musu" means "two become one." If so, this is perfect, and indeed the tubu musu is similar to the linggam-yoni. Indeed, they say that it consists of an upright stone, less than a meter high, standing on a flat one. "Tubu" they say means "stone," but I note that Arndt gives it an "obscene" meaning (or is it the musu part that is obscene? check Arndt's Lio dictionary).

They have a rather vague idea that this tubu musu may represent male and female. And it can have children. Thus it is like many such stone-bearing stones in Indonesia, including the stones of Larantuka and some on Ambon. I asked if the tubu musu still had children, and this is beautiful, "no more." It is like Roy saying that the familiars of his father appear no more (but they are there and he could call them: "I can call the spirits from there, etc." "Yes, but will they come?") He has no doubt that they would come. I should have asked if the stones still could have children. Anyway, both they and Roy are completely serious about what used to happen. There are no more rites held at the tubu musu, but plenty were held formerly.

[Analyst]

1 [Controleur at Ende--Analyst]; 2 [Probably Controleur at Lio--Analyst]

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Wa In regard to the Radja and the land matter,
425 I finally got it straight. The radja and kraeng
565 used to take what they wanted, worked or un-
634 worked. Also, they used to make the lampang
661 work the unworked fields and gardens. Starting
466 about two years ago there has been no more free
178 labor, but the radja and the kraeng must pay wages. If anyone resisted before, he and the whole family could be enslaved instantly. Even now, they can generally get undeveloped land for the asking when a new field is laid out, but they must work it themselves or pay laborers wages. They do not need to pay for undeveloped fields, any more than the local folk have to pay for them. But other aliens, like the assistant here, must buy such land. If the radja or kraeng wants to obtain developed land today, he must pay for the labor done on it. Even the last remaining privilege, to ask and get a piece of undeveloped land, is in danger. A year ago, in Dalong, the folk took back from the radja a piece of land that had been given him and that he had worked. Thus the old privileges die under merdeka.

565 All of the above information about the dalu
624 being here only since 1880 is wrong. Coolhaas ¹
167 has reported that dalu were in Manggarai in
174 the eighteenth century. Their origin is unknown. The assistant says that they all came from overseas. The gelarang were merely tuan tanah. The kraeng were among the dalu. They were originally the dalu of the Todo-Pongkor area. Thus the dalu have been here for a long time. They were evidently pro-consuls of Bima and Makassar (which fought long over Manggarai). The pastor says that he thinks some of them were originally locals who were elevated, and others came from the outside. The assistant insists that their family trees are different from those of the gelarang. Maybe they represent a partly elevated gelarang and partly kraeng from Todo-

¹[See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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565 Pongkor. The whole thing is in the dark. I
624 must check Coolhaas at length. The names of
167 the dalu are all Manggarai, and simple. The
174 Radja merely has a Manggarai name.

The newcomers in the kampongs here are no
166 cause for worry, because the original kampong
621 dwellers keep control, no matter how many new-
614 comers there are and how few of them are left. There is a kampong where there are only three old households left, and there are about forty outside households. The three keep control.

Those who have come into the kampongs here comprise both unmarried and married folk. The
[567] former all marry in. Some of the present folk who are named as of va'u Veol may well be of slave origin. Slaves were taken into the va'u of their owners. Everyone in the kampong knows which families in the va'u are of slave origin, but they will not tell outsiders. It is certain that the slaves are among the va'u Veol folk, if any.

Usually newcomers have relatives within the kampong, and this is the way so many Tjumbi entered. These relatives form an opening wedge, and others follow. This is like immigration in the United States.

Very few come into the kampong and then leave. The only case is the Tjepang clan. It entered long ago and left about twenty years ago for Tjantjar, en masse. This happens often. A clan enters and increases so much, while the original clan also increases in size, that in the end the original clan says that the immi-
[624] grant clan must move. Then the other clan is given a gong-gendang, one of them becomes the tuan tanah of the branch kampong, and off they go. This is what happened in the case of Tjantjar.

624 The man who becomes the branch tuan tanah is
[614] the tuan panga of the clan. He gets the gong-

We

000 that is all.

166 There are no rites for ordinary folk who
609 just enter the kampong. In the old days, how-
567 ever, when new slaves came in they had to have
614 rites in order to tell the ancestors that they
769 were new members of the clan. This pretty well clinches the slave entering va'u matter. They just do. This is why the former slaves are members of the clans. Only those on the inside know who is who. The longer the time gets from slavery days the more it is not brought up.

563 The only Europeans here are the pastors.
443 The traders are Chinese and Arabs and natives.
793 The business of the occasional Chinese pedlar with his coolie is quite usual here. They stay usually for only a few hours.

The pastors tell stories to the local people about Europe, etc. The Chinese who are regular
[203] pedlars have been in Manggarai for a long time, and they spread some news.

484 In these local kampongs everyone has been to another kampong. The women go outside their own kampong less often and do not go so far
[438] away as the men. Men go out to trade horses, buy tobacco, etc. During the Japanese occupation they ranged far in order to buy cloth, etc. However, all of this was within Manggarai. All have been to Ruteng.

All have been outside Rahong, as they have been to Ruteng. At least fifty per cent of the local population have never seen the sea. One person has gone to Ende, and two have gone
[167] to Kupang as soldiers. One went to Makassar to work. The Japanese took several to Riung to work, but most of the people have never left Manggarai. No one from here has ever left Indonesia. In all Manggarai, the assistant thinks only one person has ever left Flores. He is a pastor, I think.

632 and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.
103 Roworeke means: rowo is a bandjir river, dry in the dry season, and one can see this plainly; reke, a kind of red fruit. Watu Roga means a kind of soft stone. The scribe who will become
115 my assistant is a mild looking little fellow, of the suku Ambu Odja, and of the kampong Roworeke. He is married, however, into the kampong Watu Roga. His name is Adrianus Migo, and he is a Catholic. In the kapitanschap Rewarangga there
632 are eighteen kampongs (the kapitanschap Gunung
622 Rodja has fifteen kampongs). In each there is
614 a kepala kampong. There are also six main suku in the kapitanschap: Rewarangga, Wanda, Ambu Odja, Rea Ndona, Tibo (or Gusa), and Ambu Tara. There are members of other suku in the kapitanschap, but they are not old inhabitants. They
[171] have moved in (like the "newcomer non-dati" fams of the Ambon negri). The kapitan of Rewarangga were formerly of suku Rewarangga, but after three of these in succession the kapitan passed into suku Ambu Odja, and there have been four of these. Thus about seven generations are accounted
[173] for, or about two hundred years, but the man says that Roworeke is at least four hundred to five hundred years old. This may indicate that the kapitan organization came in only about two hundred years ago. It is not at all certain and I must ask further questions about this kapitan business.

632 The kapitan must be chosen from any of the
565 noble families of any of the five suku. In each
614 suku there are two families which are noble and therefore may become kapitan. Generally the son of a dead kapitan is chosen, but if he is not satisfactory they may choose a kapitan from another noble family of the same suku or from any of the noble lineages of any of the other four
632 sukus. The big reason that the Rewerangga suku
614 lost the kapitanschap was that it had become al-

614 are somewhat moved around, however, and are even scattered, so that one may find parts of a suku in entirely different areas. I must check on this.

624 As for the four adat chiefs, aside from the mosa laki mere, who sits in the center when judging, the giri tumba (whose name means "spear running around") stands or sits to the right of the mosa laki mere. The ndeto au, who is an [791] expert on making adat stuff which I judge to be ordeal material or magical divining, sits or stands to the left of the mosa laki mere. The sike sani acts as a watchman or policeman. I must get the full account of the functions of these men.

701 Then I asked if they had had war leaders formerly and they said yes. They are called "brave men" or atambani (ata-m-bani or orang brani). They said that they were fierce and feared.

793 Then I asked about the priests, and they said 789 that they still have plenty of them. They are called bisa mari. I got the usual story of how •171 they prove their powers of second sight, and it sounded just like the Ambonese talking about guna-guna. These priests are not hereditary, and never were, but the sons usually learn their lore from their fathers.

648 There is much talk here about war with the 175 Dutch and I am told that there were uprisings all over Flores in the year 1907. I was also told of the stern methods of suppression used in those times and how afterwards there was wholesale jailing of the Florenese. They seem to have lost their nerve then and today they no longer rebel.

773 I asked about the old myths concerned with 769 ancestors. The Kapitan Gunung Rodja, who is descended from Djari Djawa, the Madjapahit man who came here on a whale, told a different version

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632 then announces the chosen candidate. He has veto
624 power, and if he says no to a candidate, it is
final. The kapitan must come from either Re-
[614] warangga or Odja suku. If all agree, and the
giri tumba also agrees, they may choose a man
from Reandona suku, but this has never happened.
[178] In the old days the kapitan happened always
632 to be from Rewarangga suku, but recent ones have
565 been from Odja. If the present kapitan dies,
614 there would be about ten eligible candidates. I
611 think this means ten from Odja. These include
171 the sons of the old kapitan plus others from
eligible families. But there are over a hundred
families in Odja. Thus only certain families
are of the bangsawan high enough to be eligible
for kapitan. I could not get it straight who
these families are, but evidently they represent
the descendants of the great ancestor of the suku
Odja in the direct male line. This is always via
the oldest son. Thus the oldest branch of the
oldest branch, etc., as in Polynesia.

613 I asked if there was a name for the set of
565 noble kapitan families in Odja, and they finally
632 said, after much argument, Djo'bi Bene. To this
"lineage" belong the present kapitan, the scribe,
and the giri tumba. The kapitan came in and gave
the family tree of the lineage. So far as I
could see, it ran:

1. Neni
2. Djata
3. Odja
4. Koru Rudja
5. Djo'bi Bene

Thus these are the next ones to Djo'bi Bene.
I must come back again and find out exactly who
Djo'bi Bene was, and where his grave is located,
etc. This was frustrating, and I could not get
[124] it straight at first. I was always worried about
the loss of time in such slow questioning.

000 notable.
797 The church in Riangkamiß is built with refer-
177 ence to the four ritual sibs of Kottang, Hurin,
346 Keleng, and Marang. This is an example of the
[614] rule used: anything of a social nature is all
right, but if it is of a religious nature and
related to the old spirits or ghosts, etc.,
Catholicism won't take it. This is like the
● [171] death feasts in the Toradja country, where the
Protestants will let the Christians go to these
social rites but not to the great exorcism
rites. Thus the Catholics here are not allowed
to go to the old rites on the nama in front of
the korke, but as the priest admitted, it is
hard for the folk here to see the difference,
and they tend to regard these retained aspects
of paganism as full paganism because they are
symbols of the whole pagan system.
797 He told much that was interesting. There is
178 in paganism here a need for a girl to be the
243 rice maiden for the fertility rites (Vatter[1]
796 tells the story too), and the old adat chiefs
insisted in one kampong that at least one girl
should not be converted, as at least one is
needed to be the rice maiden. This shows the
desperate plight of paganism. They must beg to
have something vital allowed to remain. "Give
us one only," they ask. He said it is true that
just about all of the young people are Catholic,
but many of the old remain pagan.
[771] Later, in Wailolong the guru Roy said there
are few, but very few young people who are pagan.
578 He told us about a war in which a man was killed
411 yesterday. It was a border war between Leloba
and Waibalun and the police had to stop it.
They fight these wars all the time, with bow and
spear and knife. I asked if maybe it were not
511 because they were hungry and need land. And
[578] hunger and misery cause aggression anyway. He
denied this, but I think it is true, especially

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We Then we went to
614 the boys' house in Wailolong, which turned out to
882 be a windowless house with sleeping benches in-
562 side. Here the boys from about twelve years on
[342] sleep. Thus there is a real men's house here.
There are three, I think, in Wailolong, because
some of the suku share houses. Normally the
rule is one house per suku. It is taboo for the
girls to enter these men's houses.

124 Then we went to Leloba and began on the Vatter[1]
social organization material. They were delighted
to see the Vatter book, especially Roy who noticed
his name in it.

614 I started with the usual outline of groups and
got the following list of suku and subdivisions
and sub-subdivisions of the suku. I had told the
guru yesterday that there must be a sub-subdivi-
sion, but he said no. He said he had thought it
over and understood what I meant. The names
•[171] often have direct references to parts of a house,
and thus it looks like, as in Ambon, there used
to be one suku to one house. Thus Ama Marang
Do(ng) Lau(ng) means (the last words) bale-bale
laut, i.e., in the old days the ancestors used to
sleep on the bale-bale part on the sea side of
the ancestral house they shared with the other
division. Therefore, Ama Marang Do(ng) Rae(ng),
which means bale-bale darat, or the bale-bale
on the land side, was for the other division.
The former has more power than the latter.

614 As for the recurring Lango' Bele', it means
565 big house, while the twin term Lango' Kene'
788 means small house. The former is the section of
the subsib or ama, with more power. The latter
is the section with less power. Maki(ng) means
descendants. The whole system has reference to
the rank of the sibs, which is symbolized in
ritual animal killing. Thus Kottang holds the
head and is the chiefly or head suku normally.
The symbol is the head. Keleng holds the feet,
and they are the assistant suku to the head.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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614 giving the first fruits to the masters; (c) owing
567 certain duties to the masters; (d) respect shown
423 to the masters; and (e) not being in a good
582 place at feasts. They may intermarry, however, and the bride price for them is the same, etc. He said that even in the beginning they intermarried; in fact as soon as they got into the area they integrated into the marriage system. So strong is the need for these marriage rules that even slaves must be put into the system.

The Ama Rere is a peculiar case too. They
[727] are descendants of war captives brought back from the Maumeri area eighteen generations ago. They too have no ritual standing, as can be seen above in their lack of chance to do any of the duties of the Datong suku. They do not have their own land either. They have to work for
[796] Ia and Ib. That is, they have no ritual standing, no land, and they must do certain duties. In the marriage system, however, they are equal.

614 Also peculiar in the Wailolong setup is the
554 Ama Hurint. They do not have a full position
423 in the kampong, because their ancestors came in from Leloba. They have no land of their own in Wailolong. Each year they receive land for their use during the next year.

Then we got onto the schedule and learned a
721 number of incidental things. For instance, right now the Leloba folk are scared to walk along the road near Waibalun because there is a state of war. Thus this is a real war and not play, and there is real danger of death. The "big houses,"
778 i.e., the houses of the radja tuan and the kelake,
789 have holy stones before them. It is not proper
171 to call them nubanara but rather saoniwa(ng). The nubanara proper are the holy stones of the kampong in front of the korke. The saoniwa(ng) hold the magical power of the radja tuan and the kelake. The power of these stones invigorates the respective chiefs, and this is why the folk

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778 must give them respect and why the folk are scared
789 not to obey them. (Thus it is like the aradjang
171 in South Celebes.)

789 The guru really got going on magic power. He
721 said that they call on magic power especially
778 when they are going to war (and right now too).
769 If, for example, Wailolong were going to war tomorrow with Riang Kamiö as they did only some fifteen years ago, the respective radja tuan, kelake, and maybe even the molang would get to work the night before doing the magic stuff. Among the other things they would call on the ancestors for magic power and also go through the betel rubbing on face, bodies, etc. They would also kill animals and use gin, because blood and alcohol have power. Then, on the next morning, they would be full of magical power and would go to war. All the men would come to the "big houses" to be "treated."

778 These "big houses" of the suku and ama also
614 have sacred objects, including tusks, plates,
237 etc.

422 These tusks, all of them, are ama property.
583 If any member gains possession of one, he places it in the big house of his ama. Any man in need of some tusks for a bride price may take them. If the tusks of the ama are exhausted, he may draw on the tusks of the suku. Thus Kassi, who Vatter said had no tusks of his own, could not use any tusks because his ama no longer had any. He happened to be a member of the Hurint suku, and the guru, the kepala suku, gave him some finally from the suku store and thus he was able to get married.

583 The minimum price for any girl is five units
237 of tusks (I think this is a matter of length, that is, the small and large are reckoned up). One may pay more without limitation. It is not a matter of beauty.

584 Child betrothal is common here, but this is
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526 the heavy rain it started at two because it was
being played for a prize. One team was called
ATOM (Anak Tanah Orang Manggarai), and the
other was Pasir, from Reo. The latter team won.
526 Then the police played a team of radja kedua.
292 But the adat game in the other place (football
535 players, unlike barefoot players in Badjawa,
541 had real football shoes) was amazing. The men
721 wore horned head decorations, some of them
with plumes, and fancy coverings with plumes on
their bodies, as well as a kind of tail of
plumes stuck in the rear. They looked like
[171] Timorese warriors. This is the true ceremonial
dress of Manggarai, and they said they use them
in all kampongs for ceremonies. They had bells
on the rear which jingled as they danced with a
jigging step. It looked and sounded just like
American Indians at a powwow, except that the
dress was different. In addition, they yelled
from time to time. But the main point of the
[411] game is to try to strike the eye of the opponent
with a buffalo thong whip. The defender carries
a round buffalo hide shield and a curious bow-
shaped parrier which is quite long and looks
like a bunch of rattans tied together. The
whole thing gave the appearance of a war dance,
and perhaps it was.

I met the Radja and he said that they used
such costumes in war formerly. They also used
shields and even the parriers (it is not clear
[533] whether they also used the whips). The songs
too were especially like a cheering section
which kept up a chant from time to time answer-
ing the yells of the fighters, in chorus. The
fighting seemed formalized, and they danced
around jingling and kept this up until they were
ready to close in. Then even the approach was
formalized. As soon as a blow was made the at-
tacker ran away, as though he had taken a coup.
It looks to me like ritualized mock warfare with
whips.
[i.e., Children of the Land of the Manggarai. Analyst]

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191 is always in Manggarai. I have seen this before. "Mengerti sedikit, tidak bisa tjakap [I understand a little bit, but I can't speak it].

53 We saw a poor show at the pasar malam. It
177 was a sandiwara traveling troupe like the one
831 I saw on the ship. It consisted of torch singers and crooners. The gallery came down with a carioca in western dress. The contact was not close, but closer than they used to make it, and at the end the woman half fell into the man's arms. They shrieked. This very mild sex symbolism in dance was extreme for them. Their dances, as usual, are incredibly dull. The songs repeat themselves over and over again.
526 And they carry on their whip fighting day after day. They even abuse football, and play it from dawn to dusk. This is like the ten games
● [171] of baseball a day in Micronesia. They overdo things.

201 As we were sitting in the assistant's house
576 with him and the other guru, a woman came in
123 and swiftly pushed her face into mine, holding
832 my head and rubbing noses. It seemed almost as though she were using her mouth a bit too, and I wondered if this were a combination of nose rub and sniff kiss. She then went quickly to Kattenburg and then to the two guru. Nothing would stop her, even embarrassed protests from the guru. The assistant asked who she was, and the other said she was Marcus's wife (who's that?). We were so embarrassed that we turned at once back to the questions, and we acted as though nothing had happened. We saw her later in the rear of the house, looking queer. Query: Was she crazy, or was she doing some bit of unthinking etiquette? But even if she were crazy, she must have been following a pattern here, or why do it in exactly that way? It would have been better if it had been the other guru's wife, who is a beauty.

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524 In the afternoon on the alun-alun in Ruteng we saw a bamboo-clapping game. Two parallel bamboos were placed on the ground, and squatting behind them, facing each other, were two pairs of women. Each pair held two bamboos in their hands. These bamboos were placed athwart the lying bamboos. In unison they banged the bamboos three times against the sticks which were lying down, and on the fourth beat clapped them together, sliding them across on the sticks. Then the girl tried to hopscotch between the moving bamboos so that her ankles would not get caught on the clapping together of the long horizontal bamboos. The clapping went faster and faster--one, two, three, four --until she got caught. A man tried it too, and then some others. This is unique [actually [171] rather widespread in southeast Asia, for example, in Hainan, Philippines, Indo-China]. The mandur said they usually do this in moonlight with long rows of clappers, and with several pairs, male and female, doing the hopscotch stuff. They also have this in Larantuka and Ende.

824 Teno does not mean tanah, the latter being the same in Manggarai. Teno means the kind of wood used for the lodok post. Hence, tu'a teno.

342 531 237 [171] On the house ridge of the tuan tanah of Ndung between the wooden buffalo horns is a human head of wood. Could this be related to the Toradja use of human heads berween horns, and also connected with the horn headdresses of the dancers and whippers here? The horns are used only on the houses of the tuan tanah. On other houses different decorations are used. The horns indicate that there is a drum located in the house on which they are placed.

114 Notes from Mennes (Koloniaal Tijdschrift, XX, 1931; (1), 384-390): ⅄

⅄ [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

624
565 order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase
554 his fame. However, a common man cannot do this.
769 Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions.
346 Also, buffalo sacrifices are needed for putting
574 a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger"
[782] mori ndaru who lives on the other side of the
plaza. This has some relation to the elder and
younger brother stuff mentioned in the manu-
script report on Soa by a priest. Mommersteeg[1]
342 has lent me this report. The mori ndaru house
624 has a wood post in front, on either side be-
532 side the steps. They are rather thin and low
and are carved in a human form. This is known
as the ata deo, or rather these are the ata
deo.

342 Also, beside the door of the house and on the
531 porch are two richly carved wooden rectangles
measuring about 3x2 feet. This looks like the
[171] Balinese stuff and consists mainly of scrolls
so far as I could see.

237 Not only on the houses of the mori ndaru
342 but also on others, we noted many lower jaws of
531 pigs, wild pigs with tusks, deer horns, and
buffalo horns. These are partly ranged along a
rack under the roof eaves and partly, especially
true of the buffalo horns, stuck in beside the
wall of the porch. We later found out that the
ata deo may be used by others than the mori
ndaru, but evidently the carved wood slabs are
only for him. I saw some especially elaborate
lower jaw carvings on a barn in Brova.

346 In the lower kampong, Lodo, which has a low
231 stone wall between it and Naru, there is the
[624] house of the mori ndaru (thus each suku, voi,
has a mori ndaru, and there may be more than
one per kampong) and the rest of the things
just mentioned. The ndaru there, however, has
a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had
been no renewal they said that they would do so,
but they would have to get the buffalo first.

[1] [pastor at Soa --Analyst]

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 237 224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. 776 784 124 824 769 I got a real rise when I asked him about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo [789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

634 166 361 into the hills with their Christian and pagan relatives and leave the lower lands for the Mohammedans.

632 634 771 578 I wonder if the kapitan of Nggobe, the fat and aggressive man, plus the kapitan of Rodja, who seem to be the right hand men of the Radja, may not form a triumvirate of Mohammedan rule here. The Christians rely on the priests to intervene (the Dutch are no longer here for appeal), and it will result in a funny situation if there is Mohammedan-Catholic trouble here. Note also that of the seven radjas here, only one (Ende) is Mohammedan; and one pagan (Ngada). The others are Christian (Manggarai, Nageh, Sikka, Lio, and Larantuka). This presents a curious pattern, especially when one considers that the RIS is mainly Mohammedan. This is similar to the Ambon situation. The Christian majority locally is in a difficult situation with the former local Mohammedan minority now in the majority group of all Indonesia. No wonder the Christians of Indonesia are frequently against independence.

632 829 The former kapitan is quite bitter, but he is clearly glad to see us and talked a lot to us about his troubles, with the obvious although vague idea that we might get the United States to help in some way. He was impressed by the United States elective system and especially gasped with pleasure when we told him that if a leader was not good to the majority of the folk he would not get reelected. He was also impressed with the fact that we told him there are no radjas. But I reminded him that his claim to office rested on inherited succession, and he began to think. They like succession when it is to their advantage, but see the useful points in the elective system when they can visualize that such a condition might ruin their rivals.

173 war leader of Padji, they stripped the skin off
621 his face and body and arms, and rubbed salt and
565 pepper into his raw flesh, and then instructed him to go to all the ten Padji kampongs in turn and destroy their korke one by one. Under a magic spell, he did as he was told, and as he knocked over the last korke, he fell dead. The Padji, afraid of the magic power of the Ili folk, decided to sail away. Some were still left, however. I think these were on the beach on the way to Larantuka town. Then the four brothers set fire to the grass and bamboo thickets, and the latter burst with loud booms all the way from Larantuka to Konga. (Perhaps this is a rationalization for the agricultural burning off of fields which has evidently denuded the area here. Although I thought perhaps they might have thought that the Padji hunters would have lost their hunting lands by this kind of burning off of the forest cover and this would be why they would have to get out, they said that the Padji were already good agricultural folk and in fact that the Ili people had first learned agricultural techniques from the Padji. Hence this theory looks bad.)

Anyway, the last remaining Padji, scared stiff, went off. There are no Padji left here. Then a fight started between the second and third brothers, Keweluk and Kewaka. (The "enemy-brother" theme.) The former wanted to marry the widow of the deceased eldest brother, Belawa-burak, but the latter became angry because he wanted her for himself. The latter won the fight and married the widow, Ninidadja. Keweluk ran off to a place near Wailolong (in Wailolong territory, but far away) named Lewokeda', and there founded a kampong. This was the start of
[171] the bertjerebre, or separation (note the similarity with the watu mpoga'a, or stone of separation of the seven siblings ancestors of Toradja).

346 This costs money, at least. With cleverness,
797 Pastor Krol told how the scheme is working to get the folk to sell their tusks in order to get money to contribute to the new church. This works on the grounds that the people were careless with their fire in the fields when there was a high wind, and this caused the burning of the church. It is all a wily game, and the pagans are lost.

797 This whole religious matter is endless. It
182 is the most powerful acculturation thing here,
769 and the whole weight of Catholicism is on the last few pagans. The guru is full of the propaganda of rationalization. For example, he says, how do we know where the ancestors are? If they led good lives they are in heaven; and if not, they are in the sea (hell). And if they were good they must be in heaven, even though they were not Catholic, because they knew nothing of the Word when they lived.

632 The next day we started by clearing up a point
614 about the radja tuan. He may come from another ama than the No. 1 or waru'ing ama. Thus in Ama Dajong suku the present Radja tuan is the kelake of Ama Radja, which is the No. 3 ama.

789 Roy said that not only officials have magic
565 power, but that also all members of the noble
171 families have some, though not so much as the chiefs. They definitely have more than common
865 folk. This is why one must show respect to the uppers. It is like Bone in Celebes, but less so perhaps. For example, they are very much afraid of hitting a noble child.

756 A sorcerer (molang) receives respect too,
754 even though his post is not hereditary. Some
[462] sorcerers, however, are noble. Sorcerers may be male or female, and indeed Roy thinks most of them are women. I asked how one got to be a molang, and he said that in general they get a call while dreaming. It is a matter of getting

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832 those rascals. They scolded them, saying that
684 if they wanted women, they should ask about
628 them, and speak up about it. That is, they were willing to hear a request, but it had to be done through regular channels without chiseling. ("If you had come to us decently, etc.")

582 In regard to the relative ages of the couple when marriage takes place, the ideal is to have a couple whose ages are nearly the same. If either is older it is better for a boy to be a bit a girl's senior. If there is too great a discrepancy in age, it is not good.

595 His grandfather had four wives. I note that
183 he does not seem to regard polygyny as very bad, even now. And he does not hesitate to tell me that other Christians do this. It is simply that they do not get the sacramen for the second, or third, or even later wife. That's all. Dispensation is called isin.

582 He says that the people in Tandjung Bunga
836 marry when they are very young, and that they begin their sex life as early as nine years old.

178 In the old days, the boys in Leloba and Wailo-
513 long slept regularly in the korke or sebuang
882 (the ama korke, and this is a correction:
[346] sebuang does not refer to the barns of the ama,
[614] but to the cult houses).[1] I think he said that this is not done any more in Wailolong. It was not required, but they just did it. This took place after a boy reached the age of about sixteen. Roy did it himself. They liked this because it was more fun. They could talk, sing, discuss girls, etc. (I think it was practically a rule, and I wonder what they would have said if a boy did not go there.)

What has happened now is peculiar. The boys
178 sleep together in groups, wherever it seems
513 good. They get in the habit, for example, of
882 sleeping on the benches of a certain house, or
171 in a vacant house, etc. (Thus I see that the

1 [See cat. 116, p. 166 -- Ana 45]

513 We
882 Ambon and Ceram youth-club houses are really
178 survivals of the regular thing.) In Leloba the
[171] main hangout is the "pasanggrahan" (bivak),
where there are seldom any guests, and the boys
simply take over. Kattenburg inspected it and
found that it has sleeping benches and even a
[836] few walled compartments. He asked the kepala
kampong if perhaps the girls did not slip in,
and the kepala kampong said that this was absolutely not the case.

178 In Wailolong there is a guru from Bama,
513 where they have regular boy's houses. This
882 fellow has introduced a new type of boy's house
177 in Wailolong (but no other kampong in this area
614 has one), i.e., he has built three on the Bama
pattern and the boys sleep there. One of these
is our "office" when we use it. These boys'
houses are arranged according to suku, and are
shared by suku. This is a remarkable case of
acculturation within a pattern from one district
to another.

[562] The girls have no such houses, and never did.
882 However, before, as today, they seldom sleep
561 with their parents when they get older. Groups
887 of them have hangouts where they sleep together.
513 These groups are of friends. They weave together, etc., and like to gossip, sing, etc., at night. They just fall asleep there, together. This may be a sleeping bench, or it may be that they get a section of a sleeping bench in one of their parents' houses. There they bunch up. Everyone knows where the groups hang out. Kattenburg found that even old women sleep in groups. They may be, I think, groups of "the girls" who are old and widows, and who go back to their girlhood days and sleep with their coevals, and have a good time. If this is so, it is practically a revived age-grade for the girls who in their youth grew up and slept together and now at the end of their life bunch up together again.

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000 up together again.

Some of the suku are large, some are small,
614 and some have died out. They have the same
171 idea in this regard as I noted on Ambon: that
789 a group which dies out may well have disappeared because of a wrong committed in the old days. It is as though there were a curse on them. Roy mentioned a case of an ama (I think) which did a lot of killing. Now it is extinct. Another group used too much magic, and it too died out. (Magic keeps cropping up. They have taken on my term kekuatan adjaib with a vengeance. I often wonder if they are kidding
[123] me, seeing that I like the pagan stuff.)

Roy says that the roles of the sexes has
562 not changed at all. However, when there was
178 much warfare formerly, the women were important
708 in helping the men by bringing in supplies, encouraging them, and in making magic against the enemy behind the lines. (Supply, psychological warfare, morale division, and "research.")

One firm rule which is changing today, however,
178 is that in the old days the women never did work
462 in the field, except for helping in planting and
241 in the harvest. This is still so in a large degree, and it is true enough that the women are seen around the kampong all day while the men are off in the fields. However, nowadays more women go out and help with agricultural work. This is a slow trend. In the old days men would be ashamed to have women doing agricultural work. This was not their role (and there is a very sharp sex division of labor here).

Indeed, women have no work, properly speaking, except house work. They do very little agricultural work, even today. The planting stuff they do is clearly ritually linked, at least in part, and the harvest is evidently always an exception.

562 Roy says that the women have equal status,

R Little meat is

262 eaten, and this is done only during feasts. There are some eggs. They do not eat much fish, because they must purchase them. They do buy some food from the local store (never any canned food, because this is too expensive), for example, rice and salt. They do not grow [249] any tobacco.

434 To get the small amount of money they need to buy in the toko, they sell coconuts and anything else they may have, which is usually quite little. Fl. 5.00 in cash is a lot of money for a man here.

264 The people here eat three times a day, a little in the morning, and equally heavy noon and evening meals.

262 574 They like dog meat and also horse meat, but these, like pig and goat, are only eaten at the time of a feast. They say that the main feasts are funeral ones. They also say that the people here have no decided preference and will gladly eat any kind of meat. They [266] say they have no memory of cannibalism except for the eating of the hearts of enemies for 224 bravery in warfare. They rarely hunt. If they 262 do they use a bow and are lucky to get monkeys 624 or pigs. There are no deer here. There is a clear case for meat hunger here, and the only material gain of being a mosa laki is that you [465] are always given a piece of meat when an animal [171] is killed. This is like the Toradja pattern, and shows how much of a luxury meat really is. It is the "government man's salary."

436 178 443 Formerly there was no money and there were no toko. Of course there may have been a few gold pieces, but they were really sacred objects. Today they have little cash.

243 177 788 The irrigated rice fields started three years ago and were instigated by Hadji Akbar of Watu Roga. He went to Mecca and saw the many sawah in Bima, Java, and elsewhere. When

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527 risk, and one must tread warily and devoutly.
241 Observing all the rites and showing respect for the most important thing of all, food, is the proper thing.

[182] There are also feasts to ask for rain (held at the korke), and against widespread illness (also at the korke), for a new korke, for a new kebang, and for a new "big house."

Note that most of the agricultural rites occur in the fields.

Once in about every nine to ten years they have a great thanksgiving feast, if the crops are good.

[851] A small feast is given when a child is born, but there is no animal sacrifice. If twins are born, however, an animal is cut. Note the gladness displayed at the increase or income of any kind whatsoever, including an additional human being.

[585] There is no marriage feast at all in the old adat.

The biggest feasts are those held at harvest, for a new korke, and the thanksgiving feast.

●[171] Note that the Toradja have the thanksgiving feast too, and I saw the start of it there.

[346] The new korke feast is now given when they have a new church!

346 614 177 Note the way that the church links with the old cult. I remember almost the first thing I heard here was from the priest who said that the new church is being partly paid for by selling the tusks of the families whose carelessness caused the fire which burned the old church. He also said in the church, both in the old and the new, there are the signs of the four main suku. They have their place in the church. And I suppose they will cut up animals for the new church too. If so this sort of takes the wind out of the argument against constructing a new korke, namely, that it would cause too much of a waste of animals.

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000 and such is used in war.

Correction: When there is a big feast in the
621 central kampong, all members of the tjabang
574 kampongs must attend. However, if a big feast
171 is held at a tjabang kampong, it is a matter of choice whether the other tjabang kampongs and the pusat kampong attend. However, each must send a delegation. (This is like the big feasts in the Ambon pela kampongs. The pela radja and saniri must go, and others may do so if they want to.)

It is true that the pusat kampong has more
621 power in a way than the others. Its drums,
622 gongs, tjompang, main pillar of the tuan tanah
346 house, main garden (lingko randang), and the
351 tuan tanah besar himself are all part of this
788 power. All others stem from these. However, the picture is not one of a clear hierarchy. Nevertheless, if a man is very sick, for example, they may decide that it is well to go to the tjompang of the pusat kampong and go through some ceremony. However, there is not a real vivid ranking or constellation of rank.

The assistant says that the round house and the round garden are definitely related. But here again he is unclear. The house is linked with the garden, and after the rites which are held in the garden, they come back to the main house. Also there is a saying: mbarun one uman peang, i.e., "house has link with garden." When a tuan tanah besar gives a drum and a gong to a new branch kampong, he also gives it a "big garden" (lingko randang). Here is where the biggest rites are held. (Lingko means only "round garden.") And when they have rites in the garden, they go directly from the lodok there to the main post in the tuan tanah house. Thus, there seems to be a definite link between
346 the main post of the big house and the main
351 garden's lodok. There is the same parading
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609 presence too. They are always apprehensive. They are afraid of new things, such as schools (at least when they first came in). They are an apprehensive lot, and their history offers a good explanation. I can see this even in the assistant. Also, as the Maumere pastor says, they are extremely respectful. They hold one hand to receive a cigarette, and the tuan tanah [576] and others, when they leave me, bend way over. Sikka, he says, is different.

576 These people remind me of the "oppressed" ●171 and noble-ridden Buginese and Makassarese, and indeed through their contact with Bima they came under the same system of respect and the like. The pastor says that fifteen years ago they crept before a superior. How different they are from the Ambonese, or even to some degree different from the Larantuka and Ende people, although the latter are more this way (but how much less!). The Toradja were much different too. They were not hit so hard by the Buginese slave raids evidently. And it must be remembered that Buginese administration never really penetrated Toradja land.

797 The church does not mix in politics here. The Catholics entered here about 1922. They went slow, and they are still not moving at a very fast rate. About fifty per cent of the population here now is Christian, says the assistant. In getting information for the records [595] the assistant found it difficult to get information on polygamy. I note that there are several interesting cases. For example, the tuan tanah of Veol rode to Ruteng with me today, with his second wife, who is young. She is a Catholic, but they were not married in church. The kepala kampong has six wives, and number five is Catholic, but there was no church wedding in this case either. However, there are other troubles in getting information, and he

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797 are the ones who most often get lost to the
183 church, and they are the ones who fight bitter-
578 ly against the church. Perhaps here Mohamme-
595 danism might have an advantage, but the pig necessity at ceremonies would stop it cold. These people can get along without more than one wife, but without pigs the whole ritual life would be unthinkable. Thus each church has its weakness.

634 The first Radja of Manggarai, Baruk, was
595 put in by the church, actually. He was a
797 Catholic. The present one has two wives, one
578 of them a Minahasan. The mission is worried.
183 This is why the radja is only a deputy or acting radja and not a full radja. The mission runs Flores and will not agree to let him become a real radja as long as he remains a polygamist. The mission is on the spot. Probably the present man will never get the full status. This is checked by Degens, the Controleur.

Later, in Waingapu, Oudehand, the former Controleur in Larantuka, told me that the Radja of Larantuka also has several wives and keeps them, although he is "Catholic." One of them, the head one, is the daughter of the Sikka Radja.

This is all beautiful material in regard to acculturation and Catholicism. The Catholics are as tolerant as they can be, but they can't accept polygamy.

554 Note: The title nyora (from Portuguese sen-
177 hora) is used here as in Ambon for the guru's
171 wife. I don't know whether it is also used, as in Ambon, for a chief's wife.

771 There is no Mohammedanism here, and no tendency toward Mohammedanism. Polygamy would work out all right, but the pig taboo would be very difficult indeed.

162 Degens says that the population of Manggarai is about one hundred and ninety thousand. Of these, about ninety thousand are Christian.

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162 Here in Veol the Christians and pagans are also about fifty-fifty. It is notable that here in Veol many of the young people are still pagan. There is plenty of paganism still, and the Catholics, I am sure, are largely pagan. The [578] main conflict is over polygyny. But there is also plenty of general friction. It is especially bad if a man has a barren wife. He must remarry. Who will feed him when he is dead? Also, what about the ceremonies? It is all right for the Catholics to say that Christians may attend community rites, if they do not pray in pagan style, but what will happen if all of them turn Catholic? Who will be there to do the rites?

797 Note also that the last of the rites means
769 the end of relations with the thousands of dead
775 inhabitants of the kampong. The Catholics try
788 to fix this up. For example, Roy tried to do this by saying that they are probably not around the graves but have flown off to heaven. But this is revolutionary, and changes the whole character of the settlement into a kind of "empty" place, with only living persons living in it. He told how his father's father, when his father was a boy and the guru tried to convert him, had ordered the boy not to change. And the boy didn't. He now has four wives, one of whom is the assistant's mother. Note the ●[771] similarity with Toradja Protestant rules. Catholics may not pray in pagan style and may not hold private rites, and they may not officiate at the rites, but they may attend.

865 Note: At the Sunday singing performance I was impressed by the good behavior of the children. This always seems to be true here in Indonesia. They are amazingly unmischievous. The guru says that almost never is there a disciplinary problem. I can see this all over. The children are adults really while still very

632 and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.
103 Roworeke means: rowo is a bandjir river, dry in the dry season, and one can see this plainly; reke, a kind of red fruit. Watu Roga means a kind of soft stone. The scribe who will become
115 my assistant is a mild looking little fellow, of the suku Ambu Odja, and of the kampong Roworeke. He is married, however, into the kampong Watu Roga. His name is Adrianus Migo, and he is a Catholic. In the kapitanschap Rewarangga there
632 are eighteen kampongs (the kapitanschap Gunung
622 Rodja has fifteen kampongs). In each there is
614 a kepala kampong. There are also six main suku in the kapitanschap: Rewarangga, Wanda, Ambu Odja, Rea Ndona, Tibo (or Gusa), and Ambu Tara. There are members of other suku in the kapitanschap, but they are not old inhabitants. They
[171] have moved in (like the "newcomer non-dati" fams of the Ambon negri). The kapitan of Rewarangga were formerly of suku Rewarangga, but after three of these in succession the kapitan passed into suku Ambu Odja, and there have been four of these. Thus about seven generations are accounted
[173] for, or about two hundred years, but the man says that Roworeke is at least four hundred to five hundred years old. This may indicate that the kapitan organization came in only about two hundred years ago. It is not at all certain and I must ask further questions about this kapitan business.

The kapitan must be chosen from any of the
632 noble families of any of the five suku. In each
565 suku there are two families which are noble and
614 therefore may become kapitan. Generally the son of a dead kapitan is chosen, but if he is not satisfactory they may choose a kapitan from another noble family of the same suku or from any of the noble lineages of any of the other four
632 sukus. The big reason that the Rewerangga suku
614 lost the kapitanschap was that it had become al-

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000 the loss of time in such slow questioning.

632 578 634 614 624 There has been much fighting in the past over the election of a kapitan. In the case of a deadlock the radjas have stepped in and settled it, but this is dangerous because sometimes the people have refused to accept such an imposed choice. Again I see the troubles and feuds around here. The rivalry seems to be between suku. For example, they said that Reandona suku has always been trying to get into the kapitan position, but has never succeeded. I wonder if perhaps the mosa laki were not once actually suku chiefs. I asked the old giri tumba about this and he agreed but probably didn't understand me. And yet there seems to be a connection. Be- [178] fore the Dutch came, they say that the mosa laki mere was the kapitan and the giri tumba the kepala kampong of Roworeke. Thus the mosa laki mere was the top man and the giri tumba was the kampong chief. As for the other two (ndeto au and sike sani) they said that there were these offices too in the old days.

773 ●173 614 Then I tried to get onto the subject of the old origin legends in Roworeke. They said that long ago before the Dutch came the mosa laki mere here was of the suku Rewarangga; the giri tumba was of the suku Odja; the ndeto au was of the suku Nggonggora'ba, and they did not know the suku of the sike sani. This mention of Nggonggora'ba led me to ask about the whole business.

The kapitan started the story. In the beginning there were five siblings who came from Java, four brothers and one sister. The four brothers were Rewarangga, Reandona, Nggonggora'ba, and Gasiradja. The sister was Djedjedjo. The last went to Nggobe. Gasiradja went to a mountain kampong in the gemeente of Nggobe. The kampong was named Woroapo. Rewarangga settled in Roworeke, and he was the eldest brother and the most powerful of the siblings. Reandona took over authority in

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773 Manunggo'o (where this suku still remains the
173 principal suku). Nggonggora'ba took over
614 authority in Worowai, and there are still members of this suku there. Then the Odja suku entered the area from Rabu (at present three kampongs; 9, 10, 11 in the above list on page 29). Then the Tibo suku entered from Koavena and settled on the hill Wolowaru above Roworeke. This was later abandoned, and they came down and settled in the sections of Roworeke called Aibou and Kopoëdo. Thus at that time there were five main suku (maybe only these five) in the area: Rewarangga in Roworeke; Reandona in Manunggo'o; Nggonggora'ba in Worowai; and the two new suku, Odja in Roworeke and Tibo in Wolowaru. The posts
[624] held by these suku were:

1.	Rewarangga:	Mosa laki mere of Roworeke.
2.	Reandona:	Mosa laki mere of Manunggo'o.
3.	Nggonggora'ba:	Mosa laki mere of Worowai.
4.	Odja:	Giri tumba of Roworeke.
5.	Tibo:	Ata nggaeh nua of Roworeke.

The other officers were also present, but it is unclear as to what suku they came from.

It can be seen that the kapitan descended
632 from the mosa laki mere of Roworeke, and this is
624 in the suku Rewarangga (probably when the kapi-
614 tanschap was created, Roworeke was made the capital and the mosa laki mere of it was made the kapitan of the new district). Later on, when Rewarangga nearly died out, Odja, the suku of the old giri tumba of Roworeke, took over the kapitan position. The giri tumba is still from Odja. The Reandona suku, descended from the second of the four brothers, is one of the eligible. What has happened, however, to the Nggonggora'ba suku seems to be a kind of eclipse. I must look into this later in Worowai.

609 We
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
178 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
497 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has magical power, but we didn't get into the full
[778] story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

443 night, was pitiful. There were six gambling
[525] tables in the pasar shed,[1] and that was all.
The Radja tried to get some dancers, but the
women had left for the kampong.

525 The priest, Mommersteeg, said that they all
gamble and that there is plenty of money used
here, although there are also many one sen
stakes. We went to bed in the terrible cold.

In the morning we went to Todabelu with Mom-
114 mersteeg to meet Arndt.[2] We had met the latter
on the day before along the road. We saw an
old bearded man with a rain cape and umbrella
on a horse and asked if he knew where Arndt
was. He said that he was Arndt and that he had
ridden seven and one-half hours from Magilewa
near the south coast where he had gone for
Christmas. His parish is not there but on the
road to Boawai, off to one side. He was a
notable figure on the horse. We talked with
him about Ngada.

Arndt[2] says that there are no tribal units
614 called isi as van Staveren says.[2] There are
173 merely clans called voi. Then, inside these
611 units are bhou, or subclans. The big ancestor
was Djawa, who had seven sons and seven daughters.
The seven sons drop out, but the seven daughters
became the ancestral mothers of seven of the
great voi of Ngada, one of which is Ngada, and
this is the name of the ancestress. There are
a lot of other voi here too, each with a female
ancestor. I asked who the seven daughters
married, and he said this is unclear, but evi-
dently there were men on earth when the seven
were born. Thus it looks like an immigration
and intermarriage with aborigines. The bhou
614 have ancestral fathers, and thus they have a
611 system where the clans look a bit matrilineal
583 and the subclans a bit matrilineal, but the
whole descent is patrilineal unless there is no
bride price paid, when ambil anak occurs. Also,

[1] [i.e., at the night market --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

000 only technical changes have occurred here.

592 I noted that as we were walking out of Weol, and I asked the priest how many families there were per house, he asked a man and the fellow said there were five in one of the big round houses nearby. Another man rebuked him and said no, there were only three in it. The priest said this is because the government has the law that only three families may live in a house, for health reasons. However, the folk secretly manage to have more. The first man was giving the folk away.

541 697 I forgot to say that at the whip fights (main tjatjih)[1] there was a band of extra gay fellows who did a lot of the sideline chanting and chorusing. They had red and white banners and at one time when we were taking photographs they came dancing en masse and singing across the field like a slow moving army. At 5 P.M. they raised the banners, singing lustily, and marched off. I asked who they were, and the Radja said that they were the prisoners of the jail, who had been given the day free, and that they were now marching back to jail!

463 462 231 The assistant says that all or nearly all men in Weol are farmers. Some, but very few, have specialist skills, but even those farm too. Not one woman has any other job than that of helping in the fields and making mats or weaving in her spare time. Nearly every man has a few to many horses, and some have other animals.

354 A bad feature of the old houses is the smoke from the fire which coats everything with soot and makes for additional darkness, but on the good side is the warmth which comes with the smoke.

769 778 342 173 614 Theory on reading Coolhaas:[2] The Ngada nadu which is for the male ancestors is a small replica of the conical houses of Manggarai. The small bhaga houses of the female houses are

[1] [See pp. 91-92, cat. 116 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

769 778 342 173 614 rectangular. Now, Coolhaas[1] says that in Manggarai there are two native forms, and he gives the native terms. One is conical and the other rectangular, or perhaps a bit oval in shape. However, the latter is not related to the former. There are areas of the one and the other, and evidently some areas have both. Now, the conical ones seem older, and on any surmise because round houses are simply older in Indonesia. Note then, that Ngada legends say that Djawa had seven daughters who became the ancestral mothers of the seven main voi. And they married men of the land, aborigines, here. The men are the [174] ancestral fathers of the bhou. Could it be that the conical male ancestor houses reflect the patrilineal aboriginal culture and the population stratum which lived in round houses, and the rectangular bhaga represent the incoming, matrilineal population and culture? If so, this says much about the double descent of Ngada, the peculiar legend, and the strange double ancestor houses. Now I think I know why there are those amazing conical male ancestor posts in Ngada.

173 611 342 563 The legends of Minangkabau immigration may be foolish, and the priest says he thinks it is built up more recently, by the younger folk who hear a name of an ancestor who came in and it sounds like "Minangkabau." But the surface evidence looks as though Manggarai and Ngada are a mixture of aborigines and immigrants. And there are also many evidences of double descent. I remember now that the priests talk much of enclaves of "autochthonous" folk in East Manggarai and East Nageh. They say that the people in these places are neither Manggarai nor Nageh. The Nageh enclave is originally from Soa, says Mommersteeg. I wish I knew whether these enclaves were patrilineal. Anyway, I doubt that they were unmixed. This may be a pretty good theory and may explain the umbrella houses.

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

565 632 624 622 of Meler, the main kepala kampong of the Ndung complex, lives in Meler. The dalu came in about 1870. They were put in by Bima, and the tuan tanah said that they were of Bima origin. (Does this mean that no native chiefs were made dalu? Evidently.)

622 624 592 There is no native term for the kepala kampong. The tuan tanah is the tu'a tenu. In each house there is a house chief, the tu'a mbaru. The latter word means house. He is chosen by the men of the house.

623 592 693 The kampong council, which must be called together for each case, includes the tuan tanah, the kepala kampong, and the tu'a mbaru of their own houses. If the case involves adat, the tuan tanah is the chairman. An example of this would be a case concerned with land. If the case is concerned with administration, for example, with theft, the kepala kampong acts as chairman. In all cases, however, all of the members of the council are present.

614 624 The clans are divided into subclans called panga. Each of these has a chief, the tu'a panga. In Weol, there are three panga and three tu'a panga. Two of these are also the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong. There are two panga and two tu'a panga in Ndung. The tuan tanah there is also tu'a panga of his panga and tu'a mbaru of his house.

614 173 I asked about the origin of the panga. The original ancestors, Vako Dangka and Ine Karas, had two sons: Lando Kakor and Naloholles. They married wives of another va'u and between them had seven sons (their daughters were forgotten, a reversal of the Ngada story, where the daughters of Djawa are remembered and the sons forgotten). Each of these became an ancestor of a panga, and in the course of time their descendants split into many more panga. New panga may be formed at any time, even now, as the old ones

614 Weo
173 get larger and split. Thus there are many panga in the va'u Weol (are they grouped under the original seven sons?).

614 The three panga of Weol kampong are: Lambar
621 (the tuan tanah is chief of this), Rinteng (the
592 kepala kampong is chief of this), and Rundu. It happens that there are two houses in each of the three panga in Weol, making six houses in all. Thus each tu'a panga has two houses under
342 him. The houses of the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong are built in the new style, as
178 are two of the others. There are then two old round houses, one with old non-wood walls. Most of the present round houses have wood walls and are built with nails. The roof does not reach the floor as in the real old time houses. The new style houses are all the same pattern, which was introduced by a certain priest. This is the only new style they know, and all new ones are exactly the same.

592 Often the whole panga will live in one house.
621 Ndung, which originally was linked with Weol, is
614 now a separate kampong and is even located in
624 another gelarang. The border is the mound above the small house area of Weol. They are
[778] continuous, but each has its own sacred tree. The kepala kampong of not only Ndung and Meler, but of the other four kampongs in the gelarang as well, lives in Meler. Thus there is only one kepala kampong for all the six kampongs. But each kampong must have a tuan tanah. The tuan tanah besar, however, lives in Ndung, just as the tuan tanah besar of Weol gelarang lives in Weol (this is our host). The big kepala kampong and the big tuan tanah of each gelarang has the rank of gelarang. In the gelarang Weol there are three kepala kampongs only, for the seven kampongs. Thus the Weol kepala kampong is also kepala kampong of Tjantjar.

614 The Ndung folk are all of the va'u Weol and
784 have a taboo on lusa.

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632 8. Nangapanda (km. 28 on the way to Badjawa).
9. Tana Djea (km. 31 on the way to Badjawa).

632 Thus Rewarangga is the easternmost of the ge-
173 meenten, on the border with Lio. It is half surrounded by Nggobe. I asked about the ancestor stories which make Rodja and Nggobe the first and greatest gemeenten. The kapitan said that this was because of the manner in which Suchtelen got his stories. The people who gave him his information were nearly all illiterate townsfolk. I retold the story of the five sib-
[186] lings from Java. He agreed that every area had its own version in order to make themselves appear greatest.

632 He said he got along all right with the Mohammedans and that the former Christian Rukuramba kapitan was merely inefficient. Arriens said so too, and that the present Mohammedan kapitan there is the best of all.

Then I checked the place of origin of the
614 suku in the census and got the following infor-
361 mation. Odja came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Meo came from Ndetuko'u (Nggobe). Djawa came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Ndoru came from Ndungga (Lio). Reandona came from Woropau (Nggobe). Wanda came from Waturoga (Lio). Tibo (Gusa) came from Koavena (Rewarangga). Ndosi came from Wolotole (Lio). Rewarangga came from Worowai (Rewarangga).

Note: This suku (Rewarangga), the real old one of this region, originally lived in an even higher kampong, Wawotonda. It was located two kilometers above here on the road into the hills. Worowai is only a half to one kilometer above the road. A few people live in the Wawotonda area, but it is no longer a kampong. It is in the territory of the kampong Worowai. In Wawo-
[778] tonda there are stones and cannon. But the
[346] ruma berhala of Rewarangga suku (a bone house like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

778 notable little stone with lots of agricultural
789 power. The objects which are possessed by the
614 suku and ama have no magic power; they are
823 only a form of wealth.

The eight kampongs of the Mudakaputu ge-
621 meente are:
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1. Leloba
2. Wailolong
3. Lewohala
4. Lewoneda
5. Mudakaputu
6. Watuwiti
7. Riang Kamiö
8. Riang Kanali

237 Economic note: The tusks are like the stone
583 money of Yap. They are the basis for the local
436 economy, but have little intrinsic value. The
452 non-existent tusks of Larantuka are even better, and the folklore concerning them is fantastic. They are reckoned with and theoretically exchanged when they don't even exist. They keep the marriage system going. They are parallel to pure paper credit--something like international balances.

621 The first six kampongs are the old time kam-
173 pongs. They were founded by the five sons of Lenurat or their descendants, who came out of Ili Mandiri. Thus the situation runs something like this:

Sons: (1) Belawaburak founded Leloba. (2) Keweluk founded Wailolong. (3) Kewaka founded Lewohala and Lewoneda. (4) Bampowa founded Mudakaputu. (5) Mado founded Watuwiti.

Daughters: (6) Emma married a man of Tandjung Bunga (and the folk there call the people of the Blakang Gunung region "blake," i.e., mother's brother). (7) Hingi married a man of Adonara (perhaps the people there would also

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621 call the people from the Blakang Gunung region
173 "blake").

Lewoneda is now mixed, as people came in later from Sina Djawa. Riang Kanali is a branch of Lewohala. Riang Kamië is very mixed. It includes people of the original (that is, Lenurat descended suku) and others. However, it was evidently founded by people from Kroko Putang, the island which disappeared, and whose refugees are all over Larantuka. For example, this is true of the radja kedua here. These folk are called Tenemau (meaning "sailed here in a prau"). Riang Kamië is the largest of all the kampongs. Formerly there was plenty of war between it and Leloba.

578 Lewowitin is the term for a traditional
721 enemy kampong. Formerly heads were exchanged
346 for the korke. These heads were not buried but hung in the korke (like animal jaws today? I also thought as I saw a pig killed, how easy it would be to imagine a human sacrifice instead).

614 In Riang Kamië there are many suku. The as-
621 sistant cannot list all of them, but he remembers
173 Kottang, Marang, Molang 1, Molang 2, Belowen,
829 Lowalia, Lolamaki, Keleng, etc. There is no Hurint.

He says there are four kinds of people here, according to their origin:

1. Padji. They were here in plenty before, but they were all driven out by the Lenurat people, who are here called the Ili Djadi (Ili means emerged), the second group. The Padji were driven to Tandjung Bunda where they are still numerous, and also to the islands, for example to Adonara. They were evidently the aborigines, but he says there was no physical difference, even in the legends.

2. Demon or Ili Djadi. They drove the Padji out after emerging from the mountains, or rather after their father's emergence. The Demon or

The Demon or

614 Ili Djadi are the original people here because
●173 the Padji are gone. They also are found else-
621 where, and where they and the Padji are found
829 together, as in Adonara, they still fight.
[578] The constant murders there are partly caused by this endless feud. They never live in the same kampong together.

3. Sina Djawa. These are descendants of people who came from the west. There are suku here which came from there. Thus the suku Lewonuhah (kampong, island) of Leloba is of Sina Djawa. So is the suku Lewato of Wailolong.

4. Tenemau. These people came from the submerged island Kroko Putang. There are suku here from these people. Thus, Lewarita suku of Wailolong is Tenemau. In the ceremony this
[769] morning the genealogy used to call the ancestors went back to the Tenemau. He says you can tell at once the origin of any suku by listening to the genealogies recited at the rites, because the ancestors are called.

582 Then we got onto the inter-kampong marriage
124 system, and this is not so complicated as the intra-kampong marriage system. I jokingly said that perhaps he got so tired figuring out the internal system that he decided to make the extra kampong rules simpler. He was amused. He also seemed amazed at the building-up process of anthropological research which I use; for example, when I first asked the names of the eight kampongs and then went right on to ask the names of the sons of Lenurat, he saw that
[791] I was getting directly at the system. He said that if the folk here heard me leading straight into the heart of the complete cosmogony they would think me a suwanggi. I also said jokingly that they couldn't call me a pontianak. He was also delighted with my admiration of how every-
124 thing here falls into a system. He has learned the word "sistim" and uses it all the time. He

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582 in other areas, or working in the gardens lo-
476 cated in another kampong. Here again, it is a
602 matter of marriage. Indeed, only if marriage
621 gives a person some sort of privilege to work in the other kampong does one usually engage himself in such work.

632 Relations between districts have not changed
582 much in recent years. If there are marriages
602 between the districts involved, the same situation obtains as between the kampongs just described. Similar situations are those involving different tribes. Bonds are formed if there are marriage links; if there are no such
[438] links there are no bonds. Trade is so small a factor that it is unimportant in intercommunity relations.

186 The people here love their own kampong and
621 feel that they are lost when they are outside.
166 Figuratively and literally, they have no place in another kampong. They can see good in another kampong, however, and if they go elsewhere and return they tell about the good things there and may even adopt them themselves. Only the young people, and few of them, want to get out and see other places. Once they are married they never leave.

609 They say that if they leave their own kampong for another they become outsiders. They are then nipatale (beyond the fence). The other term used in suku terminology for outsiders is rere. It means "low." The opposite term, which also occurs among the suku, is belolong ("high").

578 All seven kampongs have been enemies of Riang
621 Kamiё. The seven have remained about the same
614 in relationship to each other, but tales tell a
●173 bit about the ranking among them. Riang Kamiё was formed by a union of several kampongs which were separate formerly. These united into one kampong in defense against the Bai Pitu (seven

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578 children). There are no Ili Djadi descendants
621 in Riang Kamië at all. The folk are mostly
614 descendants of Kroko Putang, although there are
173 some from Sina Djawa. Among the kampongs which
united to form Riang Kamië were Lamalewa, Beluwela, and Lamaliang. There are now fifteen suku in Riang Kamië. The old kampongs are still used for the sections (as is so often the case in Indonesia).

[211] The Kroko Putang origin (Tenemau) is symbolized by the wooden prau model in the korke of Riang Kamië.

621 The Sina Djawa folk were liked by the Ili
614 Djadi people, however, because when they entered
173 they brought iron, flint and steel and other
177 "high" things. Many suku were taken into the
773 kampongs from the Sina Djawa. They brought
with them good weapons. Riang Kamië is the largest kampong here. Its population is about
[161] one thousand three hundred (Wailolong and Leloba have about seven hundred each). There is a lot of material on the legendary relationships between the ancestors as seen now in the kampongs. Thus, the two original Ili Djadi were a brother and sister, covered with hair. They came out of the mountain and a Padji girl on the shore saw a fire on the mountain. They were then discovered, and the Padji girl, Hadumboleng (a different person from the Ama Hadumboleng in the suku list), married Lenurat. Thus the Ili Djadi are Padji on the mother's side. The girl, however, sister of Lenurat, married a Timor man, Pategolo. The Radja of Larantuka is descended from the latter union. Thus Timor is involved in the male origin and Ili Djadi in the female origin. Also, the kampongs which are descended from the Pategolo-Watuwele (this was the name of Lenurat's sister) union are on the beach side of the mountain, and they are Waibalun, Balela, and Lokea. The last is the Radja's kampong.

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609 belebang. It means "not known," in the sense of being a stranger. In the case of whites, etc., this is very clear. In dealing with other Indonesians, they know the people in their own kampong so well that they can spot a stranger immediately. They can spot this also because of his clothes and hairdo. Thus as we rode along today we were asked to stop by the guru. He said that there was a Tandjung Bunga man whom he had spotted. He was a tall pagan with a long bob and wearing red beads. He was fine looking. He could be identified as a Tandjung Bunga man even in the way he walked. And if he speaks, one can tell immediately. This is especially true here, where the pho-
[194] netics are hard, even for the Larantuka folk. The Radja has a hard time getting the sounds right. I asked whether the pastor was belebang, and they said that they were so used to him that he was not considered such. It is a matter of use and acceptance.

173 621 595 There is, of course, a long story connected with the cosmological meaning of the social organization. There seems to be a vague ranking according to the relative age of the brothers who founded the kampongs. Leloba was the oldest brother, Wailolong the second oldest, etc., and Watuwiti was the youngest. But this is not strictly the case. Nevertheless, if they have a great rite for the building of a new korke in a kampong when all kampongs gather and animals are cut, the head, feet, cutting and betel passing functions show something in regard to rank. He is uncertain as to the ranking and functions involved, but will try to find out more about this.

This led to a long story without much point to it except that it told about the negri lama and the migrations of the brothers outward. The story starts with the oldest negri lama,

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173 621 565 which was inhabited after the Lenurat days. This was Bluhur, near Watuwiti. The place is still there, and whenever a kampong has a new korke feast, they must go there too and sacrifice an animal. While the five brothers were still living in Bluhur, there was a war against the Padji aborigines in Adonara. The Demon folk there called on the Ili Djadi to help, and the five brothers went. The first brother, Belawaburak, was killed there in battle. The other four asked the Demon folk for an indemnity, and they paid this in gold (lots of it). This money was to replace the lost one. The four brothers were still together, and had only one korke. Nowadays no one lives there, but if a new korke feast is held, they must go there and sacrifice an animal. This was eighteen generations ago. Thus it was perhaps five to six hundred years ago, or perhaps a bit less.

Then came a war against the Padji, who lived all over the present territory around Ili Mandiri. They tried to drive them out. There was some fuss over a deceitful trick played by the Padji, in which the Ili folk gave their gold in good faith to the Padji, but the latter cheated. They decided they could stand these folk no longer, and so they went to war. Keweluk, the second brother, stayed in Bluhur, handling administrative things, and the other three brothers went to war. There were ten Padji kampongs. The Ili folk won, and killed one of the women at once, and brought the head back to Bluhur. But evidently, after some further grievances, they went to war against the Padji again. This time they captured the two main war leaders of the Padji, and afterwards, as usual, they killed one and brought the other back to Bluhur. This time, Bampowa had remained behind to do the administrative work. Instead of killing the

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173 war leader of Padji, they stripped the skin off
621 his face and body and arms, and rubbed salt and
565 pepper into his raw flesh, and then instructed him to go to all the ten Padji kampongs in turn and destroy their korke one by one. Under a magic spell, he did as he was told, and as he knocked over the last korke, he fell dead. The Padji, afraid of the magic power of the Ili folk, decided to sail away. Some were still left, however. I think these were on the beach on the way to Larantuka town. Then the four brothers set fire to the grass and bamboo thickets, and the latter burst with loud booms all the way from Larantuka to Konga. (Perhaps this is a rationalization for the agricultural burning off of fields which has evidently denuded the area here. Although I thought perhaps they might have thought that the Padji hunters would have lost their hunting lands by this kind of burning off of the forest cover and this would be why they would have to get out, they said that the Padji were already good agricultural folk and in fact that the Ili people had first learned agricultural techniques from the Padji. Hence this theory looks bad.)

Anyway, the last remaining Padji, scared stiff, went off. There are no Padji left here. Then a fight started between the second and third brothers, Keweluk and Kewaka. (The "enemy-brother" theme.) The former wanted to marry the widow of the deceased eldest brother, Belawa-burak, but the latter became angry because he wanted her for himself. The latter won the fight and married the widow, Ninidadja. Keweluk ran off to a place near Wailolong (in Wailolong territory, but far away) named Lewokeda', and there founded a kampong. This was the start of
[171] the bertjerebre, or separation (note the similarity with the watu mpoga'a, or stone of separation of the seven siblings ancestors of Toradja).

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173 tion, of the seven siblings ancestors of Toradja).
621 Then Bampowa went away and founded Mudakaputu
565 (after some previous moves); and Mado, the youngest brother, after a number of moves, went and founded Watuwiti. Kewaka, already in power in Tiwa, moved his kampong to Lewohala. Thus occurred the arrangement whereby Keweluk was the founder of Wailolong, Kewaka the founder of Lewohala (from which Lewoneda later branched off), Bampowa was the founder of Mudakaputu, and Mado the founder of Watuwiti. I am not clear as to how Belawaburak is linked with Leloba, but evidently his descendants went there and founded it.

Somewhere in all of this material is a kind of local glorification for all of the kampongs and perhaps a kind of ranking. The latter, however, is very unclear and it would seem that the fame of the brothers and their "functions" in the legend were something like this:

Belawaburak was a war hero and his death brought a great store of gold to the Bai Pitu.

Keweluk was a war leader, and at one phase was an administrative leader too. The latter was during the second Padji war.

Kewaka was a war leader and also won the fight with Keweluk. He also married the widow of Belawaburak.

Bampowa was first a war leader, but stayed home in the last Padji war and did administrative work. This gave him a real privileged hold on administration, and his kampong, Mudakaputu, was for a long time the holder of the kakang post here. Recently other kampongs have had the post. Today Leloba has it.

Mado, founder of Watuwiti, seems to have the least claim to fame, and he was the youngest brother. Something is said, however, about how
[789] Watuwiti folk are famous for making "medicine" which can make men mad, or rather silly. This

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173 can be used in war, as magic, and thus perhaps
621 Mado was the war sorcerer who perhaps did the
565 magic stuff which in the last analysis scared
789 the damned Padji away. This kind of medicine is called breni.

173 I asked if all the children and other people here know this story, and he said yes. It is evidently the main legend. He said that they do not know it perfectly, but the main facts and events are clear and everyone knows the story.

443 There is a market place at Okka crossroads every Wednesday. There used to be another on the beach on the way to Larantuka (where the Padji once lived) at Delang, but it is no longer there. It was held on Friday. There is a market place in Larantuka town, and the market is held there every day. However, there is no market week system. He knows of one in Adonara. He says it is no use to hold elaborate markets because they have no surpluses to sell.

583 The only exchange here is that connected
614 with marriage. The woman-giving suku gives fish to the woman-receiving suku, and the latter gives fowl to the former. If these suku are in different kampongs, there is the exchange, but it is a matter of suku and not kampongs. And again it shows how marriage is the basis of the whole organization.

829 As a result of the last World War the hori-
[178] zons in terms of the world at large were somewhat extended. For the first time, the people here heard of Japan, the United States and other countries. This was much the same thing that took place all over Indonesia. Fifty years ago no one here knew about such countries. As for other places in Indonesia, all they knew fifty years ago was Sina Djawa, to the west. Since the war they have learned at least the names of a few other islands. This is really epochal on

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614 tions. He put down just about everyone as
565 bangsawan, with the only exception being the
624 slave descendants and the absolute newcomers to the kampong. That is, everyone with suku membership who had a land privilege was included in the category "nobles." This means that there is no nobility properly speaking. Thus the mosa laki offices are really only the eldest branch of the eldest branch, etc., of a lineage.

565 This reminds me that when I asked whether
624 the kapitan of Nggobe (whose ancestor Ambu
634 Nggobe of the legends and who was the first
789 tuan tanah here) might not really be a bigger
173 man than the Radja, they said that he could well be that. Indeed, the tuan tanah of Nggobe is legendarily the biggest man here, according to the folk tales. And Rodja is big too. But then so is the Djawi descendant, the radja. Anyway, they are clear that the tuan tanah here are really the old ranks, and the radja is simply elevated to his present post only in recent history. This is probably why the radjas' hold is so weak here. They have no magic power and never were really higher than the tuan tanah. Thus the people here dare to rise against them at any time. What they fear is the government which stands behind the radjas, as well as a certain amount of respect and whatever the radjas have of ancestral claims according to the old adat scheme. When I mentioned the magic practices of Bone and the heaven-descent sanction of radja power in South Celebes, they seemed astonished. I am convinced. If there has developed any real royalty feeling here, it is rudimentary.

614 I asked whether perhaps there is a main man
624 of each suku. They said that the big man of Odja is the giri tumba, and of Rewarangga the mosa laki mere. In other kampongs and suku

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797 works, but I wonder if there might not be trouble if the central organization of the Catholic Church knew it. Still, perhaps the Catholics are indeed less doctrinaire than the Protestants. Surely the Jesuits are, with their different approach toward ends and means. There is a big contrast here with Ambon, surely.

788 Much of the former pagan ritual still survives. For example, there are field rites, beliefs, illness treatments, etc. The pagans still carry on plenty of the old ceremonies. Even the elaborate rites for planting, etc., continue.

241 782 796 The tuno wudjo is still an important figure in planting rites of Wailolong, but has disappeared in Leloba since Vatter's[1] day. The story is that she is a girl who was sacrificed in Lio by her seven brothers, to make the fields fertile. (They say that this is "to make the gardens fat.") Indeed, she told them to kill her in order to help. And the pieces of her body were sent to places all over Flores to make the fields fertile. The story is also found in Adonara.

Note: Lio is a great place for human sacrifice in relation to agriculture. The Radja of Lio not long ago was executed by the Dutch, and among his crimes was listed the killing of young girls for agricultural field rites. The people of Ende know this, and it seems generally known throughout Flores.

[614] [173] Note also: according to Vatter,[1] one of the suku in Tandjung Bunga is Lio, and they are supposed to be descended from people who came from there. I wonder if perhaps this myth is not a sign of former human sacrifice in relation to agriculture all over Flores (or at least for East Flores), and it may also have originated in Lio and thence spread to here. Anyway, the

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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567 178 565 slave descent and the removal of slave or slave-like services.

The kraeng of Todo and Pongkor, who were all over this area, were evidently the worst, because they were more numerous and more omnipresent. Bima was rather far off, and asked only peace and taxes, including slaves.

[578] 565 614 567 In regard to Todo and Pongkor, I got plenty of undercurrents of resentment here. Cornelius says the people here regard them as aliens (as indeed they are in this area, especially considering the localism of "nationalism" here). ●[173] And they themselves say that they are from Minangkabau via Makassar. I wonder if there is a tie-up with the Datu'ri Bandar who brought Mohammedanism to Makassar from Minangkabau about three hundred years ago? I would like to see the treasure chest of the Pongkor kraeng, as perhaps I could decide whence their ancestors came. I then asked why all the people of the kampong were noted as gelarang. And here I ran into the same thing as in Ende. Indeed, all the members of certain clans are a kind of nobles, like Odja there. This goes for the va'u Veol. It also goes for the va'u Pau, to which the assistant belongs. I tried every way to plumb this matter, and first got this information about the kampongs:

565 567 621 614 (1) There are kampongs in which all the "locals" are of the gelarang class, for example, kampongs Veol and Ndung. But there may be included among these, descendants of slaves who were admitted into the va'u after long residence, or who now claim membership, and although no one gainsays this, all know that they were from lower depths before. Still, I wonder if possibly some of the many men from the outside va'u, who are especially common in Ndung and who are married to outside women too, may have been here a long time and may have been slaves before.

769 rectangular. Now, Coolhaas[1] says that in Mang-
778 garai there are two native forms, and he gives
342 the native terms. One is conical and the other
173 rectangular, or perhaps a bit oval in shape.
614 However, the latter is not related to the former. There are areas of the one and the other, and evidently some areas have both. Now, the conical ones seem older, and on any surmise because round houses are simply older in Indonesia. Note then, that Ngada legends say that Djawa had seven daughters who became the ancestral mothers of the seven main voi. And they married men of the land, aborigines, here. The men are the ancestral fathers of the bhou. Could it be that
[174] the conical male ancestor houses reflect the patrilineal aboriginal culture and the population stratum which lived in round houses, and the rectangular bhaga represent the incoming, matrilineal population and culture? If so, this says much about the double descent of Ngada, the peculiar legend, and the strange double ancestor houses. Now I think I know why there are those amazing conical male ancestor posts in Ngada.

173 The legends of Minangkabau immigration may
611 be foolish, and the priest says he thinks it is
342 built up more recently, by the younger folk who
563 hear a name of an ancestor who came in and it sounds like "Minangkabau." But the surface evidence looks as though Manggarai and Ngada are a mixture of aborigines and immigrants. And there are also many evidences of double descent. I remember now that the priests talk much of enclaves of "autochthonous" folk in East Manggarai and East Nageh. They say that the people in these places are neither Manggarai nor Nageh. The Nageh enclave is originally from Soa, says Mommersteeg. I wish I knew whether these enclaves were patrilineal. Anyway, I doubt that they were unmixed. This may be a pretty good theory and may explain the umbrella houses.

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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778 The negri lama of the suku Odja is about one-
753 half kilometer outside Ratebedi in the distant hills. No one lives there now, but there are stones, etc. (I think he said images too.) The Ratebedi folk give offerings there. This was the kampong of the great ancestor Odja Djata (the father of Odja was Djata). There are many such old places which are dangerous, for example, the assistant went to one such place near Pamudjera, and he got sick at once.

[764] There is always talk of danger in fooling around with old places and old rules. Thus, not long ago two men of Watu Roga set a stone boundary marker in the earth, but this is taboo. In three days one was dead and in three months the other died.

If I could get all of the information about
● 174 each kampong and suku, I could rebuild the whole history of migrations, etc. And although most of the people have lost these stories, there are a good number of old men in Volofea and Bu'ube'i who could tell everything.

115 The assistant says he will try to get information on all these things as he does his "control" work in his job as secretary of the gemeente. He asks for a good notebook and a briefcase to do this work! I don't trust him, that's all. He plots, and the story is that when I come back years from now he will have all the facts. Thus he put together my interest in these things, my statement that I might return to do more work here, and out of hopes to get a notebook and case fabricated his plan.

423 The land is family-owned (maybe lineage-
614 owned is a better way of phrasing it). The eldest son is the manager of the family land.
592 Others work on it. If there are no sons, the
428 eldest daughter runs it, or maybe the deceased father's brother. The father may split up his estate among his sons, or give each one of his

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796 story is clear in their minds.
241 Note also that a Sumba girl was sacrificed
782 for dry springs and fertility. The pieces were sent all over the island. Here we clearly have a pattern. I wonder if perhaps the proto-Malay
• [174] strength in Lio may show a Sumba link, and human sacrifice of this sort may not have come into Flores with an eastward migration. There is a fair chance, I think, that they had at least two migrations into Flores: one from the west, the proto-Malay (and thence perhaps the stories in regard to Sina Djawa); and the other from the east, the Negroid migration, and thence the stories in regard to Kroko Putang and other ancestors from Timor, etc.

The tuno wudjo, ideally one for each suku and ama, are still used in ceremonies of all the kampongs here except Leloba and Lewoneda. Wailolong still uses them. The Catholics do not make much fuss about this. The Catholics must allow the rites. The tuno wudjo must fast for half a year or thereabouts, that is, there is a taboo on animals sacrificed for agriculture for them (could it be because they are substitutes for the tuno wudjo themselves, or is this too wild a guess?). It is notable anyway that only two kampongs have discontinued the tuno wudjo so far in this largely Catholic area. It shows how recent and relatively partial the Catholic hold on the population is here. It also shows how strong the agricultural base of paganism is and how important food can be in these terribly poor areas. The people cannot afford to take a chance, even with the old gods.

[771] I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements here at all.

[346] The korke is the kampong temple. In addition,
[614] each suku and each ama has its barn for the "adat" rice, corn, etc. This is like a kind of temple too, and ceremonies such as I saw were

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567 saw hundreds of Toradjas being brought into Palopo as slaves by the Buginese.

177 565 621 ●174 [614] If it is so that the dalu were put in by the Bima administration, perhaps originally there might have been only the gelarang, the tuan tanah that is, and the commoners. Maybe the latter were aborigines, and the first conquest brought in the gelarang class. But this seems unlikely, as the gelarang tuan tanah class looks very ancient here. (For example, the Veol clan ancestors came out of bamboo right at the Veol spring.) Anyway, some clans seemed to be higher and others lower, perhaps as in Lio, where some are of the tuan tanah rank and others are not, or like the situation in Ende, where some have mosa laki and others do not. Long ago, and the assistant says perhaps three hundred years, the kraeng came in from Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps they were Minangkabau who came in through Makassar. They say so. But they have no matrilineal system so far as I know, and they have the va'u system like all the people in Manggarai. And the language is the same. However, I asked the assistant if I was right in that the kraeng had a different accent, and he said yes, but this may be a mere local difference.

The assistant says that he knows the legends say that the dalu came from outside somewhere. But their names are Manggarai, and they have the va'u system too. Question: are they Todo-Pongkor kraeng who were elevated, some of them, to the dalu status by Bima. Are they Bimanese in origin? Are they gelarang who were elevated by Bima? It is certain that Bima put them in. I would favor the first explanation, but am bothered by the fact that some kampongs were under dalu and others under Todo and Pongkor kraeng. It looks as though they had a double rule here above the gelarang level, which was

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565 the old adat:
621 (1) The dalu rule, centering on Bima.
●174 (2) The kraeng rule, centering on Todo and
177 Pongkor.

177 Thus the locals may have been merely under a
565 double rule, and the actual supremacy of Todo-
621 Pongkor or Bima was never really resolved. It
634 may be that it was like the Madjapahit situa-
[174] tion in outlying areas: the local princes were partly to a largely degree independent and oppressed the locals (the Todo-Pongkor ones here), and the proconsuls of the central government got what they could for the sultan (the dalu). The question remains, whence the dalu? And I must find out whether the dalu family trees are the same as those of the kraeng. Note, incidentally, that the radja is of the Todo kraeng.

It may be that there is a strange unassimilation of rule here. There is the radja, whose supporters would be the kraeng scattered all over (and I heard the first day that "there are a few kraeng of the radja's family now in Tjantjar; they have gotten land there." I wrote at the time: "Any story here?" There seems to be one. Now comes the question whether the dalu
[578] work with the radja, or are still a bit independent, as sort of survivals of the Bima days (and the Dutch days that replaced Bima)? And what of the gelarang? Are they more for the radja or for the dalu? Or are there no tensions at all?

578 I remember that the Radja when he was a bit
634 drunk during the feast told us that he would
565 advise us and tell us of possible dangers, etc. My guess is that all is not peaceful and happy here. Why? There seems to be no real exploitation any more, but perhaps there is a remembered resentment against the kraeng. And the mandur said that the Radja was not really Manggarai,

565 (3) There are one hundred per cent kraeng
614 va'u, e.g., Puruk.

(4) There are one hundred per cent dalu va'u, e.g., Rahong.

(5) There is a radja va'u, of kraeng rang, i.e., Todo.

974 The history may be something like this:

621 (1) Originally, and until about three hundred
565 years ago: the gelarang tuan tanah district
634 chiefs were in, with kampong ramifications.

648 (2) About three hundred years ago until 1900: the period of Todo-Pongkor kraeng conquest, with also some Makassarese rule from the north (Goa) and Bima rule also.

(3) 1909--1929: Dutch rule without radja.

(4) 1929--1941: Dutch rule with radja.

(5) 1941--1949: Japanese, and later Dutch influence, the latter putting in the East Indonesian negara.

(6) 1949-- : The new Indonesia, with the Dutch gone, but the radja still here, as well as the dalu and the kraeng.

The only real power still alien in this area is that of the Todo-Pongkor kraeng (radja). What will happen?

582 I checked over the marriages in Veol and
614 Ndung, but the assistant will get the va'u of the inmarrying women. However, it looks as though there is no pattern. Looking only at the kampongs whence the inmarriers came, I can find just about no system; the twenty-seven women who married men of Veol came from twenty different kampongs (highest frequency was three). The four men who married women of Veol and came here to live are from three kampongs (highest frequency two).

The twenty-nine women who married men of Ndung came from twenty kampongs (highest frequency four: Tjumbi; another three: Tjara).

The nine men who married women of Ndung and

Wa In regard to the Radja and the land matter,
425 I finally got it straight. The radja and kraeng
565 used to take what they wanted, worked or un-
634 worked. Also, they used to make the lampang
661 work the unworked fields and gardens. Starting
466 about two years ago there has been no more free
178 labor, but the radja and the kraeng must pay wages. If anyone resisted before, he and the whole family could be enslaved instantly. Even now, they can generally get undeveloped land for the asking when a new field is laid out, but they must work it themselves or pay laborers wages. They do not need to pay for undeveloped fields, any more than the local folk have to pay for them. But other aliens, like the assistant here, must buy such land. If the radja or kraeng wants to obtain developed land today, he must pay for the labor done on it. Even the last remaining privilege, to ask and get a piece of undeveloped land, is in danger. A year ago, in Dalong, the folk took back from the radja a piece of land that had been given him and that he had worked. Thus the old privileges die under merdeka.

565 All of the above information about the dalu
624 being here only since 1880 is wrong. Coolhaas ¹
167 has reported that dalu were in Manggarai in
174 the eighteenth century. Their origin is unknown. The assistant says that they all came from overseas. The gelarang were merely tuan tanah. The kraeng were among the dalu. They were originally the dalu of the Todo-Pongkor area. Thus the dalu have been here for a long time. They were evidently pro-consuls of Bima and Makassar (which fought long over Manggarai). The pastor says that he thinks some of them were originally locals who were elevated, and others came from the outside. The assistant insists that their family trees are different from those of the gelarang. Maybe they represent a partly elevated gelarang and partly kraeng from Todo-

¹[See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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565 Pongkor. The whole thing is in the dark. I
624 must check Coolhaas at length. The names of
167 the dalu are all Manggarai, and simple. The
174 Radja merely has a Manggarai name.

The newcomers in the kampongs here are no
166 cause for worry, because the original kampong
621 dwellers keep control, no matter how many new-
614 comers there are and how few of them are left. There is a kampong where there are only three old households left, and there are about forty outside households. The three keep control.

Those who have come into the kampongs here comprise both unmarried and married folk. The former all marry in. Some of the present folk
[567] who are named as of va'u Veol may well be of slave origin. Slaves were taken into the va'u of their owners. Everyone in the kampong knows which families in the va'u are of slave origin, but they will not tell outsiders. It is certain that the slaves are among the va'u Veol folk, if any.

Usually newcomers have relatives within the kampong, and this is the way so many Tjumbi entered. These relatives form an opening wedge, and others follow. This is like immigration in the United States.

Very few come into the kampong and then leave. The only case is the Tjepang clan. It entered long ago and left about twenty years ago for Tjantjar, en masse. This happens often. A clan enters and increases so much, while the original clan also increases in size, that in the end the original clan says that the immi-
[624] grant clan must move. Then the other clan is given a gong-gendang, one of them becomes the tuan tanah of the branch kampong, and off they go. This is what happened in the case of Tjantjar.

624 The man who becomes the branch tuan tanah is
[614] the tuan panga of the clan. He gets the gong-

614 are somewhat moved around, however, and are even scattered, so that one may find parts of a suku in entirely different areas. I must check on this.

624 As for the four adat chiefs, aside from the mosa laki mere, who sits in the center when judging, the giri tumba (whose name means "spear running around") stands or sits to the right of the mosa laki mere. The ndeto au, who is an [791] expert on making adat stuff which I judge to be ordeal material or magical divining, sits or stands to the left of the mosa laki mere. The sike sani acts as a watchman or policeman. I must get the full account of the functions of these men.

701 Then I asked if they had had war leaders formerly and they said yes. They are called "brave men" or atambani (ata-m-bani or orang brani). They said that they were fierce and feared.

793 Then I asked about the priests, and they said 789 that they still have plenty of them. They are called bisa mari. I got the usual story of how 171 they prove their powers of second sight, and it sounded just like the Ambonese talking about guna-guna. These priests are not hereditary, and never were, but the sons usually learn their lore from their fathers.

648 There is much talk here about war with the ●175 Dutch and I am told that there were uprisings all over Flores in the year 1907. I was also told of the stern methods of suppression used in those times and how afterwards there was wholesale jailing of the Florenese. They seem to have lost their nerve then and today they no longer rebel.

773 I asked about the old myths concerned with 769 ancestors. The Kapitan Gunung Rodja, who is descended from Djari Djawa, the Madjapahit man who came here on a whale, told a different version

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178 religion, when he knew so much about the old
797 ways and his ancestors were so important in
565 it, then this new religion must be all right.
177 (Here we see the old theme of converting the
769 chiefs first. And all the magic aspect is clear too.) He admitted that if the nobles had been against Catholicism it would have been much more difficult (impossible? Note India, where the handicap of missions has been that most of the people converted have been untouchables; and the joy of the missions has been whenever they could snare a Brahmin.)

797 Roy says that they received Catholicism at
175 first gladly and were interested and liked the medicine. Then there came trouble, however, when they saw that the Catholics were determined to wipe out the old things. Then came resignation. The trouble started when the Catholics began to win. Thus there were three phases, starting with the conversion of the first man, Guru Bala, in 1885:

(1) 1885--1912: period of amicable relations.

(2) 1912--1920: the pagan fight, and real conflict.

(3) 1920 to the present: the surrender and acceptance of the inevitable.

[614] Bala was of the suku Lewonuhah.

565 Even now, the asli, the men of real noble
177 descent, have the power and prestige. It is very hard, indeed impossible, for a commoner, no matter how clever he may be, to bring in alien things. If a commoner tried he would be killed. If he is a noble, he will find things easier, but he too had better be careful, for if he is a "trouble maker" he too might be thrown out (killed?).

797 In Wailolong the first Christian was Pulo,
177 converted by Bala in 1890. Conversions were
798 slower here than in Leloba, and paganism still
184 holds on. Because it was slower there, Roy says
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773 from van Suchtelen,[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst] but in general the same ele-
769 ments were present. However, he said, for example, that the girl was not really in the form of a lontar leaf but rather that she came wrapped in a leaf. He also said that Toni, one of the sisters, had no children; and Soru, the other, after having a child in Sikka who produced the ancestors of the radjas there, came to Ende and had children there who became the ancestors of the Ende radjas. Her Sikka husband was killed in Timor, and his name, Djau, was given to her Ende son. Thus from the start Ende and Sikka radjas have a common female ancestor. I can see that the myths here have many versions. The Java-Madjapahit stuff is definitely there. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja was quite enthusiastic in telling about these myths, and it always seemed that his ancestors figured largely.

778 I asked if they have a negri lama here, and
361 they at once pointed to the high hills behind both kampongs and said that they are located there. And on them, as in Ambon, are the batu pemali! The Dutch forced them to move to the lowlands as they did in Ambon. Evidently they go to these places from time to time, and I must find out if feasts are linked with them. They
[578] said there is no real open conflict between the new and the old religions.

535 They said that there are still plenty of the old dances and old adat costumes here. They will put on this ceremonial dress for photographing later.

764 I asked about funerals and they said that the
565 nobles used to be cocooned on a tree branch (not on the trunk, as Körner[2] says for Rea Ndona) until they rotted. Then there was a great feast with
(231) the killing of many buffalo, and the bones and skulls of the deceased were taken and cleaned and put in a chest which was then put in the slab-
[177] covered cist tombs. The Dutch forbade the tree burial as unhygienic.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

[2] [See p. 21 of Körner & p. 189 of Elbert as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

632 told me that his mother is from this area, and later I had her kampong pointed out (Lewoleda). It is the twin kampong of Watuwiti. As we passed every kampong the children came out in droves shouting greetings and then running after and hanging on the rear of the jeep, just as Vatter[1] described them almost twenty years ago.
[178] Indeed, many things of his are still the same, but some are different, for example, Catholicism has finally destroyed the nubanara, nama, and the korke of Leloba.

346 797 583 438 At Wailolong we went off on a new side road to Leloba, and the road ended at the kampong, barred by a fence. As we were talking here, a priest, Krol, came up on his motorcycle and invited us to his hut. He is temporarily here because the church and pastorie in Riangkamië was burned two months ago. The people there caused the fire by burning the hills on the windward side, and the kampong elders voted to give a percentage of the bride prices for quite a long while in order that they might have the new church. This will be paid in elephant tusks,
[435] which the mission will sell for cash to the Mohammedan traders (eight tusks of varying lengths will sell for about fl. 2000.00, and the priest knew the exact price). The Mohammedan traders will then resell the tusks to the people in Larantuka who need them to pay a bride price. They will probably sell them in the Tandjung Bunga (Cape Flores area).

797 197 177 The priest told how the Catholics work here. They try to keep as much of the old culture as possible. For example, he and others are learning all about the Solor language, which is the local language here, so that they can make prayers in it. They also make prayers in the
797 177 533 old style, as though praying to Lerawulan. They use native songs with words in the native language and in the native style, too. He, musical,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

797 sang a few, and they are quite good. He says the
●177 Gregorian chants are liked by the people here as
[533] they are similar to theirs. Perhaps both are primitive. Also they like marches. Then too, said the priest here, on Christmas they retell the old story, saying that the shepherds brought mangos, bananas, and other native fruits to the manger. I think he said he has them bring such fruits to the church manger. They interfere as little as possible with the old practices. An old pageant concerning cosmogony and the descent of man has been kept, but they put in Adam and Eve and Sem, etc., in place of the native figures. As Kattenburg rightly remarked, it is a question as to whether they are adjusting native religion to Catholicism or Catholicism to native religion.

797 Later, in the Larantuka mission headquarters,
177 the priest said there was much argument among
578 the priests whether this is right. Krol, how-
[197] ever, is on the native side. He says, for example, that if they had hymns in Malay the old folk would never come to church. On hearing their own language, however, they come in and sit in the rear. This is an interesting reversal of the methods employed by the Protestants in Ambon, and Krol could see this. Protestantism does not compromise. The hymns are in Malay and are simply Dutch. They will take nothing from the old religion and they refuse to compromise. The priest said that the Catholic method is a matter of tactics, and I thought, "Here is the Jesuit view of an end justifying the means." Anyway, here the old is intermeshed with the new, and is gradually weeded out. In Ambon the two are kept separate, and there is a conflict between the adat and the agama lama, and Protestantism. This is not to say that there is no conflict here, and I think there is more than meets the eye. But the difference in method is notable.

000 notable.
797 The church in Riangkamiö is built with refer-
●177 ence to the four ritual sibs of Kottang, Hurin,
346 Keleng, and Marang. This is an example of the
[614] rule used: anything of a social nature is all
right, but if it is of a religious nature and
related to the old spirits or ghosts, etc.,
Catholicism won't take it. This is like the
[171] death feasts in the Toradja country, where the
Protestants will let the Christians go to these
social rites but not to the great exorcism
rites. Thus the Catholics here are not allowed
to go to the old rites on the nama in front of
the korke, but as the priest admitted, it is
hard for the folk here to see the difference,
and they tend to regard these retained aspects
of paganism as full paganism because they are
symbols of the whole pagan system.
797 He told much that was interesting. There is
178 in paganism here a need for a girl to be the
243 rice maiden for the fertility rites (Vatter[1]
796 tells the story too), and the old adat chiefs
insisted in one kampong that at least one girl
should not be converted, as at least one is
needed to be the rice maiden. This shows the
desperate plight of paganism. They must beg to
have something vital allowed to remain. "Give
us one only," they ask. He said it is true that
just about all of the young people are Catholic,
but many of the old remain pagan.
[771] Wu Later, in Wailolong the guru Roy said there
are few, but very few young people who are pagan.
578 He told us about a war in which a man was killed
411 yesterday. It was a border war between Leloba
and Waibalun and the police had to stop it.
They fight these wars all the time, with bow and
spear and knife. I asked if maybe it were not
511 because they were hungry and need land. And
[578] hunger and misery cause aggression anyway. He
denied this, but I think it is true, especially

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

114 As Vatter[1] says, there are taboos of a totemic
784 sort. Ama Hurint has a taboo on a kind of
614 vegetable. Others are as given by Vatter. Vatter has a real error, however, in that there are only five suku, not six, because Marang is within Kottang.

582 Marriage with one's father's sister's sister
835 [father's sister's daughter?] is taboo, as are
177 marriages between parallel cousins. Mother's brother's daughter marriages are preferred, and this occurs regularly. It was interesting to note that the mother's brother's daughter marriage is considered taboo in Catholic communities. This was admitted, and no longer do Catholics
836] here marry their real mother's brother's daughter unless the girl has become pregnant (this is evidently a fairly common occurrence, as it is mentioned freely). However, because of the classificatory system, it is possible to marry a mother's brother's daughter relative through the grandparents. Such a relative must be at least a fourth grade cousin to suit the Catholics. Thus they manage to maintain the old system and suit the Catholic demand.

601 Kinship terms are as follows:

father:	bapa
father's brother:	bosu
father's sister:	nona, kaka (male speaking); nona kaka, tia (female speaking) (Tia means mother-in-law)
father's brother's son:	kaka aring (male speaking); na'a (female speaking)
father's brother's daughter:	bine (male speaking); kaka aring (female speaking)

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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614 here the process has gone much further and they
124 are slower in general to respond. Anyway I got
to the point where they said that there are
really only two "native" suku here in Roworeke,
[622] Odja and Rewarangga. Only an Odja can become
kepala kampong.

622 Incidentally, they agreed that in the old
624 days they had only four adat chiefs. The kepala
[177] kampong were superimposed by the Dutch. They
know this. I asked who were really higher in
rank, the mosa laki mere or the kepala kampong,
and they said that they were just different.
614 Other suku than the main two here are for example, Wanda, Ndoru, Songo, Soa, Fongi; all of which are from Lio, and are represented here by women who have married in mostly. Then there is Djawa, which has been here for a long time. Also there is Meo, from Nggobe; Gusi, from another Ende gemeente; Gusa (or Tibo), from Koavena; another Rewarangga kampong; and Woro (same).

778 Koa is the negri lama of the Gusa suku, and there the rumah berhala is located. It is the one that has the images. Many of the oldtimers live there. It is one kilometer uphill from the km. 10 mark on the road, just above the kapitan's garden. There is a rumah berhala in Worowai, where rites are held. I must get to see this.

There is no question here but that the
614 Rewarangga suku has the greatest power in all the gemeente. It may also have been the original suku. Next in order is Odja, and evidently next in line comes Reandona, whose native kampong is Manunggo'o, in the hills above Roworeke.

527 On December 27, after the ceremony of independence, came the same sort of thing as on flag day, but now for nearly a week there will be no
487 work. We left for Badjawa, the capital of Ngada. The road went along the coast through a number

[124] arrived after dark. We saw a very clear change
144 in physical type.[1] The Manggarai are clearly
proto-Malay with a fair amount of Mongoloid
blood in them.

[311] We went down to the coast through the empty
361 land, being burned off in large part, to Aimere.
342 Then we went across the wild and jungled peninsula to Mborong. We picked up a small girl from the hospital in Mborong who was going to school in the mountains. She got sick on the way. Then, up in the empty hills again, we saw a tree house on the way. Underneath it were some Mongoloid looking men and they said they were iron workers who were working on a bridge. They sleep in the tree house, which they built
[137] against mosquitoes which are bad here. They were from Ruteng. Later we heard that they have been here for years, "working" on a bridge.

[132] We ran into a terrible fog as we went up and up toward Ruteng. In the evening we attended
[443] the pasar malam, and there in addition to the
[525] gambling was a play with a story about how in-
536 dependence means decency and not rowdiness.
177 It was full of Catholic influence. Between the
533 acts there were instances of poor singing and dancing by a little girl who sang and stepped around and by some sillily dressed boys who went through marching motions to almost inaudible
[534] singing. The orchestra consisted of a violin and a ukelele, nothing else. The band consisted of a few horns. A small child held up the music for the trombone player, who didn't use the slide. The play was incredibly bad. Thus they lose the fine old singing and dancing and drama rites and instead of them they now have these imitation things which are bad beyond belief.

The next morning we went to the mission and
793 met several priests, including the rector, van
124 Bekkum,[2] who wrote an article on Manggarai art. He was a bearded fellow and not bad. He said

[1] [i.e., the Manggarai vis-a-vis the Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more people in many of the houses. The complex ar-
243 rangement of rice fields stretches out far below and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but perhaps this is done merely by flooding. I must ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly situated on rises and they are small, for example, Weol has only about thirty houses in it. The priest says that there are many of the stones in kampong Ruteng located about 1½ km. outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each day, and the guru will bring the table and chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel. The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary, which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
197 houses were introduced here by a priest. The guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the
515 folk here, including the priests. Bathing is not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the relationship between partners is distant enough. Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans, called panga, and one may marry within these in the same way, according to the guru. I must find out more about this and also get the kin system. We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in the center of the town where they were playing football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

We

614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the relationships linking the individuals in this area became more and more distant. Thus they gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed, since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols, showing the effect of having worked with van Bekkum.[1] The priests try to discourage mother's brother's daughter marriages, but they always give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get the idea that the priests here are less firm regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka. This is probably because it is a relatively new field, and the Catholics go slowly and gradually in destroying what is old. The dodge they use here is special dispensation. This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price, is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with his wife's family until the bride price is paid. This may take ten years or he may never pay the bride price, but the children belong to his va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
177

1 [pastor at Ruteng; see also bibliography, cat. 113 — Analyst]

We

872 one-half years ago. Children of, for example,
[177] fifteen can't enter this school because they
are too old. This is a big reason why there is
less acculturation here than in Larantuka.
624 Also, Larantuka has lost the power of adat
622 chiefs to a greater degree, as has Ende. Here
177 they still are the most powerful leaders, and
even the kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah
family. This is clearly the area of least ac-
culturation, although in agriculture and tech-
nology they are just as advanced if not more so
than in the other areas. For example, witness
the wooden houses. But adat is stronger here,
and the mother's brother's daughter marriage
still stands. The priests still compromise
more with the old. There are many many feasts.
527 There are feasts at birth, death, marriage, if
574 there are many children, at planting, at har-
796 vest, when a new garden is made, when a new
756 house is erected, and on many other occasions.
755 Some of these are large and some are small.
Some are for the family, and some are celebrated
by larger units. Some are celebrated by the
entire kampong. The biggest is perhaps the
cleansing of the kampong ceremony. The medi-
cine man, mbako decided when one is needed.
Thus he says there is a lot of illness, etc.,
and it is time they had a "tjutji kampong."

756 There is at least one mbako in each kampong,
609 and some kampongs have more. He learns his
trade from his father, but there are cases where
such succession is not followed. There is one
in Weol. However, they will never tell an out-
sider who the mbako is. He is secret. They all
know who he is. However, even during a rite,
he keeps in the background so that he can be
kept hidden. Query: Is this because of the
fear of the mission or the government or what?
I couldn't get much about the latter, but I
will try later. This is amazing!

Wa

191 is always in Manggarai. I have seen this before. "Mengerti sedikit, tidak bisa tjakap [I understand a little bit, but I can't speak it].

53 177 831 We saw a poor show at the pasar malam. It was a sandiwara traveling troupe like the one I saw on the ship. It consisted of torch singers and crooners. The gallery came down with a carioca in western dress. The contact was not close, but closer than they used to make it, and at the end the woman half fell into the man's arms. They shrieked. This very mild sex symbolism in dance was extreme for them. Their dances, as usual, are incredibly dull. The songs repeat themselves over and over again. 526 And they carry on their whip fighting day after day. They even abuse football, and play it from dawn to dusk. This is like the ten games [171] of baseball a day in Micronesia. They overdo things.

201 576 123 832 As we were sitting in the assistant's house with him and the other guru, a woman came in and swiftly pushed her face into mine, holding my head and rubbing noses. It seemed almost as though she were using her mouth a bit too, and I wondered if this were a combination of nose rub and sniff kiss. She then went quickly to Kattenburg and then to the two guru. Nothing would stop her, even embarrassed protests from the guru. The assistant asked who she was, and the other said she was Marcus's wife (who's that?). We were so embarrassed that we turned at once back to the questions, and we acted as though nothing had happened. We saw her later in the rear of the house, looking queer. Query: Was she crazy, or was she doing some bit of unthinking etiquette? But even if she were crazy, she must have been following a pattern here, or why do it in exactly that way? It would have been better if it had been the other guru's wife, who is a beauty.

582 firm in stating that one had ~~to marry~~ within the
565 same class, of which there are three: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata hoö, but I forget the terms for the others.
[587] They say that a lower man may never marry up,
[567] but that a higher man may marry down for a second wife. They are more open here about slavery than I have found elsewhere.

142 The people are quite handsome and many of
144 them are of the proto-Malay type. There are relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay element predominates, and the East Flores Negroid types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars. There is also a great difference in the color of the skin, many people being quite light-skinned
[515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here
[197] say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not the Soa folk.

291 The clothes of the local people are shabby and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are
304 universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears.
[276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments
[301] in their ears today. Only the holes are noted. We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most men have their names or initials as well as figures tattooed on their forearms. This name
[177] tattoo is quite general.) (Perhaps this is the secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy tattoo.")

764 The burials here, I think, and certainly in
565 Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners, but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

632 The districts here are called kepala mereschappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan. This one is evidently Naru.

764 with upright stone. They are built by indi-
211 viduals to commemorate their own name. There
[554] is great vanity here in keeping one's name
alive after death. Thus the ngadu builder
gets his name on the ngadu too. There are no
offerings, however, at these rest places.

231 The Nageh in Soa kill animals with spears
411 as they are released (probably a hunting sur-
vival). Perhaps this is related to Toradja
spearing?

556 Larantuka: We left Ende on Friday, January
237 6, and after ten and a half hours we got to
177 Larantuka. There we met a young Chinese trader
438 who was born in Lomblem and whose father has a
toko there. They are now in Surabaja, but he
comes through Flores and the islands to buy
stuff each year. He is now buying kemiri nuts.
He told me a lot about Lomblem. He said that
there are thousands of tusks in Lomblem alone.
And he said that Maumere, which is relatively
rich in various products, is cornering a large
part of the tusks of Flores. In other places,
for example, in Larantuka, there are fewer
tusks now, and people are beginning to pay
money instead. The Maumere folk, he said,
think nothing of money. The real wealth and
goal of all striving is tied up in the tusks.
He said that the Chinese brought the tusks in
originally and told the radjas here that they
were the teeth of the naga (which was important
locally before that). The radjas paid dearly
for them, and soon all the folk here wanted
them. Hence, thousands were imported by the
Chinese. It may have been the same situation
as that which obtains with the mokko in the
Alor area. They too may well be from China.

511 This Chinese said that in Lomblem the folk
461 want very little. They work a little, just
185 enough to get the corn going, and then drink
273 enough gin to go to sleep. When drunk they

Wau

582 I asked if there were many marriages between
614 Wailolong and Leloba. He said that before
●177 there were many because they were allies and
578 nearby. In 1912, however, when the Dutch came
797 in, his father, who was the head man of Leloba, decided it was useless to fight. Wailolong, however, decided to resist. This strained the friendly relations which had existed before, and until recently there have not been too many marriages. I also wonder, inasmuch as he mentioned in this connection that missionaries entered the region in 1907, whether the more rapid Christianization of Leloba might not also have strained relations with the relatively resistant Wailolong.

124 After telling me that he was in fine spirits
177 because my pyribenzamine had cured his asthma,
578 he said he was also happy because he got such a fine reception in Wailolong when he went from
123 house to house getting the census material. He
609 had been afraid of this, and thought that the people would snub him. This would have made him much ashamed. This was also why he insisted that we get the kakang to order the Wailolong folk to give the information. Now he reports that he was received with open arms and that the Wailolong folk say they are delighted that a big man of Leloba is coming among them to work, and that also big men from the United States are getting their names and their customs down on paper. They said that they felt submerged for many years (and their kampong looks a bit dingy and dispirited) and that now they are having a rise. It looks to me as though Roy really feared a bad time, and this shows that the probable relations between these two communities were really distant until we came. We may have brought peace and good
609 will to the two kampongs. It is also amusing
123 to note his remark that when we first appeared,

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578 children). There are no Ili Djadi descendants
621 in Riang Kamië at all. The folk are mostly
614 descendants of Kroko Putang, although there are
173 some from Sina Djawa. Among the kampongs which
united to form Riang Kamië were Lamalewa, Beluwela, and Lamaliang. There are now fifteen suku in Riang Kamië. The old kampongs are still used for the sections (as is so often the case in Indonesia).

[211] The Kroko Putang origin (Tenemau) is symbolized by the wooden prau model in the korke of Riang Kamië.

621 The Sina Djawa folk were liked by the Ili
614 Djadi people, however, because when they entered
173 they brought iron, flint and steel and other
"high" things. Many suku were taken into the
177 kampongs from the Sina Djawa. They brought
773 with them good weapons. Riang Kamië is the largest kampong here. Its population is about
[161] one thousand three hundred (Wailolong and Leloba have about seven hundred each). There is a lot of material on the legendary relationships between the ancestors as seen now in the kampongs. Thus, the two original Ili Djadi were a brother and sister, covered with hair. They came out of the mountain and a Padji girl on the shore saw a fire on the mountain. They were then discovered, and the Padji girl, Hadumboleng (a different person from the Ama Hadumboleng in the suku list), married Lenurat. Thus the Ili Djadi are Padji on the mother's side. The girl, however, sister of Lenurat, married a Timor man, Pategolo. The Radja of Larantuka is descended from the latter union. Thus Timor is involved in the male origin and Ili Djadi in the female origin. Also, the kampongs which are descended from the Pategolo-Watuwele (this was the name of Lenurat's sister) union are on the beach side of the mountain, and they are Waibalun, Balela, and Lokea. The last is the Radja's kampong.

Wa

000 This is an example of radja tyranny.

888 Formerly, politicians were older than they
178 are today. Indeed, they would not follow a
622 younger man formerly very well. Today there are plenty of cases of an older radja tuan giving his rightful kepala kampong post to a younger brother. At least it is usually the latter, for this keeps it in the proper family. The older man keeps the adat post. (This is what Roy himself has done here). He said that this is done: (1) because if there is trouble in the kampong, the kepala kampong bears the brunt of this and may have to go to jail. It is better to have two men so that one can carry on the administration; (2) the older man is often unable to read and write. Formerly the three kepala kampong were always the same men as the radja tuan of the three main suku.

[561] This led to a long talk about the conflict
178 between generations. Roy says that there is no
797 conflict here, as they give in if the children are firm enough. He also says that although the
177 old resisted religious change before, they have surrendered now and know that it is hopeless. When they are dead they know that paganism will be finished. It came out clearly here that the only real force of change has been Catholicism. And the only area of change has been religion, although other aspects have been affected thereafter. Thus we got again onto the subject of religion.

797 I asked if, if there were a long period of
178 misfortunes, there might not be a reversion to paganism. He said that this is conceivable, but that it has gone too far now for this to be a strong probability. He gave a case of a kampong on the neck of Tandjung Bunga, Riang Koli, which not long ago decided that it would not give up paganism but would merely make a deliberate combination of it and Catholicism. How-

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648 Dutch said there would be no release unless he
578 signed. He signed on a promise that the case
609 would be reheard, but then after he signed the Dutch refused to reopen the case. I get the idea that there was real hostility to the Dutch here, but that the people were so scared that there was no revolt. Indeed, this is what the Roworoke men said: at first the people resisted, but when many of them were sent to jail, they gave up. The Dutch came here late, and the rough stage of colonialism was a recent one. It came earlier elsewhere. At any rate, there is no sorrow at all here that the Dutch have gone. They really hated the Dutch except the pastors. The lack of politeness of the Dutch seems to have impressed the folk here very much. There were radjas, however, who sided with the Dutch, and in fact I think this was the previous line of the radja kedua family.

829 In regard to Holland, they all thought that
648 it was a very big and powerful place. This is why there was great muttering yesterday when I told of the population of Holland. They regarded the Queen as their Radja, because her head was on the money. This is an illustration of the primitive political views here. They also saw that the Larantuka radja was well under the Dutch, and his rank fell very far.

609 The pastors here are the great exception.
797 The people love them, and when Roy tries to ex-
758 plain why, the first thing he mentions is medi-
•177 cine, and then comes the standard stuff in regard to religion. This is a good example of how religion rides in on the advanced culture's material strength. They indeed have more powerful "medicine." This kind of thing seems to have been the wedge. Then the schools would come in, etc. That is, primitive people can see
797 quickly the obvious advantages in material and
177 job terms, etc., of the outside superior culture,

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797 and the price the outsiders ask is giving up
177 the old religion.

829 The people know nothing about other lands
565 and certainly nothing about their governments. However, they know the names of other countries and a bit about the roles they play in world events. I asked if they knew about demokrasi, and he said that the word is used all over here now, although it is brand new. They don't know what it means. He says that they tend to think that it means a kind of anarchy where anyone can take anything, with no respect for rank. I wonder if maybe in this thoroughly ordered and stratified place, where inherited rank and inequality prevails (rank, class, ritual, respect, etc.), and indeed exists in the very heart of the society, whether when they first heard that democracy meant that all people were equal, this did not sound like anarchy, as they could not imagine an ordered world where there was no rank.

829 They know nothing about the actual facts of
648 the United Nations, but they have heard plenty about the "Kumpulan Medja Bundar". [Round Table Conference]. This all came out when they saw the red and white flag and asked what all of this was about. They got the story that there was the Round Table Conference, and that at it Indonesia became free and this was the new flag. The flag was the symbol that produced the story. They also have heard a lot about the United States and that it helped in obtaining Indonesian freedom (perhaps we managed to salvage some touted good will in Indonesia). Beyond this, however, they know nothing of world politics. They did know about the Allies (Bangsa Serikat; Kattenburg says "Pemerintah Serikat"), as they were partly involved in the war. They think that this union, and especially the United States, beat the Japanese. When asked if the Dutch helped, Roy said that they have no thought on this matter, as

794 Catholic, has two wives, but he was adamant.
665 As for Mohammedanism, he says that they are dormant politically, or at least they have been until recently. Now that Dr. Sutomo is here he is becoming a kind of Mohammedan leader. However, the Mohammedans are few and they are important only in Kampong Baru. There was a
798 rumor here on the Japanese entrance that the
203 Japanese were Mohammedans. It went further to the effect that all Christians and pagans were to be killed. The theme was that you had better get your songko boys. There was a new version, when the red and white flag went up. It went that this was really the flag of Islam and that the Christians and pagans would have no voice in the government. He thinks that perhaps this rumor was started by the Mohammedans. It was here that he joyfully parroted several times my word desas-desus [whispering, rumors]. He learns new words fast.

The situation here is the reverse of the
178 usual thing. The Catholics are the radicals,
797 in the sense that they are against the old
565 things which are pagan, and the pagans are the
●177 conservatives in the sense that they want to
769 keep the old ways. This will change later, surely.

This led to a long talk about the entry of Catholicism here. Roy admits that he may be the most powerful factor in the fast and one hundred per cent conversion here. He said that the main reason was that he gave good lessons (ketranggan [interpretation, clarification, proof]) and the second reason was that he happens to be a real noble. The latter meant not only that he had a good name and respected rank, but that he was in close touch with and had real privileges in the pagan ancestral stuff. Indeed, his own rank depends on the ancestor cult. If he was willing to take a chance with the new

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178 religion, when he knew so much about the old
797 ways and his ancestors were so important in
565 it, then this new religion must be all right.
●177 (Here we see the old theme of converting the
769 chiefs first. And all the magic aspect is clear too.) He admitted that if the nobles had been against Catholicism it would have been much more difficult (impossible? Note India, where the handicap of missions has been that most of the people converted have been untouchables; and the joy of the missions has been whenever they could snare a Brahmin.)

797 Roy says that they received Catholicism at
175 first gladly and were interested and liked the medicine. Then there came trouble, however, when they saw that the Catholics were determined to wipe out the old things. Then came resignation. The trouble started when the Catholics began to win. Thus there were three phases, starting with the conversion of the first man, Guru Bala, in 1885:

(1) 1885--1912: period of amicable relations.

(2) 1912--1920: the pagan fight, and real conflict.

(3) 1920 to the present: the surrender and acceptance of the inevitable.

[614A Bala was of the suku Lewonuhah.

565 Even now, the asli, the men of real noble
177 descent, have the power and prestige. It is very hard, indeed impossible, for a commoner, no matter how clever he may be, to bring in alien things. If a commoner tried he would be killed. If he is a noble, he will find things easier, but he too had better be careful, for if he is a "trouble maker" he too might be thrown out (killed?).

797 In Wailolong the first Christian was Pulo,
177 converted by Bala in 1890. Conversions were
798 slower here than in Leloba, and paganism still
184 holds on. Because it was slower there, Roy says
578

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797 that there was less open conflict than in Leloba.
798 There was a chance to mix the pagan with the new
● 177 and develop a syncretism. In Leloba it was a
184 life and death struggle, and indeed it was, as
578 the issue shows, a showdown. Perhaps Roy refused to compromise. This is a very interesting contrast. They had their fight out in Leloba and gave up paganism, while Wailolong held onto a little of the old. Indeed, he says that the Catholics in Wailolong do many of the pagan rites today, whereas the Catholics of Leloba have no ceremonies left to participate in.

[665] Since there are no political parties here,
797 and the real issue in Wailolong now is religion,
177 since all depends on it, I went right back to
798 the struggle on this point too. The leader of
578 the Catholics in Wailolong is the guru from Bama. His outside origin is a handicap. (I am just about sure that Roy is the main man to destroy paganism in Leloba. He was the perfect man for the job.) The leader of the pagans is Blawa, the kelake of one of the Datong ama. He is the one who shares the office with the legitimate kelake, Doeng, who is less able to do so. The Radja tuan of this head suku is not so eloquent, and so Blawa is the center of resistance. I asked if he got along all right with the guru and with Roy, and he said yes. Again the mild-
[181] ness of the folk stands out, together with their
[152] tolerance. They simply do not show anger.

Anyway, the pagans, even Blawa, have given up. Their only struggle is over little things (please let us have at least one little girl for a tuno wudjo!). They just try to hold on, like their last gasp. They are going down the road to death, and after them the pagans will be eclipsed. It is dramatic.

166 The only people who go away from here usually
484 go to jail, as Roy says. This is the only trip they make.

Wa.

000 they might try reasoning with them, they would go no further.

584 762 The same story holds for marriage. If a child does not like his parent's choice of a mate, the marriage does not occur. There have been a few cases, however, of suicide (always by hanging) on the part of both men and women, because of desperate love and mismarriage. This is interesting, and if I have the time I will try to get these cases down.

582 835 614 178 The marriage system is the thing, and it is exogamous with complicated rules. There has been no change. Even the very few cases of endogamy have not increased. The only thing that has been modified is the fact that there is no longer an allowance of blood mother's brother's daughter marriage. This is a Catholic taboo. This is true at least in Leloba, although I am not sure about Wailolong. They have to be careful to have fourth grade distance (that is, third cousins, via great grandparents). What the system allows is the choice of a mother's brother's daughter (that is, married into the suku of the man's mother) or married into one or two other suku of the ama linked with his suku by marriage. Thus a boy of Hurint Demong (the guru's may marry Belemang, Belepe Lolong A, or Waktukang Keleng. If his mother was Belemang, this would work out all right. In the old days, this would have been the best thing for him, that is, a girl of his mother's group (I want a girl just like the girl that married dear old dad). This is because of the good relations already, and anyway they like these close and reinforced linkages in suku relationships. It is not a matter of bringing back the tusks more rapidly, as one needs to make three moves anyway, and they can do this if they marry in any other group aside from the mother's. But, even in the old days, though this mother's brother's daughter

582 marriage was preferred, it was not required, be-
178 cause the boy could also marry a girl of an en-
614 tirely different group from his mother's, for
835 example, Belepe Lolong A or Waktukang.

Nowadays, the easiest thing to do is merely to disregard the mother's brother's daughter stuff, as this requires care in observing that the relative must be at least a third cousin, and they marry in one of the other allowed groups. This is the leeway that the traditional system allows. When it is a question of close figuring, Roy says that they usually ask the priest to settle the situation for them. A good case of this was with the guru's son, who is now in Makassar. He was in love with a Belemang girl, but this was the ama of his grandmother, and the girl was his mother's brother's daughter--cousin via his grandmother, i.e., only a third degree relative. Therefore Roy went to the priest, and the latter (I suspect they are always indulgent in this matter if it is not a first cousin) said that if they were that desperate he would give a special dispensation (he uses a word for this that sounds like isin, but I must ask about this) (idjing). And so the boy was married. The way to do this correctly is for the boy to marry his mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's son's daughter. This is via the great grandparental generation. Note that it has to go up via women and down via men. This works out all right if one notes that under the mother's brother's daughter rule this brings the proper amas into the relationship (I may be wrong on this and must check on it later).

582 I was much impressed when he said that there
835 is a good reason for the Catholic rule. I had
827 tried to say that it is not in the Bible and
177 that Protestantism had not worked out this rule and yet they were Christians too, that the ancestors thought it was all right and indeed de-

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582 sirable and that for hundreds of years the folk
835 had been doing this sort of thing (first cousin
827 marriages) without any ill effects, to counter
●179 his saying that first cousin marriages caused poor offspring, for example, feeble-mindedness. He took this barrage with polite resignation, but said that he had seen plenty of bad cases of close inmarriage children. The probability is that there is some inbreeding chance of recessives coming out, at least enough to use this argument of rationalization, and surely the priests have played up this "scientific" justification. It is interesting, however, that he uses the pseudo-rational explanation and not the appeal to divine authority, which would at once raise the issue of the wrongness of a strong pagan rule.

562 The next day, our last, was a half day, as
887 I had to get to Maumere in order to get Kattenburg on the place to Makassar. At the end of the session we had lunch with the two guru, and the younger daughter served. Then I found out that in every house the oldest woman is the nu'a luka rumah tangga, paralleling the ritual functions for the women of the nu'a luka suku and the nu'a luka ama. The mother is in Makassar, and the eldest daughter is in the hospital, so this one acted as the server. The nu'a luka is important here, as she directs everything in regard to cooking and eating and also for caring for small animals, weaving, etc. She is the household manager. In this poor area food division is especially important.

127 I looked up the 1930 census material in the report of the Controleur then and found the following:

513 882 178 [171] Ambon and Ceram youth-club houses are really survivals of the regular thing.) In Leloba the main hangout is the "pasanggrahan" (bivak), where there are seldom any guests, and the boys simply take over. Kattenburg inspected it and found that it has sleeping benches and even a [836] few walled compartments. He asked the kepala kampong if perhaps the girls did not slip in, and the kepala kampong said that this was absolutely not the case.

178 513 882 877 614 In Wailolong there is a guru from Bama, where they have regular boy's houses. This fellow has introduced a new type of boy's house in Wailolong (but no other kampong in this area has one), i.e., he has built three on the Bama pattern and the boys sleep there. One of these is our "office" when we use it. These boys' houses are arranged according to suku, and are shared by suku. This is a remarkable case of acculturation within a pattern from one district to another.

[562] 882 561 887 513 The girls have no such houses, and never did. However, before, as today, they seldom sleep with their parents when they get older. Groups of them have hangouts where they sleep together. These groups are of friends. They weave together, etc., and like to gossip, sing, etc., at night. They just fall asleep there, together. This may be a sleeping bench, or it may be that they get a section of a sleeping bench in one of their parents' houses. There they bunch up. Everyone knows where the groups hang out. Kattenburg found that even old women sleep in groups. They may be, I think, groups of "the girls" who are old and widows, and who go back to their girlhood days and sleep with their coevals, and have a good time. If this is so, it is practically a revived age-grade for the girls who in their youth grew up and slept together and now at the end of their life bunch up together again.

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562 but the men have a slight edge on the women. They are more "important." In rights, privileges, etc., they are equal. There is no abuse of women, and they are supreme in their own spheres; it is just that the men's sphere seems to be a bit more important. Women scold and shout and order the men around. They are not
[593] suppressed. If, for example, a man drinks too much, his wife will simply stop fixing his food and he will quickly come around and apologize.

Formerly, most marriages were prearranged.
584 This is less true today. Indeed, there was much
178 more forced marriage before, and I get the idea
882 that it is rare for one to show resistance when faced with a parental choice. There were cases
[762] of suicide (male and female) and running away. In the old days, the regular thing was for the parents to fix up everything by themselves. Today, more and more of the boys and girls speak up telling whom they like so that the parents learn of this before they try to fix up the marriage arrangement. Thus the initiative is shifting from the parents to the children.

I get the idea that there was quite a lot of trouble in the old days in this regard. Perhaps this was more pronounced as new ideas came in, if such an expression can be used for this stagnant place. For example, Roy's brother ran away.

764 At this point there was a funeral. The other guru had excused himself, and then we heard a
•[177] low chant approaching, in the local language. It sounded like the Latin chanting the Catholics do in procession (an obvious imitation of the priests' chanting, in the local language). Then a line of people appeared, two by two, with a bamboo coffin of a little child on a litter, and behind this the guru with a sheet on, which had been made into a kind of cloak, resembling that of a priest. Behind him came the mourners. The

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581 all it is a matter of proper behavior and
secondly one of good work. There are no taboos
[565] on interclass marriages. Note that slave de-
scendants are placed in the system. Above all
they do not want a lazy mate. The rank is the
same for both sexes: behavior, work, and
personal appearance. As the guru said, "How in
hell could we have clothes if the wives were
not always weaving? We can buy shirts and
pants only rarely, as money is dear. Therefore,
they must weave sarongs, etc." It is a simple
necessity. I said, "Well then, as long as a
girl is a good worker and is well behaved, you
would like to marry her even if her face is
like that of an animal." This literally raised
the roof, and all of them laughed, including
the flat-faced but attractive daughter. "Oh
well," they said, "if she really has a face like
a monkey, that's a different thing." They are
absolutely adamant, however, that mere pretti-
ness is not enough. If a girl is very attrac-
tive, but is bad on other points, no one wants
her as a mate. They might like it, but they
just can't afford it.

836 Roy said that nearly all women here are vir-
gins at the time of their marriage (except the
pairs who had sexual relations before, but
these marry anyway). This goes for the men as
well as the women. I asked what would happen
if a man found that his wife was not a virgin.
He said that he wouldn't make a fuss about it,
but that the "marriage would probably not be
happy." These little indications show me that
there must be a lot of fooling around to give
him any chance to answer at all.

585 The only marriage ceremonies here are those
• 177 of the church, and they are of recent origin.
There is no native marriage ceremony here.
This must be very unusual in Indonesia. There
is not even a ceremonial meal.

634 632 177 Until not so long ago there were three radjas there[1]: Sikka, Kangaë and Nita, and there was trouble over putting Sikka in full power. This has never stopped. Arriens[2] agrees that the Dutch were a bit mad to chop things up this way. When he was new here the Assistant Resident sent him to Tana Ai to find out what the situation was. He found that the kapitan there had had a previous meeting with the kepalas warning them to say that everything was all right. Arriens pumped them and the whole thing came out. The Dutch, he said, met the radjas they liked and took their word to the effect that their areas were much larger than they actually were. (But why not try to make a better go of it later on, when they still were able to do as they pleased?) There is little excuse for the stupidity of the government. He has also [661] heard of the fantastic behavior in regard to the rulers here, many of whom are crazy and others are certainly cruel. I can imagine the dirty work which goes on among the radjas. This must end.

697 526 In regard to the "jail parade" in Ruteng, Arriens[2] said that in Kalabahi [on Alor], when it is Queen's Day, the regular event is a tug of war between teams of jail birds. They do this with a will, and after it each one gets a cake of soap.

R Roworeke: I started to work again here on 124 624 Thursday, January 11. It is depressing to be with these inferior informants again after working with the guru Roy, but the secretary is better now since the kapitan is not here. Today two of the four mandurs of Roworeke were present and also the kepala kampong of Wolofeo. His kampong is located at kilometer 17 and is one kilometer up hill from the road. However, he has a house in Roworeke too. When he is away, the mandur is his deputy.

[1] [i.e., in Tana Ai--Analyst]
[2] [i.e., Controleur at Ende--Analyst]

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632 634 622 ●[177] I asked first for the history of the kapitanschap here. I found that it is only about thirty-seven years old. That means that it dates from the Dutch entry (which began in 1907). And the kepala kampong dates from the same time. Before that they had only the adat chiefs, the mosa laki. The record:

1.	Present radja (Odja)	5 years.
2.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	1 year.
3.	Preceding radja (Odja)	2 years.
4.	Preceding radja (Odja)	11 years.
5.	Preceding radja (Odja)	15 years. (approximate).
6.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	3 years (approximate).
Total		37 years

Then we talked about the election of radjas, and I found out that the only "voters" are the nine kapitans and the nine mosa laki mere of the gemeente. The kepala kampong may attend, but he has no voice. This shows how important the mosa laki still are.

622 887 624 The ata nggaeh is not the adat kepala kampong as I had supposed. What happens is that in every kampong there is an old man who is called ata nggaeh, and he knows all about adat. He attends all the adat cases. Thus the man is Bapa Ketjil. The post is not hereditary, but is based merely on cleverness. It is that of the "adat master." His word outweighs even that of the kapitan in adat cases.

624 465 Each kampong has varying numbers of mandur, assistants of the kepala kampong. Roworeke has four of these assistants, Manunggo'o has two, etc. They receive no pay, but are tax free,

R Little meat is

262 eaten, and this is done only during feasts. There are some eggs. They do not eat much fish, because they must purchase them. They do buy some food from the local store (never any canned food, because this is too expensive), for example, rice and salt. They do not grow [249] any tobacco.

434 To get the small amount of money they need to buy in the toko, they sell coconuts and anything else they may have, which is usually quite little. Fl. 5.00 in cash is a lot of money for a man here.

264 The people here eat three times a day, a little in the morning, and equally heavy noon and evening meals.

262 574 They like dog meat and also horse meat, but these, like pig and goat, are only eaten at the time of a feast. They say that the main feasts are funeral ones. They also say that the people here have no decided preference and will gladly eat any kind of meat. They [266] say they have no memory of cannibalism except for the eating of the hearts of enemies for 224 bravery in warfare. They rarely hunt. If they 262 do they use a bow and are lucky to get monkeys 624 or pigs. There are no deer here. There is a clear case for meat hunger here, and the only material gain of being a mosa laki is that you [465] are always given a piece of meat when an animal [171] is killed. This is like the Toradja pattern, and shows how much of a luxury meat really is. It is the "government man's salary."

436 Formerly there was no money and there were 178 no toko. Of course there may have been a few 443 gold pieces, but they were really sacred objects. Today they have little cash.

243 The irrigated rice fields started three 177 years ago and were instigated by Hadji Akbar 788 of Watu Roga. He went to Mecca and saw the many sawah in Bima, Java, and elsewhere. When

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243 he came back, he at once made a sawah, and the
●177 others saw that it was good. Now, everyone
788 plants at least one sawah. Formerly there were no sawah. This is an excellent case of acculturation via the hadj.

412 Formerly the people here did not use hoes
177 or shovels. These came in at the time of the Dutch entry. Before that they had an iron tipped digging stick only. There are no carts.
493 They thought about my proposal for a group to buy one as an investment for hiring. Perhaps there is too little money even to pay for a bicycle here.

352 There are no tables, chairs, or lamps, ex-
354 cept in rare houses like the kapitan's. The
178 only new thing is the kerosene wick, not the lamp. It is called pelita.

342 The house type has changed here from a
178 larger to a smaller structure, and many of the old style roofs are still to be seen.

291 Women now use bought cloth to make thin
178 kebaya. Formerly they made blouses of homespun, but these are all gone. Men and women still wear homespun sarongs. Men wear this alone and are usually bare above the waist. If a man wears a selendang, he is a big man. If he wears a shirt, this is really very slick attire. There were no shoes here at all before, and few now.

301 Men and women wore earrings before, the men
753 ones of gold (look like silver) which the pagans still wear, and the women ones of a different
[304] style. The assistant's ears are pierced, but this is no longer done to the boys, only to the girls. Beads are worn by men and women on festive occasions. These are great ceremonial objects and are worn by the people who are proud of them. If one is not entitled to them, he will become sick if he wears a string of beads.

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000 be, the assistant says. Some cotton fluff is
438 sold in the pasar. Thread, however, is not
283 usually bought any more. It is rare and expensive. Thus the wheels and even the hand spindles are busy everywhere.

443 In addition to the market places mentioned before, there is another market in the cycle here. It occurs on the seventh day left out in the arrangement described before (or rather, on the sixth, as there is no market on Sunday), and this is on Thursday, I think. It is at Magekoba, on the way back from Wolowaru, and in the hills above kilometer 33.

[178] The whole market business is new, starting during the last war only. Formerly they did not have a single pasar.

436 Before the Dutch came there was no money
•177 except the Portuguese dinar, which was in gold
[301] of various denominations. The assistant has heard of most of these only, as all of them have long since been melted down for ornaments. He remembers that the one like a silver rupiah was worth about fl. 12.50, and the ringgit sized one was worth fl. 25.00. There were also bigger coins and others which were smaller. There were also lead Portuguese coins, with holes in them like a gobang [a two and a half sen piece]. These too have disappeared because they were melted down to mix with gold to make an alloy.

436 I note that these people stare and stare at
727 my watch and watch band, and probably this is one thing (gold) which they might steal, as it
[301] is irresistible. I note that the women still have gold decorations. Thus the assistant's wife has a pretty good bracelet. There were big troubles when the NICA came in and the people had only Japanese money. Thousands of rupiah were lost in those times. There are just about no more silver coins here. Occa-

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581 behavior. Looks are a mere by-matter. The same holds for women. They like good workers for husbands (men must keep at the gardens); and as far as I could see, that is about all. I wonder if men should be decent (I doubt that looks are thought of much if at all), as long as they work. These people are way beneath any aesthetic stuff in love (but it may be there in its own way!).

836 They insist that there is not one case of
[848] a bastard in their memory. However, yesterday I got the impression that boys have a chance with, for example, widows sometimes. But evidently the girls just stay virgin. They hammer on this; it is and always was a one hundred per cent rule, and that a girl would try to fool on
177 this is considered a terrific thought.

797 In the family the Catholics have tried to
595 stop: (1) polygny (but this goes on), (2)
587 levirate and sororate (but this goes on), (3)
582 mother's brother's daughter marriage (they do this with more distant relatives in order to keep up the form). This is interesting.

789 In regard to the nobility, I can get no re-
753 action on ideas of magic power, and they say
[565] that even the Radja of Ende does not have any. They say that he is new anyway. He is just a big man from the Djari Djawa suku (but the radja must come from this, but I got the idea that Nggobe might get in too). I asked if maybe the mosa laki had any, and they said no. If they do not obey they just become angry, and it is better to stay on their good side as they control the land and they are the big men anyway. There is no magic punishment. Thus they are different even from Larantuka. The only things which have magic power are taboo places, for example, the rumah pemali, the grave-bone shrines, and the old ancestor places. Breaking such taboos can cause illness, and the

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There are about ten
326 smiths (are they full time? I doubt it).

241 As before, rice and corn are the staple
177 crops. There has been practically no change except for the introduction of new kinds of bananas, peanuts, and a few vegetables, in
[433] the diet. The local community is still almost one hundred per cent self sufficient.
283 They even make their own thread from their own cotton, although they may buy some thread today.

178 There has been practically no change at all since Vatter's book was written. In Wailolong they still have a tuno wudjo.

[352] Fifty years ago there were no tables or chairs, and there are only a few now. There
291 has been a little change in regard to cloth-
178 ing, especially in that a few men now wear shirts. And a few men also have shoes; there were none before.

A few women wear European dresses; no one wore such dress formerly. They could not sew at all fifty years ago, and there is still not a single sewing machine in Wailolong.

438 A few of the women sell some vegetables and some arak. They buy small quantities of thread, salt, hairpins, soap, medicine, and tobacco. The mountain people sell some of their forest products.

443 There has been no change at all in the mar-
178 ket system here except for the disappearance
437 of the Delang pasar. This was mostly or entirely a barter pasar. Cash is used at the Okka pasar. Up until seven years ago the Delang pasar was still used. There are no toko or warong here.

483 Very few people have ever ridden in a car here. Roy guesses that at the very most one per cent of the population has had such an experience.

423 The kinds of property in terms of land here are the following: kampong (which is "owned"
2 [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

We I note also that
554 there is a kind of mark of "upperness" in the
[177] wearing of European shirts by the men! This
[291] probably holds for the European dress worn by
some women too.

Roy says that in Larantuka town there is a
195 high and a low language, but I wonder if this
may not mean that there is merely a polite
idiom. Here in this area they all speak the
same language, but use fancier language in the
[554] ceremonies. The only titles are those of the
listed posts. One must be respectful to the
uppers.

614 The whole rank system depends on genealogi-
565 cal descent. There are no rules in regard to
interclass marriage, and everything depends
upon the suku system.

634 The Radja of Larantuka is a descendant of
565 the Ili, just as the other folk are. He is a
bit mixed up with Timor, via Pategolo. And
the Radja kedua is from Kroko Putang. However,
the entire upper "nobility" is really inte-
grated with the commoners. That is, there is
no heaven descent. They are just like the
other people, except genealogically they are
ranked a bit higher. All power also depends
on descent.

In 1905 the first guru of Leloba, Bala,
793 started his religious work. He had been con-
verted before this at the school in Larantuka.
At that time there were priests in Larantuka.

In 1912 a church was built at the kampong
361 lama of Riang Kamiä (this is another example of
how much and how recently these kampongs have
been moved from place to place). In fact,
only in these years, all kampongs except Lewo-
neda were still in the hills. Wailolong was
moved from the hills to the beach in 1913. At
that time a guru was sent to Wailolong, and in
1922 or 1923 Wailolong moved to the present lo-
cation.

We.

527 risk, and one must tread warily and devoutly.
241 Observing all the rites and showing respect for the most important thing of all, food, is the proper thing.

[182] There are also feasts to ask for rain (held at the korke), and against widespread illness (also at the korke), for a new korke, for a new kebang, and for a new "big house."

Note that most of the agricultural rites occur in the fields.

Once in about every nine to ten years they have a great thanksgiving feast, if the crops are good.

A small feast is given when a child is born, [851] but there is no animal sacrifice. If twins are born, however, an animal is cut. Note the gladness displayed at the increase or income of any kind whatsoever, including an additional human being.

[585] There is no marriage feast at all in the old adat.

The biggest feasts are those held at harvest, for a new korke, and the thanksgiving feast.

[171] Note that the Toradja have the thanksgiving feast too, and I saw the start of it there.

[346] The new korke feast is now given when they have a new church!

346 Note the way that the church links with the
614 old cult. I remember almost the first thing I
177 heard here was from the priest who said that the new church is being partly paid for by selling the tusks of the families whose carelessness caused the fire which burned the old church. He also said in the church, both in the old and the new, there are the signs of the four main suku. They have their place in the church. And I suppose they will cut up animals for the new church too. If so this sort of takes the wind out of the argument against constructing a new korke, namely, that it would cause too much of a waste of animals.

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565 For example, they may have been bought or cap-
567 tured in war. In regard to the latter possi-
621 bility, a kraeng who came from Pongkor and who
[614] now lives in Tjantjar and who was standing by during all this with his father, said that there were plenty of wars between the kampongs here formerly, and the kraeng and dalu had to control this. Bima put in the dalu, he says,
[177] for this end.

(2) There are kampongs which are nearly one hundren per cent descended from commoners (leke) who were made lampang en masse by the kraeng. That is, they are kampongs which were made up of commoners before, and which were depressed to the lampang status. In these, very few of the people are from the outside.

(3) There are kampongs which are nearly one hundred per cent descended from sekontu. These were originally commoners (leke) but were made into slaves en masse by the kraeng. Evidently the lampang and the sekontu, as well as the mangko' pitu, might have been made thus by the sultan, dalu, or kraeng. Indeed, the three seemed to work together, and the dalu are called kraeng too.

(4) There are kampongs which are just about one hundred per cent kraeng, for example Puruk here, and Pongkor and Todo. These are still in the gelarang Rahong here, that is, under the direct control of the dalu. There are eight of them, including Puruk. The assistant says the kraeng prefer to get out of these, as in them they are nobles among nobles, but in other kampongs they can play on their status and the folk have to give them respect. Formerly they gave them more evidently. He says that up to the present time they still receive various forms of respect. Indeed, the kraeng who was here said so too.

The mangko' pitu were directly under Todo and

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621 Pongkor until perhaps fifteen years ago, and
565 the kraeng kampongs are still directly under
567 the dalu. It seems that the ata lampang kampongs were under the dalu formerly too, but maybe they were merely slave kampongs under local rulers. The sekontu were indeed directly under Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps the picture was: under the dalu, the kraeng and the lampang kampongs; under Todo and Pongkor, the sekontu and mangko' pitu kampongs.

(5) There are kampongs which are about one hundred per cent of the dalu class. These are evidently the "capitals" of the dalu, for example, Rahong kampong.

567 Cornelius[1] says again that in his time, at
565 the most twenty years ago, there were still
624 plenty of slaves, and the Dutch hit this system
423 hard in order to get them out. Evidently the
[177] real mendi, the bought or captured ones, were merged first (as the slave trade and war were forced out), but the lampang type persisted until very recently. He later told me how much the lampang had to give in tribute to the kraeng. This links with what the kraeng (who was from Pongkor and a very soft spoken lad) who is now in Tjantjar said. He said that the kraeng had and have the right to settle and get land in any kampong. He has gotten land here. But they have to ask the consent of the tuan tanah first and have to pay the regular tribute to the tuan tanah. But the permission is not refused. I asked if they could take a lot of land, and he said no, that they had to be reasonable.

621 He said, the Todo and the Pongkor rulers (and
565 the dalu too, evidently) also placed kraeng in
661 the kampongs to keep order (as so many wars were held that the folk would let them judge the cases, although they were not really administrative men, but rather prestigeful men) and to act as spies of the Todo and Pongkor rulers

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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621 and of the dalu. (Later the assistant said that
565 they were spies all right; they checked to see
661 that the lampang didn't chisel on tribute and paid the proper share of produce to Todo, Pongkor, and the dalu. The assistant said they had to pay plenty.

567 Thus there has been a very rapid change here,
178 in the disappearance of the slaves as a class. And the recency may explain some of the sensitivity. These folk are just trying to make their way into full freedom and won't be held back.

565 When I first started on this, the kraeng, whose identity I didn't know as he was just dressed in shorts and was very unimpressive, said that all men were equal now! Then he went on to say that the kampong folk gave respect to the kraeng.

621 Possibly three hundred years ago there were
565 only two sorts of kampongs (see Coolhaas;[1] had the dalu in the eighteenth century). The dalu were not in yet then. The two sorts were: the ones where most of the population was gelarang (for example, Veol), and the ones where most of the population were commoners (for example, Adjang, which later became lampang). I asked whether any of the gelarang kampongs were made lampang, and the assistant said that he thought not, as the kraeng had to keep the native nobles in in order to keep things going (indirect rule!).

Cornelius[2] says that he does not know whence came the dalu or what the situation was before they came in. Evidently the Todo and Pongkor kraeng were conquerors and rulers here before the dalu came in (see Coolhaas)[3] It looks as
[177] though the dalu were put in by the Bima administration.

567 In regard to the recency of slavery here, note that the Sarasins[3] in 1902 or thereabouts

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst] [2] [i.e., the assistant -- Analyst] [3] [See 2: Kennedy, OB1 Indonesia, cat. 116, p. 242 -- Analyst]

567 saw hundreds of Toradjas being brought into
977 Palopo as slaves by the Buginese.
565 If it is so that the dalu were put in by the
621 Bima administration, perhaps originally there
174 might have been only the gelarang, the tuan
[614] tanah that is, and the commoners. Maybe the latter were aborigines, and the first conquest brought in the gelarang class. But this seems unlikely, as the gelarang tuan tanah class looks very ancient here. (For example, the Veol clan ancestors came out of bamboo right at the Veol spring.) Anyway, some clans seemed to be higher and others lower, perhaps as in Lio, where some are of the tuan tanah rank and others are not, or like the situation in Ende, where some have mosa laki and others do not. Long ago, and the assistant says perhaps three hundred years, the kraeng came in from Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps they were Minangkabau who came in through Makassar. They say so. But they have no matrilineal system so far as I know, and they have the va'u system like all the people in Manggarai. And the language is the same. However, I asked the assistant if I was right in that the kraeng had a different accent, and he said yes, but this may be a mere local difference.

The assistant says that he knows the legends say that the dalu came from outside somewhere. But their names are Manggarai, and they have the va'u system too. Question: are they Todo-Pongkor kraeng who were elevated, some of them, to the dalu status by Bima. Are they Bimanese in origin? Are they gelarang who were elevated by Bima? It is certain that Bima put them in. I would favor the first explanation, but am bothered by the fact that some kampongs were under dalu and others under Todo and Pongkor kraeng. It looks as though they had a double rule here above the gelarang level, which was

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565 the old adat:
621 (1) The dalu rule, centering on Bima.
174 (2) The kraeng rule, centering on Todo and
●177 Pongkor.
177 Thus the locals may have been merely under a
565 double rule, and the actual supremacy of Todo-
621 Pongkor or Bima was never really resolved. It
634 may be that it was like the Madjapahit situa-
[174] tion in outlying areas: the local princes were partly to a largely degree independent and oppressed the locals (the Todo-Pongkor ones here), and the proconsuls of the central government got what they could for the sultan (the dalu). The question remains, whence the dalu? And I must find out whether the dalu family trees are the same as those of the kraeng. Note, incidentally, that the radja is of the Todo kraeng.

It may be that there is a strange unassimilation of rule here. There is the radja, whose supporters would be the kraeng scattered all over (and I heard the first day that "there are a few kraeng of the radja's family now in Tjantjar; they have gotten land there." I wrote at the time: "Any story here?" There seems to be one. Now comes the question whether the dalu
[578] work with the radja, or are still a bit independent, as sort of survivals of the Bima days (and the Dutch days that replaced Bima)? And what of the gelarang? Are they more for the radja or for the dalu? Or are there no tensions at all?

578 I remember that the Radja when he was a bit
634 drunk during the feast told us that he would
565 advise us and tell us of possible dangers, etc. My guess is that all is not peaceful and happy here. Why? There seems to be no real exploitation any more, but perhaps there is a remembered resentment against the kraeng. And the mandur said that the Radja was not really Manggarai,

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567 are no more "slaves."

The dalu of Reo, who is the grandson of the last radja naib, or proconsul, of Bima in Reo (and thus he is sore that he is not the radja of Manggarai) when I asked him if he knew about the Do Donggo, said that they were actually descendants of Manggarai slaves who had escaped or who were let loose into the mountains of Sumbawa. I asked if they spoke the Manggarai language, and he said no, they had forgotten it. I suspect this, but it is interesting and might bear further looking into.

555 There is little chance for one to move within the social system here. The only chance I see is by becoming a guru, but so far no one from Veol or Ndung has become a guru. I note that there are a couple of policemen from here who have gone to Kupang and Ende. And the boy who went to Makassar they said had worked here for a Chinese. Then he just went along with him to Makassar. They agreed that he might make his way ahead there in the big world.

565 291 ●177 554 There are pusaka kris, and costumes, but they appear mainly at feasts. One can see them then. Otherwise, there is just about no difference in clothing between one class and another, and I get the impression that even formerly there was not much in this regard. However, I note that nowadays, for everyday appearances, here and everywhere I go, the new mark of the new middle class is a European shirt or dress, perhaps shoes, pants, etc. And of course most significant is a fountain pen and brief case. I can see this even when an old type lad has higher rank and his assistant is, for example, a Minahasa government worker. The latter, because of his education, patronizes the former, although he observes the proper respect indulgently. The dress marks the difference. Where the chief is also European

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565 dressed, e.g. the kapitan of Roworeke, he is not
291 dominated by an "assistant." However, he domi-
177 nates (cautiously as yet) the adat dressed mosa
554 laki. This is interesting.

565 The Pongkor kraeng said that manners differ
576 by class, and he may be right. However, I met a rough kraeng in Anam. And I think that he was from Todo too. Todo ones have a reputation of being more refined than those from Pongkor. All this probably does not mean very much.

[195] Special words are used as part of the lan-
576 guage of ceremonies and rites. However, this
178 is merely a matter of occasion. In the old days real respect was shown for the Bima dignitaries, the kraengs, etc. When one approached a kampong where there was a kraeng, one had to dismount from one's horse and remove one's shoulder cloth down to the hips, where it was wound around, leaving the torso bare.

[689] If one did not show the proper respect formerly, a whole kampong might be made lampang. Thus, enslavement was the great mass punishment. Even today there is still a bit of feeling in regard to the rank of the kraeng, although it is nothing like what it was before.

554 There are grades of pride on the kampong
621 level, and thus Veol feels a bit higher than
614 its branch kampong Tjantjar. Also, Veol va'u feels a bit better than the incoming va'u Tjepang. But this is not a real formulization.

565 There are no approved marriages with mendi.
582 This is still very bad. It is possible to marry with other kinds of "slaves" (e.g., lampang). There are a number of such cases now in Veol. Everyone, up to the radja, may marry everyone else except the mendi. There are plenty of such mixed marriages, and even the radja has a commoner for a wife. Here again one can see the ordinary quality of the radjas

We
797 are the ones who most often get lost to the
183 church, and they are the ones who fight bitter-
578 ly against the church. Perhaps here Mohamme-
595 danism might have an advantage, but the pig necessity at ceremonies would stop it cold. These people can get along without more than one wife, but without pigs the whole ritual life would be unthinkable. Thus each church has its weakness.

634 The first Radja of Manggarai, Baruk, was
595 put in by the church, actually. He was a
797 Catholic. The present one has two wives, one
578 of them a Minahasan. The mission is worried.
183 This is why the radja is only a deputy or acting radja and not a full radja. The mission runs Flores and will not agree to let him become a real radja as long as he remains a polygamist. The mission is on the spot. Probably the present man will never get the full status. This is checked by Degens, the Controleur.

Later, in Waingapu, Oudehand, the former Controleur in Larantuka, told me that the Radja of Larantuka also has several wives and keeps them, although he is "Catholic." One of them, the head one, is the daughter of the Sikka Radja.

This is all beautiful material in regard to acculturation and Catholicism. The Catholics are as tolerant as they can be, but they can't accept polygamy.

554 Note: The title nyora (from Portuguese sen-
177 hora) is used here as in Ambon for the guru's
171 wife. I don't know whether it is also used, as in Ambon, for a chief's wife.

771 There is no Mohammedanism here, and no tendency toward Mohammedanism. Polygamy would work out all right, but the pig taboo would be very difficult indeed.

162 Degens says that the population of Manggarai is about one hundred and ninety thousand. Of these, about ninety thousand are Christian.

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000 "standing." There are plenty of songs. Singing
533 is the greatest art, and I was impressed extremely with the school performance. A priest who was musical said that they are excellent and strange. The new songs like krontjong, omba' putih-putih,[1] etc., are sung only in the towns. Here only a few know them, but nearly all the songs which the majority of the people know are old Manggarai ones. Cornelius[2] said that there are about ten kinds of rhythms in
[562] drum and gong playing. Some are for both sexes, others are for men or for women only.

221 May, June and July are relatively free of
527 work. Otherwise there is little free time. Feasts are the fun times here, and they are largely not at set times.

[526] Soccer is loved and so are horse races.
541 These are not native. They are held either in
525 town or along the road here. This is true especially at harvest time. There is betting.
[177] Cock fighting has come in a little from the outside.

538 There are plenty of stories. They tell tales while they work in the gardens and especially while they bind corn in the houses. Also, the old people tell stories in the evenings. They tell tales when they are just sitting around and drinking, too.

There are many kinds of stories. A number of them are sung, but many are not. They are never very long, and none lasts for several days as in Ende and Larantuka.

533 There are about ten kinds of songs.

527 For the Catholics, Sundays are free, and the pagans have largely taken this practice over. They are glad to have the day off. Otherwise, the only free days are feast days.

[868] With the dances and singing and story telling
538 there is no regular instruction. There is a decline in interest in the old tales especially,

[1] [i.e., a song title, "White Waves" --Analyst]
[2] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

634 Keo), and the kapitan from Gunung Rodja (the
124 southern half of Ende town). After a long sales
talk, the Radja offered all of his aid and said
that on the next morning the kapitan of Gunung
Rodja (evidently a kind of crony of the Radja,
and one who usually wears an overseas cap, even
while eating) would come to the pasanggrahan
and take us to Roworeke. Meanwhile I asked a-
[611] bout Tana Ai, and they knew that it was matri-
lineal. Then the hadji from Keo said that it
was matrilineal too, which was news to me.
Then I asked about Wolo Wae, and they said it
was in the mountains to the north, in Ende.
614 They seemed to think it was matrilineal too. I
582 then asked about clan exogamy and they said
178 that Mohammedanism was breaking it down, just
as had happened in Tulehu in Ambon. But as in
Ambon, clan exogamy is kept by the Christians
here.

583 Incidentally, the priest in Ndetosoko said
178 that the Catholics are in favor of keeping the
797 bride price, as it strengthens marriages.

We finally left, and the next morning the
124 kapitan of Gunung Rodja appeared without his
overseas cap. We got into the jeep and went to
Roworeke, but the kapitan there was again in the
garden. We went to kilometer 10 and saw the
kapitan with several men wading across the river
to the garden on the other side. We called him
back and he got in suspiciously and we then
drove back to his house. There he called the
kepala kampong of Watu Roga. This fellow was a
relative of his, an old man with an old sarong
and short betel teeth, who looked somewhat like
a Toradja. Later he called the djurutulis
[scribe].

I gave a long sales talk and the kapitan
124 warmed up. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja helped
634 out and was quite enthusiastic. He is evidently
632 a powerful man, but the Controleur says that the

614 R They did
582 say, however, that Mohammedanism is tending to
break down this suku exogamy. Here in Roworeke,
●178 however, the old adat is still strong and the
exogamous rule still holds. The young people
who have gone to school are beginning to rebel,
but the elders remain strong and hold to the
adat.

771 I asked about religion and they said that at
797 least fifty per cent of the people here are pagan.
Most of the rest are Christian, although there
are a few Mohammedans. The picture is the fa-
miliar one of the younger generation becoming
Christian while the older generation remains
pagan.

565 If I can believe the story about the nobility,
632 it looks as if there are about ten noble fami-
614 lies eligible to the kapitanschap in all Rewa-
rangga, because there are five suku and about
two families of this nobility to each suku.

632 Then I got onto the subject of the officers.
In the kapitanschap there is the kapitan, and he
is assisted by a scribe, a mandur and an oppas.
Evidently these are a secretary, a sort of pub-
lic works man, and a messenger--sheriff.

622 In the kampong the chief is the kepala kampong,
565 the ata nggaeh nua (ata nggaeh itself is a term
624 for noble). Some of these belong to the nobility
and others not (I must find out more about this).
The assistant to the kepala kampong is the oro
kuni. Then tere are four mosa laki, which seems
to them to be the equivalent to the tuan tanah
elsewhere. One of these is the main adat chief
(thus exactly like the tuan tanah) and he is
called the mosa laki mere, or mosa laki pu'u
(pu'u is the term for clan, and I must check on
this as it may be a survival of a purely genea-
logical localization of clans in a single kampong).
He may also be called merely by the term laki pu'u.
The three other mosa laki are: the giri tumba,
624 the ndeto au, and the sikesani. The giri tumba

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764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs
often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I
must find out how the funerals are run now.
Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember
that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the
plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and
there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even
among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.
[797] The assistant has finished five grades of
schooling in Ndona.

291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
●178 men (old style) although this is changing fast,
a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders
for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
[302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar
topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
286 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
531 looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the de-
signs are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
124 I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan.
Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they
have a holiday whenever there is the slightest
excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I
must find out about later, is how the kepala kam-
pong is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some re-
624 marks about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in
only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently
means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan
and others are not. I must get this kepala kam-
pong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the
main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

632 The kapitan of Ambu Nggobe, whom I met in a new hadji costume before, is a rather oldish one. Ariens says he has the most power of any-
123 one in Ende. The guru is a hard, pushing, Christian type, who has lost the old respect forms and feels superior to all the others. This guru kept trying to find out whether we[1] were Catholics, but we didn't tell him.

At last we went back to the kampong but stopped
191 off in a fine village near where the Kilimutu road leaves the main road. I forget the name. It has
[142] handsome women, proto-Malay type, who are ruined
[276] by betel. The men too are pretty good looking. Some of the children are very intelligent. I asked about the language situation and the guru said that only the schooled ones speak Malay anywhere in Ende. Thus the old ones do not, but this is not entirely so as some of the old ones who were never schooled are able to speak Malay.

342 In this kampong the houses as usual are roofed
343 with alang-alang thatch. There are many barns, which are small and have roofs which go to the
764 floor. The graves are in the plaza. One was
● 178 very large and of massive stone situated under a roof. It was the grave of an important ancestor. Others were of usual stone piles and slabs. One burial was set up last month, as it said on a wooden cross set up on top of the old style stone slab grave. The bodies here are laid out in a lying down position in the stone cists. From later evidence in Roworeke I think that many individuals may be placed in one grave. They lift the slab, move over the old bones, and set the new body in. In the old days they would put the body wound up with gemutu ropes in a tree until the whole thing rotted. Then the bones were placed in a box which in turn was placed in the cist. A rather long time ago the government made the people here dispose of the bodies at once.

[1] [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg--Analyst]

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764 It is done in one day now, because the body be-
178 gins to smell otherwise.

144 The physical types in the mountains, the Lio
361 folk (who speak the same dialect as the Ende
[197] coastal dwellers but with a different accent,
and they are really only a mountain branch of
the Ende-Lio tribe) are mainly proto-Malay, or
at least that's the way it seems to me. One
can see this especially in the women, but also
in many of the men. It seems that the more
Melanesian and Papuan types are settled along
the coast, which makes me wonder if maybe there
might not have been a reverse movement of the
black people from the Timor area into Flores,
pushing the proto-Malay people back into the
hills. There are plenty of Melanesian types, and
Papuans, and even Australoid types in the hills,
however, just as on the coast. I get the impres-
[181] sion that the mountain people are nicer, better
looking, more polite, and perhaps even a little
cleaner than the coastal dwellers.

609 I notice that these Roworeke lads, especially
197 the guru, order the Lio folk around. They seem
771 to be regarded as hillbillies. However, they
speak the same language, and many mountain kam-
pongs are one hundred per cent Catholic. In fact,
I really wonder if maybe there might not be more
pagans in Roworeke itself than in many if not
most of the mountain kampongs. Certainly there
seem to be more obviously pagans in Roworeke
than I saw offhand in the mountain kampong. I
778 asked if the mountain kampong has a rumah pemali.
They said yes, but that it is quite far off, near
the main road. I didn't have time to see it.
291 Much of the clothing here is in the form of ikat
286 work, and I can see some of this material woven
on the local back bar looms (horizontal).

Much of the cloth is plain, unattractive, dark
material. The ikat work, and also much of the
plainly woven cloth, is dark and is used mainly

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291 for sarongs and slendangs [shawls worn over the
286 head or the chest]. I see plenty of tooth fil-
304 ing here. And nearly all the women, young and
276 old, have the awful looking betel teeth. The
older men have the same betel teeth. The younger
men seem to chew betel less, and I can see that
their teeth are evened but are not filed down.

304 I saw a tattoo on the back of a woman and was
●178 told that it is fairly common all over here. (I
later noticed a young girl in Roworeke with an
initial tattooed on her arm.) This tattooing,
however, is no longer significant here. The de-
sign I saw looked like a kind of anchor design

291 Many of the women here, mainly the old but
several of the young, go about with bare breasts.
When working this seems to be quite common.

252 I saw several women pounding corn. They use
412 a small round tree trunk mortar, and for a pestle
462 a mere pole. The corn is small and brownish.
They call it djagung Solor or mata kuching, and
it does look like small cats' eyes [the meaning
of the latter term, in Indonesian].

231 This area is full of goats. There are also
many pigs and a fair number of buffaloes, but I
saw no cattle. There are many small horses here
too. High in the mountains I saw an amazing
band of fine looking horses who had gone wild
after escaping. They can never be recaptured.
I was told that there are deer, wild pigs, and
wild buffaloes here.

776 At the lakes I asked if it might not be a
fine place for nitu and suwanggi, and they looked
sharply. They reverted to this cautiously and
asked me if I could see the spirits. They are
going to be cagey about pagan ideas, but when
they are caught off-guard they agree that there
are probably spirits in this mysterious place.

361 The plazas are of pounded earth, bare, with
houses scattered about and the most conspicuous
things being the stone graves.

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778 They agreed that Ndoeria had rebuilt many rumah
pemali. I must go there sometime.

574 Back in Roworeke, the kapitan gave us sweet
soft drinks and port wine (Chinese). Then he put
291 on his adat dress, including a batik headcloth
386 which was winged in front, and a fine ikat slen-
[287] dang, and a woven sarong. There seems to be no
more tapa around here. The colors of the woven
and ikat stuff are dark, including blue, black,
and dull red. They are not very attractive, and
the cloth is quite heavy. I saw women with bas-
kets full of leafy stuff (small leaves) and I
asked what was inside. They said tarum [indigo]
and that it is used to make the blue and black
dye. Thus they still use locally made dyes,
but in Roworeke the red dye is bought in a store.

126 I took a picture of the kapitan and his wife
and family including the fine type old mother.

621 We then started on a tour of the kampong. We
went first across the road to Watu Roga. It is
small and evidently most of the Wanda suku are.

342 There is one large house, but most of the others
●178 are rather small. They are not of the high
pitched roof type. I was told that before the
war there were more of the old high roof type,
but the Japanese leveled many of them to make the
people move into the hills as they said the popu-
lation was too dense near the town. I can't
quite get the point, but new houses tend to be
low, four sloped roofed, rather long and squat
in type, but still look primitive because of the
alang-alang thatched roof and many with the coco-
nut leaf midrib walls. The walls, however, are
usually low or invisible because they are under
the low-hanging roof. Hence they are hooded.

349 In Watu Roga there is a high concrete struc-
769 ture looking something like a watchtower with
614 steps leading up. It has a four-sloped tin roof.
766 There is a low wall around a small rectangular
space under the roof. The flooring is of tile,

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578 nature of these people. He said there are many
632 boundary disputes and have been many in the past.
144 Now I see the truth of the racial mixture zone here. All types are represented.

614 I get the impression that the suku were originally localized largely if not entirely. This is still so. Thus one part will be all or nearly all Odja, another similarly Wanda, another Tibo, etc.

591 I met a lad in Roworeke proper who is from a kampong which is rather far off. They said he had married a woman of Roworeke, and I thought perhaps this might be a case of ambil anak. This is not the case, however, and he had merely come there for a day, because his wife has land here. They live in his kampong. Residence is
178 patrilocal usually. Kattenburg remarked that in
578 material culture and in level of living the young
561 people are not much different from the old. They do wear different clothes, however, and as he says, in general outlook, religion, knowledge of and adherence to old thoughts and ways and religion, they differ. There must be an intergenerational conflict here, especially as they are so disputatious anyway. I must check on this.

The next day we[1] set out early and got them to
344 let us work in the office. This is an amazing
217 place, with cocoanut stalk walls and a dirt floor.
124 In one room (they are all empty of furniture), scattered on the floor, are the "files" of the kapitanschap. Some of them are in paper boxes and others are just on the dirt. They call the kapitanschap the "gemeente." We sat on the front "porch" on chairs that almost collapsed and at a table that leaned loosely at an alarming angle and slowly leaned more and more until it seemed impossible that it would keep from collapsing.
124 With us was the giri tumba of Rewarangga and later the kepala kampong (ata nggaeh nua) of Woro-

[1] [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg --Analyst]

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632 then announces the chosen candidate. He has veto
624 power, and if he says no to a candidate, it is
final. The kapitan must come from either Re-
[614] warangga or Odja suku. If all agree, and the
giri tumba also agrees, they may choose a man
from Reandona suku, but this has never happened.
[178] In the old days the kapitan happened always
632 to be from Rewarangga suku, but recent ones have
565 been from Odja. If the present kapitan dies,
614 there would be about ten eligible candidates. I
611 think this means ten from Odja. These include
171 the sons of the old kapitan plus others from
eligible families. But there are over a hundred
families in Odja. Thus only certain families
are of the bangsawan high enough to be eligible
for kapitan. I could not get it straight who
these families are, but evidently they represent
the descendants of the great ancestor of the suku
Odja in the direct male line. This is always via
the oldest son. Thus the oldest branch of the
oldest branch, etc., as in Polynesia.

613 I asked if there was a name for the set of
565 noble kapitan families in Odja, and they finally
632 said, after much argument, Djo'bi Bene. To this
"lineage" belong the present kapitan, the scribe,
and the giri tumba. The kapitan came in and gave
the family tree of the lineage. So far as I
could see, it ran:

1. Neni
2. Djata
3. Odja
4. Koru Rudja
5. Djo'bi Bene

Thus these are the next ones to Djo'bi Bene.
I must come back again and find out exactly who
Djo'bi Bene was, and where his grave is located,
etc. This was frustrating, and I could not get
[124] it straight at first. I was always worried about
the loss of time in such slow questioning.

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000 the loss of time in such slow questioning.

632 578 634 614 624 There has been much fighting in the past over the election of a kapitan. In the case of a deadlock the radjas have stepped in and settled it, but this is dangerous because sometimes the people have refused to accept such an imposed choice. Again I see the troubles and feuds around here. The rivalry seems to be between suku. For example, they said that Reandona suku has always been trying to get into the kapitan position, but has never succeeded. I wonder if perhaps the mosa laki were not once actually suku chiefs. I asked the old giri tumba about this and he agreed but probably didn't understand me. And yet there seems to be a connection. Be- [178] fore the Dutch came, they say that the mosa laki mere was the kapitan and the giri tumba the kepala kampong of Roworeke. Thus the mosa laki mere was the top man and the giri tumba was the kampong chief. As for the other two (ndeto au and sike sani) they said that there were these offices too in the old days.

773 173 614 Then I tried to get onto the subject of the old origin legends in Roworeke. They said that long ago before the Dutch came the mosa laki mere here was of the suku Rewarangga; the giri tumba was of the suku Odja; the ndeto au was of the suku Nggonggora'ba, and they did not know the suku of the sike sani. This mention of Nggonggora'ba led me to ask about the whole business.

The kapitan started the story. In the beginning there were five siblings who came from Java, four brothers and one sister. The four brothers were Rewarangga, Reandona, Nggonggora'ba, and Gasiradja. The sister was Djedjedjo. The last went to Nggobe. Gasiradja went to a mountain kampong in the gemeente of Nggobe. The kampong was named Woroapo. Rewarangga settled in Roworeke, and he was the eldest brother and the most powerful of the siblings. Reandona took over authority in

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551 I asked about personal names and found that the suku name is not used as a personal family name. What they do is the same as the Scandinavians and Arabs and old Jews. They indeed usually employ only their own names preceded by their Christian names, if any. But if asked, they will also give their father's name after their own name. Thus my assistant is Migo. His church name is Adrianus. His father's name was Pega. Usually he calls himself Adrianus Migo, but if pressed he will say Adrianus Migo Pega. The same holds for the kapitan, who is Mani and whose father was Api. The giri tumba is Raki, and his father Dura. Thus in full, Migo is Adrianus (Church) Migo Pega of suku Odja. They
197 said that no one in the kampong could speak Dutch, and perhaps only a little more than ten per cent could speak Malay. There is one man
[212] (Bapa Ketjil of Aiutu, an old man who chews betel and has almost no teeth) who can write in the Ende script. They call it tulisan lontar. They say that in Ende town alone it is well known, but outside of the town it is rare.

595 The wife of the Controleur says that the
183 Radja of Manggarai is a Catholic, although he has two wives. This is a nice problem. The former Radja of Lio was brought back from exile by the Japanese during the war. Later he was executed by the Dutch because he murdered so many Dutch, Australians, etc. But he also killed many children for the fertility of the rice fields. Nevertheless, he was a Catholic. The Radja of Sikka has had several wives, even at the same time, and many concubines. At one time he had a Mohammedan wife and also a Mohammedan concubine. Each time he confesses and reenters the mother Church, to the rejoicing of the priests.
793 The priests here are evidently worse than death
178 for the old adat, much worse than the Protestants
797 in Ambon, and the people are scared of them, for

F 793 if they do anything against Catholicism, the guru
●178 tells the priest, and the latter or the bearded
797 bishop will condemn them to hell. Thus the threat of hell fire keeps them in line, and the priests are no better than the old witch doctors. This is why so much of the old religion is dying
F 634 out fast.

In the afternoon, at the Radja of Sikka's house, we met the wakil radjas of Ngada (the old Radja has many wives and hunts all the time), Manggarai (a Hindu type, the man with two wives, a Catholic), and Nageh. These plus the new Radja of Lio and several others will meet tomorrow at the pasanggrahan.

F 344 Note on the "office" of the kapitan at Roworeke: While we were talking a horse entered the office from the rear and stood there attracting flies. After a long while the secretary went out and chased the horse away.

A 753 Note on Ambon: In Makassar, I met Drop, who said that he had never heard of Baier, former
789 Controleur of Piru, Ceram, having had a matakau cause trouble for him, as I was told in Ambon. I remember it was said that old Gaspersz met him and his face was twisted and his eyes crossed after he unsuspectingly ate a bit of a snake which was cooking in the Ceram hills. The story in Ambon was that within a week he was stricken agonizingly and had to be removed to Makassar where the doctors could not tell what the cause was. Evidently, the truth is, or at least seems plausible, that he was sick when Gaspersz met him and looked bad. He was then told the story about the snake, and Gaspersz with true superstitious Ambonese imagination, filled in the whole business, which then grew with each retelling. I got it from Rehatta finally. Drop said there was nothing wrong with Baier now. Of course, this is a couple of months later, and he may have been worse before.

632 told me that his mother is from this area, and
later I had her kampong pointed out (Lewoleda).
It is the twin kampong of Watuwiti. As we
passed every kampong the children came out in
droves shouting greetings and then running after
and hanging on the rear of the jeep, just as
Vatter[1] described them almost twenty years ago.
[178] Indeed, many things of his are still the same,
but some are different, for example, Catholicism
has finally destroyed the nubanara, nama, and
the korke of Leloba.

346 At Wailolong we went off on a new side road
797 to Leloba, and the road ended at the kampong,
583 barred by a fence. As we were talking here, a
438 priest, Krol, came up on his motorcycle and in-
vited us to his hut. He is temporarily here
because the church and pastorie in Riangkamië
was burned two months ago. The people there
caused the fire by burning the hills on the wind-
ward side, and the kampong elders voted to give
a percentage of the bride prices for quite a
long while in order that they might have the new
church. This will be paid in elephant tusks,
[435] which the mission will sell for cash to the
Mohammedan traders (eight tusks of varying
lengths will sell for about fl. 2000.00, and the
priest knew the exact price). The Mohammedan
traders will then resell the tusks to the people
in Larantuka who need them to pay a bride price.
They will probably sell them in the Tandjung
Bunga (Cape Flores area).

797 The priest told how the Catholics work here.
197 They try to keep as much of the old culture as
177 possible. For example, he and others are learn-
ing all about the Solor language, which is the
local language here, so that they can make
prayers in it. They also make prayers in the
797 old style, as though praying to Lerawulan. They
177 use native songs with words in the native lan-
533 guage and in the native style, too. He, musical,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

000 notable.
797 The church in Riangkamiß is built with refer-
177 ence to the four ritual sibs of Kottang, Hurin,
346 Keleng, and Marang. This is an example of the
[644] rule used: anything of a social nature is all
right, but if it is of a religious nature and
related to the old spirits or ghosts, etc.,
Catholicism won't take it. This is like the
[171] death feasts in the Toradja country, where the
Protestants will let the Christians go to these
social rites but not to the great exorcism
rites. Thus the Catholics here are not allowed
to go to the old rites on the nama in front of
the korke, but as the priest admitted, it is
hard for the folk here to see the difference,
and they tend to regard these retained aspects
of paganism as full paganism because they are
symbols of the whole pagan system.

797 He told much that was interesting. There is
●178 in paganism here a need for a girl to be the
243 rice maiden for the fertility rites (Vatter[1]
796 tells the story too), and the old adat chiefs
insisted in one kampong that at least one girl
should not be converted, as at least one is
needed to be the rice maiden. This shows the
desperate plight of paganism. They must beg to
have something vital allowed to remain. "Give
us one only," they ask. He said it is true that
just about all of the young people are Catholic,
but many of the old remain pagan.

[771] Later, in Wailolong the guru Roy said there
are few, but very few young people who are pagan.
578 He told us about a war in which a man was killed
411 yesterday. It was a border war between Leloba
and Waibalun and the police had to stop it.
They fight these wars all the time, with bow and
spear and knife. I asked if maybe it were not
511 because they were hungry and need land. And
[578] hunger and misery cause aggression anyway. He
denied this, but I think it is true, especially

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

159 wherein the kepala kampong is a Kottang. This is
[622] all right according to adat, he says. The guru is
an old fellow, sick with a cough. He was not there,
and his daughter, who might be any age from eighteen
to thirty, talked with us. She seems to be a queer
type, and it is strange that she is not married. I
get the idea there is some friction between her and
her father. She had five years of schooling at the
sisters' school in Larantuka. A son of the guru is in
Makassar as a clerk (I think in a church office),
and he married a Leloba girl recently. The guru
[582] married a woman from the same suku, but the daugh-
ter says this is all right as she was from Laran-
tuka. If she were from any kampong behind the moun-
tain, this would have been impossible. The house
was adorned with holy pictures. The guru said he
[797] was converted in 1907, and as he is now perhaps
771 sixty, that was when he was about eighteen. There
●178 are no more pagans in Leloba, a change from Vatter.
The old pagan stuff in a material form is all gone.

124 After our talk we decided that perhaps Wailolong
121 was the best community in which to work, because
Leloba is entirely Christian. In addition, Leloba
was done by Vatter. Wailolong is about the same
size as Leloba and at the crossroads below. We
talked a great deal about adat and then came back
to Larantuka with the guru, who wanted to visit
the children in the school there.

In the afternoon we picked him up and went to
312 Wailolong. On the way we picked up the kepala kam-
pong Leloba and a few others. They were at the
[515] other crossroad near the spa, and here there were
many women bathing (there is no water in the kampong
for this). Women were also hauling water from this
place. The guru said they had to go even farther
778 for water originally. It seems as though all of the
kampongs have a higher negri lama, as in Ambon.
There are holy stones here too.

361 Wailolong is along the main road and is located
161 on both sides of this highway. It may have as
many as one hundred houses and a possible population
of seven hundred.

[See bibliography, Cat. 113-Analysis]

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304 was more common formerly. The tattooing occurs on the arms, face, and chest. In Tandjung Bunga there is a lot of tattooing. Sometimes this is done on the back of the calves too. The young people do it no longer. However, the guru's daughter has her name tattooed on her arm.

342 The houses have upright sticks at the ridge ends, but the guru says this is of no significance.

764 Stones called nubanara are all over the kampong, lying flat mainly. I wonder if maybe these could have been used for graves in this kampong before, because the nubanara are scattered like the graves in Ende.

346 At the top of the kampong is the korke of the
●178 kampong, and in front is a nama, or rectangular
535 dance place. This consists of a platform built
368 up of stones. Some of the stones should stand (four, one for each of the main suku; but the guru says there may be more than four standing). This appears in Vatter's photo of another nama. These former uprights here have fallen down and he says the people do not bother to erect them again. This is a sign of the steady breakdown of paganism. On the dance place there is an old drum left standing. It is evidently no longer used. The korke is empty, and has merely a bale-bale under a roof. No walls are left. The roof has not been repaired, which again may show the breakdown. Near the korke is a large house of
[614] the tuan tanah of the main suku, and near this is the korke of his suku. In addition to the kampong korke, there is one for each suku, but no nama in front of these. These korke are used by the kepala suku, who is also the tuan tanah of the suku, for suku rites regarding rain illness, etc. The main korke is used for kampong rites.
[574] When a feast is thus given, the big men sit on the bale-bale in the korke, and the dancers per-
[534] form in front to the music of a drum and gong.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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000 trols this atomism.

124 The next day we went to the kampong, stopping
212 at Mudakaputu, and Watuwiti, and other places on
115 the way. These all seemed less good than Wailolong. For example, Riangkamiē had only two suku; others had none or only one korke, etc. At Leloba, the guru had another guru with him, and said that we must use him as he was not so good at writing. Then I asked about whether or not it might not be a good idea to use an assistant who lives in Wailolong, but they said nobody there can write well because most of them have attended only three grades of schooling. Then we went to the district chief, the kakang, who was formerly in Boschwesen, and who is a man with good authority. He said he would order the Wailolong folk to help and would put at my disposal a lad from Wailolong. Also, he said he would order them to let us use one of the rumah pemuda, or boys' houses, in Wailolong. We talked at length about the situation and it seems that there are really no people in Wailolong who are able to write well.

773 We talked about the way the old stories are
● 178 dying out and the young people won't listen any
872 more. The guru Roy and a few old men only are the ones who know very much. The guru is the best, and he knows all of the ancestors back for nineteen generations. He also complained about how the schools do not have books about Indonesia and the local affairs, but rather about Europe, which the children cannot understand.

632 We had taken in the jeep a lot of kepala suku
622 and kepala kampong of Wailolong to the kakang
693 where they were to have a case hearing. It is
614 evidently a case concerned with marriage. The kepala suku are clearly old style fellows. Several
[30] of the old men had long hair and necklaces and one had a tattoo on his chest. The kakang gave a
614 speech ordering them to help us. Then we went to

614 ama chiefs. As for the marriage rules, many of
582 them are based on the old marriage relations
835 which were complicated by ritual stuff. He
684 talks a lot about how such and such cannot marry so and so because his group is an older or a younger brother of the latter. This could stand further investigation. Anyway, marriages are as follows:

Men of	Marry Women of
I-1a	IV, V-2
I-1b	II-2, III, (I-2) (note)
I-2	II-1, IV, V
I-3a	IV
I-3b	III-2, III-3a, III-3b
II-1	I-1a, III
II-2	I-3b, IV
III-1	I-3b, IV
III-2	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, V
III-3a	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2
III-3b	I-2, I-3a, IV, V
IV-1a	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-1b	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-1	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a

[583] [178] The notable case of a marriage inside a suku started three generations ago when a man of I-1b wanted to marry a woman of I-2 (Ama Kottang Belepe Lolong Lango' Kene' and Waktuka(ng), thus. This was heavily taboo, but the man wanted the woman badly and the men of Waktuka(ng) said that if he paid a terrific bride price he could have her. This was done, not without some fuss, and ever since it has been possible to do this without paying the terrific price because the ice
582 was broken. All know that it is a terrible
614 thing, however. I expressed horror and asked
835 whether these two groups weren't having bad trou-
684 bles because of the curse of incest. The guru
688

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	Men of	Marry Women of
582	IVa2	III
614	IVb	I, II
835	IVc	I, II
	Va	I, II
	Vb	I, II

582 614 835 583 684 178 The case of IIIc intermarrying with IIIa (perhaps it is IIIb) was one of incest which involved three virtually simultaneous marriages which occurred two generations ago. There were three men from one family who paid a very high bride price. This is like the similar case in Leloba. I asked how much higher the bride price was in these cases, and he said that they had to pay more tusks, but the man had to kill all of his animals. Thus it seems like a kind of tremendous purifying feast in order that the incest may be allowed. He said that the Leloba incestuous arrangement is still technically in, and anyone who wants to follow it now may do so without paying the tremendous price the pioneers once did. Both of the men who did it in Leloba are dead now. As for the Wailolong cases, this arrangement has been stopped, or rather, if it is carried on today it is wrong. They don't do it any more. There were the three men and then it ended. I asked about any resulting disasters and he said it is true that these sinners had had terrible troubles. I must ask what these troubles were exactly.

624 622 614 554 The offices are as follows:

--Kepala Kampong Kottang (Ib)

I. Radja Tuan Datong (kepala suku, tuan tanah) (Ia)

(2) a. Kelake Ama Radja (kepala ama (same man as I)

We
584 true no more for the Christians in Leloba. Here
184 they have only adult betrothal. In Wailolong, however, there is still plenty of this child betrothal business. This may take place at the age of three to four years. They are told of this when they are from five to six years old. As children they think nothing of this until
584 they become older. Sometimes the tusks are paid
583 early; at other times they wait until actual marriage. If the boy's father agrees to pay for a girl and later the boy refuses, he must pay the bride price anyway. In the old days, however, a boy never refused, or almost never. The younger brother of the guru hated the girl he was betrothed to as a child and ran away to Badjawa. His father paid the tusks anyway and they were lost by so doing. Later the brother married a woman from Roti.

621 The guru was the first man from the Belakang
582 Gunung [behind the mountain] area (consisting of eight kampongs) who married a Larantuka woman. His wife was from Balela. Later, the present kakang (who is a Leloba man) married a woman from Balela too. Balela is a foothill kampong now a part of Larantuka town.

595 A man may have up to three wives, but no more.

The guru's father had much magic power. He
789 was the panglima perang [war leader] here. He
776 had familiar spirits who helped him and usually
● 178 he alone saw them. Other people would see them
825 sometimes. Thus the guru heard a noise like a horse in front of the house one night when he was young. He looked out and there stood a buffalo. There are no buffaloes in this area. He called his father and the latter told him to shut up. This buffalo was one of his father's familiars. Another time the guru was in the fields with his father and heard stones rattling. He saw a crocodile. There are no crocodiles here either. He called his father, and again his

Wa

789 father told him to shut up. This was another
776 of his familiars. He also had a seven-headed
178 snake as a familiar. I asked what ever happened
[825] to these familiars, and he said that they do not
appear any longer because the people do not feel
the need for them. But if one called them, they
could come to the old guru. That is, the fa-
miliars are inherited from father to his succes-
sor son. This is amazing, and shows clearly that
the old guru, at least, and indeed the young one
and the kepala kampong, still take seriously much
of the old belief despite Christianity. I eased
[123] into this by talking like a kafir myself, as
usual, and they came along to a stage of talking
in a way that would horrify the priests. At one
point the guru stopped and said, "My, we're
talking like Kafirs [unbelievers, infidels]."
There is plenty left here of the old paganism,
and I can see why the priest said it would be
easy for them to slide back into their former
habits.

People must keep quiet when the crops are
241 growing as they would scare away the food spirit
824 in the plants otherwise. When there is a harvest
there are feasts and many gatherings. This may
be the reason for the harvest feast pattern.

361 Wailolong was originally located in the hills.
Then they moved down to the coast where there is
a crossroads at Okka. After that they moved only
about thirty years ago to their present location.
The first move was the result of the government
pressure to make them come down out of the hills.
The second move was halfway back to the hills.
Leloba has moved only once, that being the ori-
ginal move down from the higher hills. Wailo-
long and indeed other kampongs here have grown
fast in recent years because of cleaner condi-
tions, better medicine, etc. They know this
well. Wailolong has grown apace and keeps grow-
000 ing. The houses in the oldest negri lama were

We The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof,
are easier to keep clean and are better in
general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the
kampong, and even fewer move out of or into
the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration
from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas
beyond Larantuka.

The kakang has the only telephone here.
20 There is no telegraph. There is no mail ser-
vice. There is no postman. The priest has a
battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië.
Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not
Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to
change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few
people have much knowledge about the world.
This is really the lowest place I have been in
yet. Most of the people are strongly attached
to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is
very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong
is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they
had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at
war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an
enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

609 We
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
497 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak, [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has magical power, but we didn't get into the full
[778] story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

R Smaller private rites are held for such
755 cases as illness. A medicine man or woman (and in the example given they said woman; perhaps they are more frequent than men) is called in and magical rites are performed.

582 We got onto the suku exogamy matter, and
614 they said at first that one could marry within
178 the suku if the relationship was at least three generations off. But I pressed this a little further and they seemed less certain. I looked over the list which is now up to No. 190, and I noticed only a single case of endogamy. This proved to be a man from the outside who had been "adopted" by the Odja (he was originally from Lio) long ago. He was still separate, however, and I noticed that although he is still trying to find the name of his suku in the old place, the assistant left the suku slot blank for him and his children. This proved to be a case of no bride price and hence matrilocal residence. Thus there is not a single case of suku endogamy. I suspect that they
[124] are either trying to fool me into thinking they follow only Catholic rules, or else they know the latter and talk about them. Or perhaps they just don't phrase the old rules in the same way any more, although they follow them actually in practice.

124 We got onto the schedule as he has written a few short answers already. They are not bad, but it is evident that thinking and writing are painful for him.

342 Formerly the kampong was much larger than it is today and the houses were bigger by far. They are still large. In regard to migration
166 the situation is not too clear, but it is quite evident that very few people leave. Most of the individuals who go away are police or soldiers who serve in other parts of Flores. There are also a few teachers who serve elsewhere in Flores. They nearly all come back later. Their

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[793] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
●178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here, and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

178 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

614 maybe it is a matter of the older and younger
582 lines. I must check on this. The mandur said
[624] there was no tuan tanah in Ruteng kampong.
Later the assistant said they must have one.

In the evening the assistant came to the
124 pasanggrahan and talked with us. He seems to
be the best one yet. He knows plenty about
the old customs, and Christianity has not
caused him to scorn the old ways. He is so
enthusiastic that it was hard for us to stop
him. We got onto the question of Weol.

178 He said that in the old days there was only
342 one large round house per kampong. The diameter
614 was perhaps twenty meters. If you saw two
624 houses, it meant that there were two va'u. And
582 up until twenty years ago (1927) all tuan tanah
778 lived in round houses. After that, however, a
801 change took place. For example, the tuan tanah
of Weol now lives in a rectangular house. In
the old clan house there were nine posts, in
rows of three. The very center pillar was the
main one and here sat the tuan tanah at religi-
ous rites. Others ranged around the walls in
the front half of the house. The rear section
of the house was for the tuan tanah and his fam-
ily. Other panga had sections around the walls.
In the center, behind the main post, was the
kitchen. Later, when more than one round house
was built in a single kampong, the tuan tanah
occupied the main house, and here the main pil-
lar of all was located. This pillar is especi-
ally holy, and the setting of it in place re-
quires certain rites, sacrificial animals, etc.
Other round houses had nine pillars too. Each
house was inhabited usually by one panga, and
in each there was a kepala panga, and smaller
rites were held at each main pillar.

243 The circular rice field arrangement shows
782 certain similarities here. He says that even
778 now when they begin planting or have some other

We
842 too uncommon. If relatives help out in this
583 matter,[1] they must be repaid. The assistant
[602] said that if there are no children or if there
[597] are very few children, it often happens that a man buys a child, who then becomes one of his own. (From whom does he buy?)

565 The ranks are:

582
595
1. Radja bangsawan
2. Dalu bangsawan (he says, since 1880) (Kraeng)
3. Gelarang bangsawan
4. Leke (commoners)
5. Mendi (slaves)

The first three may intermarry, either way. The last two may intermarry, also either way. Polygamist marriages are possible, and this goes even for the Christians who do so in order to have more children. He talked as though polygamy, if done for this purpose only, was not so bad. He is of the gelarang and his wife of dalu. The children are of gelarang.

624 Then we got onto the subject of the social
621 organization of Weol. He said that there is a
342 tuan tanah and also a second man, whom he will
534 explain later, as it is a long story. There is also a medicine man, and he is important in ceremonies. He will give me the posts of the kampong later on the sheets.

Weol has two offshoot kampongs. One is Tjantsia (where he lives) and the other is Tjara, on the next hill. The former has a tuan tanah tjabang (a branch tuan tanah). Incidentally,
[178] the present tuan tanah of Weol lives in a rectangular house, which was an unknown thing here before ten years ago. Even in this rectangular house, there is a main post or rather a place which serves as a main post, and here the tuan tanah sits as the center of rituals. The tuan tanah must have in the house a gong and a gendang

[1] [i.e., meeting the bride price --Analyst]

We

621 or drum. Thus they may speak of his house as
624 the rumah gong-gendang. These instruments are
534 used in the rites, and as tuan tanah he must have
342 them. If there is a branch kampong, the tuan tanah tjabang must get a gong and a gendang from the mother kampong tuan tanah. Thus the gong-gendang is a symbol of power, like the Celebes aradjang.

There have been men who from time to time try to become tuan tanah-like by getting a gong and a gendang. This is not possible, however, as they must come directly from the old tuan tanah. Sometimes a tuan tanah tjabang is not happy in the branch kampong and he may come back to the mother kampong, taking his gong-gendang with
621 him. I think he said that a branch is often
614 caused by the fact that there are two va'u in a kampong, and one may split off and move to a new location. Evidently there is a tendency to keep the rule of one va'u per kampong. Thus I note that he says that the Ruteng kampong, which has two va'u, is having internal trouble between the two. There might be a split off in such a case.

797 He said finally that Catholicism has made
178 just about no change at all in the adat. It stands fast. Maybe here we have a case of greater technical change than in Larantuka or Ende where there has been practically no technical change, but on the other hand, there has been very little change in the adat here, which has been much modified in Larantuka and Ende.
[242] Thus one can see beautiful farming techniques here, and the mission is strong in this type of development. There are also wooden houses with nails (cost about fl. 2000.00 in meat and gift salaries and materials). In Larantuka and Ende the economic conditions remain at the same old miserable level. Thus the mission changes adat and religion a lot in Ende and Larantuka, but only technical changes have occurred here.

Wo
614 get larger and split. Thus there are many panga
173 in the va'u Weol (are they grouped under the original seven sons?).

614 The three panga of Weol kampong are: Lambar
621 (the tuan tanah is chief of this), Rinteng (the
592 kepala kampong is chief of this), and Rundu. It happens that there are two houses in each of the three panga in Weol, making six houses in all. Thus each tu'a panga has two houses under
342 him. The houses of the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong are built in the new style, as
178 are two of the others. There are then two old round houses, one with old non-wood walls. Most of the present round houses have wood walls and are built with nails. The roof does not reach the floor as in the real old time houses. The new style houses are all the same pattern, which was introduced by a certain priest. This is the only new style they know, and all new ones are exactly the same.

592 Often the whole panga will live in one house.
621 Ndung, which originally was linked with Weol, is
614 now a separate kampong and is even located in
624 another gelarang. The border is the mound above the small house area of Weol. They are
[778] continuous, but each has its own sacred tree. The kepala kampong of not only Ndung and Meler, but of the other four kampongs in the gelarang as well, lives in Meler. Thus there is only one kepala kampong for all the six kampongs. But each kampong must have a tuan tanah. The tuan tanah besar, however, lives in Ndung, just as the tuan tanah besar of Weol gelarang lives in Weol (this is our host). The big kepala kampong and the big tuan tanah of each gelarang has the rank of gelarang. In the gelarang Weol there are three kepala kampongs only, for the seven kampongs. Thus the Weol kepala kampong is also kepala kampong of Tjantjar.

614 The Ndung folk are all of the va'u Weol and
784 have a taboo on lusa.

000 have a taboo on lusa. There are two panga here:
614 Rosong and Nggurus. Each panga has two houses,
592 and thus there are four in all. There are more
342 houses, however, and these are of the non-Wool
178 newcomers, especially those from Ruteng. In addition to the four old houses of which two are built in the old style and one in the new style, there are: one round house belonging to the newcomers, mixed; three new style houses of newcomers, mixed. The reason that there are only three original houses is that one of the pangas has people living in a temporary, awful long tumbledown shack, wherein live also some newcomers. This is to be torn down as soon as two new style wooden houses, now under construction, are finished. In one of these will live the newcomers of the shed, and in the other the panga folk now living in the shed. Thus the houses are:

1. Tuan tanah house, new style, panga.
2. Round house panga.
3. Round house panga.
4. Small shed with one family who should live in number 3. It is beside the latter.
5. Round house newcomers.
6. New style newcomers.
7. New style newcomers.
8. Small shed newcomers.
9. Long shed mixed panga and newcomers.

Number 9 will split when the two new houses are finished, and the newcomers will go to one and the panga folk to the other.

342 I asked about the roof ornaments. The horns
531 are pretty clearly a sign of the tuan tanah's
554 house. The other type, the straight upright
624 rod, is an ordinary decoration. Some of the horns have a bird head in the middle, and I have seen birds on the horn tips, but not here. The tuan tanah of Ndung has the horns, but in the center there is a human face.

We

624 In the house of the tuan tanah of Weol there
342 are four households. The tuan tanah has a sec-
592 tion to one side, since the old place in the
554 rear, as in the round house, is impossible be-
534 cause the rear door is located there. He keeps
the gong-gendang, which is the symbol of his
being tuan tanah. One might even call the tuan
tanah house the drum house. These drums are
important, as they are used in agricultural
rites.

778 There are no holy stones (yet see later) in
the kampong here. I hear that there are some in
kampong Ruteng, which I must see. In each kam-
pong there is a tree (the Weol one died some
time ago and was replaced; the new one is rather
small). Around these trees (the assistant knows
nothing of the significance of the tree) are
placed stones. He says they have no magic power,
but in sacred rites animals are sacrificed there
below the tree. In the cleansing of the kam-
pong rite these stones are rearranged nicely.

178 Nowadays it is possible to marry in or out
582 of the clan. It is also possible to marry
614 within or without the kampong, and the kampong
[621] usually consists of one clan. But even now one
may not marry in the same panga. Thus there is
lineage exogamy.

Formerly clans too were exogamous, but in
special cases one might marry in, for example,
if the girl became pregnant. Evidently there
were other cases too. But since about fifty
years ago endogamous marriages within the clan
have been possible. Nevertheless, most marriages
are outside of the clan. The first case of clan
endogamy in Weol kampong involved the parents of
the present tuan tanah. This occurred fifty
yeargs ago. He said that they cannot remember
what trouble was caused if any. The assistant
has heard tales of evil following such cases of
endogamy. I must follow this up. What has

We

614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the relationships linking the individuals in this area became more and more distant. Thus they gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed, since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols, showing the effect of having worked with van Bekkum.[1] The priests try to discourage mother's brother's daughter marriages, but they always give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get the idea that the priests here are less firm regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka. This is probably because it is a relatively new field, and the Catholics go slowly and gradually in destroying what is old. The dodge they use here is special dispensation. This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price, is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with his wife's family until the bride price is paid. This may take ten years or he may never pay the bride price, but the children belong to his va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
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[1] [pastor at Ruteng; see also bibliography, cat. 113 - Analyst]

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534 drums and gongs were brought here from These several
535 kampongs. They are the real tuan tanah articles.
[624] At one time three little girls danced with their eyes downcast and with very little movement of the feet. They wore slendang and nice dresses. The oldest man, looking like a nickel
[292] head Indian, had on an amazing costume with rich embroidery, and a silver fringe under his chin like a beard. For a head decoration he had a gilded horse. He also carried two kris, and each of the other men had one.

526 Now, at 6 P.M., after all day of it, taking turns, the men are still whipping. This is a tireless business.

609 We get the impression of real remoteness
●178 here. These men are from the kampong nearby, and in this large bowl of distant mountains they are in their old dress doing the weird old practices and it has little to do with modern freedom and independence. When we go to such a place they look more at us than at the performers. We steal the show. But this is so all over Indonesia for whites. And they stare at us endlessly.

304 The tuan tanah of Weol has an elaborate set of patterns tattooed on his arms.

291 The Manggarai men often wear plaited, flat, songko-like headgear.

231 The horses here are important. Men and women
492 ride them, but mainly the former. The whole
[133] open land looks like the wild West. The priests use only horses here. They are small and spirited and bells are usually placed around their necks.

614 The next day we went again to Weol and asked
[624] if the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong were really brothers. If so, how could they belong to different panga. I found out that they are not brothers but merely distantly related.

The three panga names in Weol are the names

484 day at a time. Some people here go to the mountains, but they never go very far. Almost none has ever left the district, and those who have did so seldom and perhaps only once, for example to Nggobe or to another nearby area. Only the [625] police have been to Ngada or other Flores areas. And there are only two policemen.

[167] There are no soldiers here. No one here has ever left Indonesia.

[443] There are no regular traders in the kampong. One could say that there are no regular trips made to the outside.

Those few who have been outside of Roworeke relate, on their return, that other places are completely different from Roworeke. How true this is! They are not specific, however.

[178] There has been little change in the very non-moving character of the people here. They just know so little that they never think about leaving.

People here who have never seen any other place than Roworeke and Ende, i.e., just the [162] road to town and back, number about two hundred and fifty, that is about fifty per cent of the population. For example, these people have never seen even Rukuramba. This is especially true of the old people, although all except the children have seen Ende. Trips to Ende are not frequent. This is perhaps the most completely non-moving place I have seen yet.

484 152 186 Reasons given for not moving or visiting or traveling outside of this immediate vicinity are that there is too much work in the kampong for people to leave at any time. And formerly, there was a strong fear of war and a general fear of anyplace except home. There was never any reason to leave the area, but if one wanted to there was no objection. Aside from the war danger in former times (especially did Roworeke fight against Nggobe and Rodja), the old folk

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614 unknown. Nioreko also has a rumah berhala, an
778 actual house, but it is merely temporary and
346 lasts only seven to eight years. Then it is
764 rebuilt. It has no ana deo. This is a kind of intermediate type of situation.

14. Manunggo'o has no shrine. Thus suku Reandona evidently has none.

15. Pu'umbindi has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

16. Mbago has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

17. Pemodjera has a shrine, but the suku is unknown. Also, like Nioreko, Pemodjera has a temporary rumah berhala house, which is rebuilt when it collapses.

18. Sokopedji does not even have a shrine. It is a new kampong.

614 This is interesting and goes to show that
●178 the suku were localized before. I asked why
829 there were so many in the census for which the suku were unknown. They said that if their parents did not tell them, they never learned this information. It shows a breakdown in the system, but it is still very important. Real disintegration is just beginning. I scolded them to the effect that they as government men of Rewarangga did not even know the suku of the kampongs in their district. I said that the people in the United States would think that they were poor administrators. They said that this suku business was adat only and that they were concerned with government only. I pointed out that even the giri tumba besar seemed vague about all of this outside of his own kampong, and he is a leader of adat. They begged off saying that perhaps he didn't understand what I was after.

778 It is notable that only the four kampongs
769 with real rumah berhala (Volofeo, Bu'ubedi,
346 Ratebedi, and Vavoëü) have annual ancestor
574

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829 assistant said that he just did it, and that it was a revelation to him. They simply do not think in such diagrammatic terms.

769 The ancestor cult is strong here and there
186 are many stories about it, but it is not used to glorify the place. In fact, there is no real pride as such. They are simply satisfied as they know nothing else. There is no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village.

●178 There has been very little change here in regard to the expanding horizons of social and economic contact.

721 The old wars and head-hunting continued until recently. Wars seem to have been caused
578 mostly over border disputes, so far as they
178 can remember. Heads were taken as a sign of victory. But I got very little regarding a real head-hunting cult. They said that the heads were placed on the borders, evidently on the borders over which the war had been fought.
[789] They said voluntarily that they ate the hearts
[246] of enemies in order to increase their magic power. They are quite clear and vivid about this. The hearts were removed through an incision in the back under the shoulder blade. The main enemies were Nggobe and Rodja, but there is no hostility now. More seldom, war was waged against the Lio folk. Spears and
[411] guns were used, and formerly bows. Bows were used especially by the Nggobe folk. Circular shields were made of buffalo hide and wood. There were alliances of mutual aid too. For example, Rewarangga (Worowai) and Odja (Roworeke) were in such an arrangement. Also, they
[634] went to war for the Ende radja who paid wages for this.

721 The radja bitjara (a post no longer present
634 in Ende; he was a kind of minister of foreign relations) (and he was able to talk all lan-

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721 guages and thus carry on negotiations) would
[634] request soldiers. Such wars were usually
against the coastal folk on the north, that
is, Lio and Ende there. In the old days, just
721 about every outside kampong was considered
484 dangerous and it was seldom that a trip was
578 made there unless a bond of friendship existed
178 between one's kampong and the area visited.
[608] Now all of these kampongs are friendly. Still
I note that they don't like to sleep all night
outside the kampong. This is especially true
of the old folks.

829 Note on ideas concerning the "place" of the
local kampong in the world: In just about
every kampong, when I ask about the ranking of
world countries in population, they do not
know what to say (although a young boy knew
that China was the largest), but at once the
assistant and others get paper and copy down
the exact ranking from me with figures. They
evidently want to spring the question on other
people and stick them. It does show a definite
curiosity about these things.

608 The people here have a sort of pela bond
574 between kampongs, or at least they did at one
578 time in the past. They do not drink the blood
178 of each other as in Ambon, but they hold a
feast and drink the blood and eat the hearts of
the animals killed. And they eat together.
They pledge that they will not war against each
other and that they will show a certain degree
of hospitality to each other. Thus Roworeke
has such a bond with Waturoga, Waturoga with
Ndona, etc. This was all in the past, and I
didn't find out if there are any survivals.
I think there are, because the guru from Ndona
said that it is easy for him to live in Watu-
roga as his kampong had a bond with it. In
addition, he married in.

721 War was tabooed by the Dutch in 1908, and
648 since then there have been no wars.
656

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000 since then there have been no wars.

614 The great suku feasts are a kind of re-
574 fresher of the gemeente bond, as all the suku
692 of the area come and feast and pledge friend-
624 ship. Thus, if Odja has a suku feast for re-
pairing the grave-bones shrine, the other five
big suku (and also others who are invited) at-
tend. (The five are Rewarangga, Nggonggora'ba,
Reandona, Wanda, and Gusa-Tibo). Thus the suku
feasts are gemeente affairs as well as of a
genealogical group. The mosa laki mere must be
present at all such feasts, even though it is
not of his own suku. Incidentally, he is the
same man as the kolu, mentioned by Suchtelen[1]
as the "tuan tanah." This kolu word is evident-
ly used especially in his function as an
agricultural priest. Thus he is an adat judge
and agricultural priest at the same time. The
mosa laki mere involved is the mosa laki mere
of the kampong involved; thus here he is the
big one, as the kampong mosa laki mere of
Worowai-Roworeke is also the mosa laki mere of
the gemeente.

[237] He gets the lower jaws of all the sacrificed
[342] animals. Nowadays he throws them away after
[178] eating, but formerly all bones from such occa-
sions were kept and were put on the houses.
Thus there is a clear relation involved between
the jaws on the Ngada houses of the tuan tanah
there and such occasions (and distantly to the
Mentawei and Punan animal jaws). Note that he
gets the lower jaws.

538 As for legends and stories of the past, at
533 first they said that they have none, or rather
[124] that they had forgotten what they might have
had. I prodded on and told them about the Balai
Pustaka man getting stories of Indonesia for
schools. They loosened up a bit, and it seems
that they do have plenty. I instructed the as-
sistant to get a few as samples. They said

[1] [See p.70 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography cat.13-Analyst]

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614 ration began. At the head of the group sat the
241 kelake of the Leworita ama doing the rite. On
796 one side sat two old men, one from Leworita and
231 the other from Hurint, who prayed. They were
merely the oldest and cleverest ones there.
[301] They were real pagans, with bobbed hair, red
necklaces of beads, and silver earrings. One
had a tattoo (relatively young fellow). One
[769] prayed steadily, giving generations of Leworita
and calling all these ancestors in turn, and at
each generation the other chimed in with a
chant. The rhythm was fine. On the other side
sat the three; the man from Lewodoreng Waru'ing
holding the head of the pig (as this ama has
the Kottang function in this suku); the man
from Engamaking holding the feet (as this ama
has the Kelen function in this suku); and the
man from Hurint, who cut, as usual.

●178 To the side from these sat two old women
562 who were the tuno wudjo, one from Leworita and
796 one from Lewodoreng (they needed two because
887 the former was giving the rite, but it was on
241 the latter's ground). In the old days it was
614 always a young girl virgin who acted as tuno
wudjo, but there are no more in these groups
who are still pagan, so they have to use old
women. I can see the same thing on the schedule:
in Wailolong there are some tuno wudjo who are
very young (e.g., three or four years old) as
they are not yet Christians, but others are very
old pagan women. Thus, the pagans are making
the best of it, but what can they do when the
old women are dead? The answer is found in
Leloba, where they no longer are able to have
rites. They have given up the suku and ama
rites, but still have the kampong agricultural
ceremonies. First, however, a mass is held in
the chapel, and then they say prayers, but are
[769] allowed to recite the names of the ancestors.
They no longer use the tuno wudjo, however.

Wes.

978 After the ancestors are called, the pig is cut,
562 first sawed through the neck until the windpipe
796 is cut, and then with one blow the head is cut
241 off. The assistant said that if it is a big
887 pig, a strong blow is required to knock the
769 head off with a single sweep.

614 Note that the two old men who prayed were from Leworita and Hurint. Evidently this makes no difference, but they do choose old people who know prayers (however, they have one from the suku giving the rite, as he must recite the names of their ancestors).

[276] Then betel was prepared and passed around. As the pig bled, blood splashed on the tusk which was lying on the ground beside one of the posts. This is a ritual tusk and is not very large. It is owned by the ama and is not used for bride prices. The second part of the rite--to give the food to the ground and posts --came next. The tuno wudjo and other old women took the rice and heaped it on a plate like a hillock. The men cut out the liver of the pig and chopped it up. The mixture was put on the ground, or rather a bit of it was, and also smeared on the four posts of the barn. Gin was
[273] meanwhile passed around (we got some), and it was also poured on the ground and sprinkled around under the barn. We left after this as the rite was over, but they went on to cook and eat the pork with the rice. This is a relatively small rite, although it was a part of the entire planting ritual complex.

614 One can say that each grouping (or, as the
241 assistant says, each barn) must have agricul-
796 tural rites. Thus, the system runs down from
343 the big kampong-barn-suku Kottang rite, with all the suku there and all the tuno wudjo (of all suku and ama); to the suku rites at each suku barn, and all suku and tuno wudjo at these too, in all five rites; and finally to the ama-

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000 Radja's kampong.

721 There used to be much warfare with the Mohammedan coastal folk too. And war was waged with other districts and tribes, but this was rare, and was largely tied up with the higher politics of the radja. A pure border war, however, was one carried on with the district Lewotala.

186 621 484 Only a very few people locally have been in other places enough to have inferiority feelings about their own village. They have all seen the town of Larantuka, but this is not much and they get tired of it after a little while. Those who have, for example, seen Makassae, of whom there are very few, are less happy when they come back. This is a real difference. They tell a lot about the big town. Thus, the truth is that in all Flores the towns are so little and are so much like the kampongs (i.e. dull), that there is little contrast. Therefore, they see no advantage locally as over against the kampongs. Of the kampongs here all are about the same in wealth and land holdings. Lewohala and Watuwiti have a bit better land and perhaps more of it; thus, in general, one place is about as good as another.

721 178 578 691 693 Wars were waged over borders, women, and molesting children. Now warfare is outlawed, although they still carry it on in a modified way. For example, there is a dispute of this kind going on now between Leloba and Waibalun, although the chief says that they must not carry on a war. There have been repeated grievances; their patience is gone. A band goes out hot for revenge and although the chiefs in general try to keep the people from war they are unsuccessful. Most disputes are settled by legal procedures, with the kakang as the main judge and the kepala kampong, radja tuan, and kelake of the 693 kampongs concerned making up the court.

614 For inter-suku cases, the court is made up

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173 can be used in war, as magic, and thus perhaps
621 Mado was the war sorcerer who perhaps did the
565 magic stuff which in the last analysis scared
789 the damned Padji away. This kind of medicine is called breni.

173 I asked if all the children and other people here know this story, and he said yes. It is evidently the main legend. He said that they do not know it perfectly, but the main facts and events are clear and everyone knows the story.

443 There is a market place at Okka crossroads every Wednesday. There used to be another on the beach on the way to Larantuka (where the Padji once lived) at Delang, but it is no longer there. It was held on Friday. There is a market place in Larantuka town, and the market is held there every day. However, there is no market week system. He knows of one in Adonara. He says it is no use to hold elaborate markets because they have no surpluses to sell.

583 The only exchange here is that connected
614 with marriage. The woman-giving suku gives fish to the woman-receiving suku, and the latter gives fowl to the former. If these suku are in different kampongs, there is the exchange, but it is a matter of suku and not kampongs. And again it shows how marriage is the basis of the whole organization.

829 As a result of the last World War the horizons in terms of the world at large were some-
●[178] what extended. For the first time, the people here heard of Japan, the United States and other countries. This was much the same thing that took place all over Indonesia. Fifty years ago no one here knew about such countries. As for other places in Indonesia, all they knew fifty years ago was Sina Djawa, to the west. Since the war they have learned at least the names of a few other islands. This is really epochal on

Wac

829 a small scale.

Everyone here knows the places in and the arrangement of the kampong and the district and the Larantuka town road. Perhaps only ten people know about the setup as far as Maumere, and probably only the guru is clear about the rest of Flores. Perhaps only two people know about the general arrangement of the geography of Indonesia. And except for a few place names and countries, no one knows about world geography.

One boy who is in the fifth grade knew the population of Indonesia, and he also knew the population of the United States! He was absolutely correct. Other people could not give this information, and as for other countries even he had no idea.

As usual we got a terrific reaction when we told them how few people there were in Holland. They muttered for several minutes. They said [797] that two men in Wailolong and one in Leloba [204] receive the mission paper. Perhaps ten other people borrow and read it.

484 The very few people who have visited towns 521 outside of Flores are loquacious in telling 203 about their experiences, mostly limited to kampong life. Others listen to this, but there is evidently very little reaction.

178 There has been just about no change in the 632 political structure in the last fifty years 651 here. The kakang and all others were here long ago. The kakang has shifted from one kampong to another and that's about all. The traditional system of government has seen little change. Taxation started forty years ago. Now they pay a tax of fl. 1.00 for each animal killed for food, and fl. 10.00 for each animal killed for sale. (This just about stops any chance of a meat-selling market or animal industry.)

000 Today there are more meetings and greater

We Today there are more meetings and greater
208 effort to get the opinions of the people. This
634 is especially so since this Radja came in about
● 178 eleven years ago. Formerly, the radja merely
663 ordered things to be done and paid no heed to
648 the local requirements, etc. Also, the radja gets around to more areas now. (We noted that the Radja is making a good-will tour, and probably all of them are scared of another Java.) He said that there is a much closer arrangement between the radja and the people now. Formerly the Dutch and the radjas worked together very closely, and anyone who spoke up was simply jailed. I can see this is as in Ende, and the Dutch here until the end used the jail as the solution for everything. They wouldn't listen to anything else. If the radja and Dutch work together the result is tyranny, and it is real here.

There is more justice here now, they say. They say this began about eleven years ago with the present Radja. But this may be out of respect, and they admit that the real change has taken place here since the war. The war really liberated Indonesia. There is no more use of brute force. People can speak up now.

789 We had a long talk about magical power. They
769 say that the power of the chiefs, from the radja
622 to the adat kepala kampong to the kepala suku to
[753] the kelake, is all a matter of fear of ancestral punishment. If they do not obey, they
[152] become sick and have misfortunes. The magical power comes mainly from the ancestral spirits, but it is funneled through the magic stones of authority too. The curse power of an adat chief is very great. The power of the purely administrative chiefs, for example, the kepala kampong, who does not deal with adat, and the kalang, is that of the police, etc. This is actually not so because all of the chiefs are of the proper succession. If they ever tried to put one in

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783 The people here must confess at least once a year.

666 632 565 634 622 [646] There are only two elected representatives here and also in Wailolong. The only election in the area is for the parliament. There is also a kind of election for the kakang. The choosers are the twenty-four kepala kampong of the eight kampongs. In the old days, although they got together, and went through the form of accepting the oldest son of the deceased or ejected kakang, it had to be the eldest son. Now they actually choose from candidates. The candidates must be of the proper nobility, so there aren't very many. Thus, when the previous kakang went out (he was ejected in 1938 because of a misdemeanor), there were three candidates: Roy, a man from Lewohala, and the present kakang. Roy says they were the only ones who were both noble and qualified. By the latter term he means that they were clever enough for the job. They had to be of the direct descending family of the radja tuan or kelake. The Radja of Larantuka is chairman of the electoral committee. Roy said that he does not force a choice, but lets everybody talk freely.

632 634 622 [178] Then it came out that there have actually been three phases in the kakang business: (1) pre-1915: he merely represented the succession; (2) 1915--1938: a period of tyranny, when the radja simply chose whom he pleased. This was the period when the Dutch and the radja worked together, the dark years; and (3) 1938--present: election within limits. Roy knows the word "candidaat."

Nowadays the radja must accept the will of the kepala kampong. The last imposed kakang, of the Larantuka Radja family, was deposed in 1938. He had been chosen by the radja three years before.

[661] In 1924 Roy had been elected by the kepala kampong, but the radja would not accept him (in 1938 Roy was a candidate but was not elected). This is an example of radja tyranny.

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000 This is an example of radja tyranny.

888 Formerly, politicians were older than they
●178 are today. Indeed, they would not follow a
622 younger man formerly very well. Today there are plenty of cases of an older radja tuan giving his rightful kepala kampong post to a younger brother. At least it is usually the latter, for this keeps it in the proper family. The older man keeps the adat post. (This is what Roy himself has done here). He said that this is done: (1) because if there is trouble in the kampong, the kepala kampong bears the brunt of this and may have to go to jail. It is better to have two men so that one can carry on the administration; (2) the older man is often unable to read and write. Formerly the three kepala kampong were always the same men as the radja tuan of the three main suku.

[561] This led to a long talk about the conflict
178 between generations. Roy says that there is no
797 conflict here, as they give in if the children
177 are firm enough. He also says that although the old resisted religious change before, they have surrendered now and know that it is hopeless. When they are dead they know that paganism will be finished. It came out clearly here that the only real force of change has been Catholicism. And the only area of change has been religion, although other aspects have been affected thereafter. Thus we got again onto the subject of religion.

797 I asked if, if there were a long period of
178 misfortunes, there might not be a reversion to paganism. He said that this is conceivable, but that it has gone too far now for this to be a strong probability. He gave a case of a kampong on the neck of Tandjung Bunga, Riang Koli, which not long ago decided that it would not give up paganism but would merely make a deliberate combination of it and Catholicism. How-

797 ever, he says that this was not caused by mis-
•178 fortunes. I asked about the Catholics trying to kill all of the old culture, and he said that they use no force. I gave the case of
[346] the church and the taboo on the expense of rebuilding a korke, and how the Catholics allowed for the great cost of a new church in Riang Kamië. He saw my point, but then when I asked about the sale of tusks in order to pay for the church, he said that this was a suggestion of the Riang Kamië folk themselves (no urging by the priest?) and that this was to be done only by a few families or groups which set the disastrous fire.

583 This led us on to a talk about the tusks.
452 He says that they do not need many to keep the marriage system going. Thus both in Wailolong and Leloba they have about twenty-five left today. This is enough. But they must have at least five, as this is the minimum price for a girl. As long as they have the price for one girl they can keep the system going on a credit scheme. This is amazing. It is necessary, and absolutely so, to keep five.

I told about Roworeke, which has lost all their tusks, and he said haggardly that this might possibly happen here, but he didn't want to think of the results. The minimum number of five holds for this part of the district, but in the Riang Kamië sector it is only three, so they could keep the system going with a minimum of three. The reason Roy is so firm on this matter concerning the tusks is that he insists that one cannot get married without tusks, or at least credit for tusks. There is nothing else that can be used for the bride price. Thus there are no animals, gold, money, or anything else used.

684 Error: I said before that the animals killed
231 in the incest cases were part of the bride price.

794 Catholic, has two wives, but he was adamant.
665 As for Mohammedanism, he says that they are dormant politically, or at least they have been until recently. Now that Dr. Sutomo is here he is becoming a kind of Mohammedan leader. However, the Mohammedans are few and they are important only in Kampong Baru. There was a
798 rumor here on the Japanese entrance that the
203 Japanese were Mohammedans. It went further to the effect that all Christians and pagans were to be killed. The theme was that you had better get your songko boys. There was a new version, when the red and white flag went up. It went that this was really the flag of Islam and that the Christians and pagans would have no voice in the government. He thinks that perhaps this rumor was started by the Mohammedans. It was here that he joyfully parroted several times my word desas-desus [whispering, rumors]. He learns new words fast.

178 The situation here is the reverse of the usual thing. The Catholics are the radicals,
797 in the sense that they are against the old
565 things which are pagan, and the pagans are the
177 conservatives in the sense that they want to
769 keep the old ways. This will change later, surely.

This led to a long talk about the entry of Catholicism here. Roy admits that he may be the most powerful factor in the fast and one hundred per cent conversion here. He said that the main reason was that he gave good lessons (ketranggan [interpretation, clarification, proof]) and the second reason was that he happens to be a real noble. The latter meant not only that he had a good name and respected rank, but that he was in close touch with and had real privileges in the pagan ancestral stuff. Indeed, his own rank depends on the ancestor cult. If he was willing to take a chance with the new

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178 religion, when he knew so much about the old
797 ways and his ancestors were so important in
565 it, then this new religion must be all right.
177 (Here we see the old theme of converting the
769 chiefs first. And all the magic aspect is clear too.) He admitted that if the nobles had been against Catholicism it would have been much more difficult (impossible? Note India, where the handicap of missions has been that most of the people converted have been untouchables; and the joy of the missions has been whenever they could snare a Brahmin.)

797 Roy says that they received Catholicism at
175 first gladly and were interested and liked the medicine. Then there came trouble, however, when they saw that the Catholics were determined to wipe out the old things. Then came resignation. The trouble started when the Catholics began to win. Thus there were three phases, starting with the conversion of the first man, Guru Bala, in 1885:

(1) 1885--1912: period of amicable relations.

(2) 1912--1920: the pagan fight, and real conflict.

(3) 1920 to the present: the surrender and acceptance of the inevitable.

[614] Bala was of the suku Lewonuhah.

565 Even now, the asli, the men of real noble
177 descent, have the power and prestige. It is very hard, indeed impossible, for a commoner, no matter how clever he may be, to bring in alien things. If a commoner tried he would be killed. If he is a noble, he will find things easier, but he too had better be careful, for if he is a "trouble maker" he too might be thrown out (killed?).

797 In Wailolong the first Christian was Pulo,
177 converted by Bala in 1890. Conversions were
798 slower here than in Leloba, and paganism still
184 holds on. Because it was slower there, Roy says
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000 they might try reasoning with them, they would go no further.

584 762 The same story holds for marriage. If a child does not like his parent's choice of a mate, the marriage does not occur. There have been a few cases, however, of suicide (always by hanging) on the part of both men and women, because of desperate love and mismarriage. This is interesting, and if I have the time I will try to get these cases down.

582 835 614 178 The marriage system is the thing, and it is exogamous with complicated rules. There has been no change. Even the very few cases of endogamy have not increased. The only thing that has been modified is the fact that there is no longer an allowance of blood mother's brother's daughter marriage. This is a Catholic taboo. This is true at least in Leloba, although I am not sure about Wailolong. They have to be careful to have fourth grade distance (that is, third cousins, via great grandparents). What the system allows is the choice of a mother's brother's daughter (that is, married into the suku of the man's mother) or married into one or two other suku of the ama linked with his suku by marriage. Thus a boy of Hurint Demong (the guru's may marry Belemang, Belepe Lolong A, or Waktukang Keleng. If his mother was Belemang, this would work out all right. In the old days, this would have been the best thing for him, that is, a girl of his mother's group (I want a girl just like the girl that married dear old dad). This is because of the good relations already, and anyway they like these close and reinforced linkages in suku relationships. It is not a matter of bringing back the tusks more rapidly, as one needs to make three moves anyway, and they can do this if they marry in any other group aside from the mother's. But, even in the old days, though this mother's brother's daughter

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582 marriage was preferred, it was not required, be-
●178 cause the boy could also marry a girl of an en-
614 tirely different group from his mother's, for
835 example, Belepe Lolong A or Waktukang.

Nowadays, the easiest thing to do is merely to disregard the mother's brother's daughter stuff, as this requires care in observing that the relative must be at least a third cousin, and they marry in one of the other allowed groups. This is the leeway that the traditional system allows. When it is a question of close figuring, Roy says that they usually ask the priest to settle the situation for them. A good case of this was with the guru's son, who is now in Makassar. He was in love with a Belemang girl, but this was the ama of his grandmother, and the girl was his mother's brother's daughter--cousin via his grandmother, i.e., only a third degree relative. Therefore Roy went to the priest, and the latter (I suspect they are always indulgent in this matter if it is not a first cousin) said that if they were that desperate he would give a special dispensation (he uses a word for this that sounds like isin, but I must ask about this) (idjing). And so the boy was married. The way to do this correctly is for the boy to marry his mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's son's daughter. This is via the great grandparental generation. Note that it has to go up via women and down via men. This works out all right if one notes that under the mother's brother's daughter rule this brings the proper amas into the relationship (I may be wrong on this and must check on it later).

582 I was much impressed when he said that there
835 is a good reason for the Catholic rule. I had
827 tried to say that it is not in the Bible and
177 that Protestantism had not worked out this rule and yet they were Christians too, that the ancestors thought it was all right and indeed de-

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582 Larantuka market and likes her. He finds that
584 she is from, for example, Lewotala. Then he tells his father, and the latter goes there and asks "whence her blood." If the relationship is not close, or there is a relationship but they figure it out to be all right, then they go ahead with arrangements (how these people work at their rules!) Anyway, when
[583] they marry outside the area of the local pattern, they must pay a higher bride price in order "to fix it up." Thus, this is not the right thing to do, and it requires the same kind of thing in a way as a breach of exogamy. In a way, it is a breach of endogamy, in a sense that one should marry within the "adat belt."

"The Ordered World of Ili Mandiri."

582 Roy says that he believes that if more people
621 traveled outside of the area there would be more marriages outside of the area. This might, I think, lead to a final confusion of the rules. To keep such a complex scheme going they have to keep the marriages from going out of bounds, where the rules are off. If the rules get far enough off they may go out of vogue.

Marriages outside of East Flores are very
[484] rare, and only in a few cases has this happened. They have been local men who have traveled outside, for example, the few soldiers.

[609] There is not a single case of a marriage with foreigners.

582 The average marriage age used to be older.
●178 It might be even thirty or thirty-five for men. Now it tends to be anything over eighteen for girls and anything over twenty for boys. They still have the feeling against too early a marriage. They say that if the couple are too young, it is not good as the children will not be so healthy and it will not be too good for the health of the parents. Young people can marry more easily today because the children

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582 178 become competent earlier. They learn to work earlier now. Roy[1] says that the school helps in getting them trained at an earlier age and they begin to weave and do other tasks sooner.

836 178 684 I jumped on this to see if there was much premarital sex, and he said that it was extremely rare. He said that as far as this is concerned there has not been much change. I pressed, and Kattenburg got the kepala kampong aside and tried to pump him. They remained adamant, however. It is just very rare. Even when a man is not married until he is thirty-five, they claim he does not engage in sexual promiscuity. [548] There is no prostitution here and none in Larantuka either. And anyway, they never go anywhere where they might get girls. There are very strong taboos on premarital sex. (He said that the girls would lose their name, which indicates that it has happened, perhaps.)

584 836 But there is an exception which came out when he told of two ways to get married. These are the two: (1) Prearranged and regular marriages. This type counts for most cases. (2) Boy likes girl and begins to hang around her house at night. He slips a cloth or something into her sleeping place and she asks who is there. He tells, and if she doesn't like him she tells him to go away. If she is willing to talk, they talk, and this may go on at night for as long as five years. If a girl has several such suitors, she sends all except one away, and he keeps on having dates. Perhaps the parents do not find out about this, or perhaps in singing and gossip it comes out that they are "going together." At this point a marriage may be arranged. Or, and here comes in the premarital sex practices, the girl may at least let the boy in and they have sexual intercourse. As soon as her parents discover them, marriage must take place. (Also, I suppose, if she be-

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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584 comes pregnant.) This sexual activity is about
836 the same as marriage anyway, as it leads finally to marriage. And anyway, there is no
584 adat rite of marriage. What happened in the
836 old days and what still goes on among the
178 pagans is simply that one day, when everything
178 is all right, the girl is brought to the boy's house, and the couple simply moves in. There is no ceremony.

Nowadays, with Catholicism, and with prearranged marriages, they have a church rite before they sleep together. But the other type of marriage goes on, and in this case they just confess and get married after having slept together. This is a pretty case. And even
595 prettier is the case of polygyny. In the old
178 days this was more frequent, but even now there
183 are Christians who have more than one wife. In this case the first one is married in church, but the second can have no church rites. (As he says, she has no sacramen.)

They are very prudish about molesting girls
684 (ganggu). If, for example, a boy squeezes the
832 breast of a girl, and even if she likes it and
721 says nothing, her father and brothers, if they
128 hear about it, go to his house and kill his
627 animals and break up his tusks. They get directly at his property (and that of his ama or suku too) thus, and so it hurts. He has molested their property, and they get back at him in the same way. This might lead to war, and often did in the old days. Note that he mentions as the second most frequent cause of war that of molesting women.

He gave a fine case of trouble between kam-
832 pongs resulting from such a case. In his youth
684 three girls from Leloba were molested by boys
628 from another kampong. The girls were getting water. The father and brothers of the girls became angry and smashed up the belongings of

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832 those rascals. They scolded them, saying that
684 if they wanted women, they should ask about
628 them, and speak up about it. That is, they were willing to hear a request, but it had to be done through regular channels without chiseling. ("If you had come to us decently, etc.")

582 In regard to the relative ages of the couple when marriage takes place, the ideal is to have a couple whose ages are nearly the same. If either is older it is better for a boy to be a bit a girl's senior. If there is too great a discrepancy in age, it is not good.

595 His grandfather had four wives. I note that
183 he does not seem to regard polygyny as very bad, even now. And he does not hesitate to tell me that other Christians do this. It is simply that they do not get the sacramen for the second, or third, or even later wife. That's all. Dispensation is called isin.

582 He says that the people in Tandjung Bunga
836 marry when they are very young, and that they begin their sex life as early as nine years old.

●178 In the old days, the boys in Leloba and Wailo-
513 long slept regularly in the korke or sebuang
882 (the ama korke, and this is a correction:
[346] sebuang does not refer to the barns of the ama,
[614] but to the cult houses).[1] I think he said that this is not done any more in Wailolong. It was not required, but they just did it. This took place after a boy reached the age of about sixteen. Roy did it himself. They liked this because it was more fun. They could talk, sing, discuss girls, etc. (I think it was practically a rule, and I wonder what they would have said if a boy did not go there.)

What has happened now is peculiar. The boys
178 sleep together in groups, wherever it seems
513 good. They get in the habit, for example, of
882 sleeping on the benches of a certain house, or
171 in a vacant house, etc. (Thus I see that the

1 [See cat. 114, p. 166 -- Analysis]

513 We
882 Ambon and Ceram youth-club houses are really
178 survivals of the regular thing.) In Leloba the
[171] main hangout is the "pasanggrahan" (bivak),
where there are seldom any guests, and the boys
simply take over. Kattenburg inspected it and
found that it has sleeping benches and even a
[836] few walled compartments. He asked the kepala
kampong if perhaps the girls did not slip in,
and the kepala kampong said that this was absolutely not the case.

178 In Wailolong there is a guru from Bama,
513 where they have regular boy's houses. This
882 fellow has introduced a new type of boy's house
177 in Wailolong (but no other kampong in this area
614 has one), i.e., he has built three on the Bama
pattern and the boys sleep there. One of these
is our "office" when we use it. These boys'
houses are arranged according to suku, and are
shared by suku. This is a remarkable case of
acculturation within a pattern from one district
to another.

[562] The girls have no such houses, and never did.
882 However, before, as today, they seldom sleep
561 with their parents when they get older. Groups
887 of them have hangouts where they sleep together.
513 These groups are of friends. They weave together, etc., and like to gossip, sing, etc., at night. They just fall asleep there, together. This may be a sleeping bench, or it may be that they get a section of a sleeping bench in one of their parents' houses. There they bunch up. Everyone knows where the groups hang out. Kattenburg found that even old women sleep in groups. They may be, I think, groups of "the girls" who are old and widows, and who go back to their girlhood days and sleep with their coevals, and have a good time. If this is so, it is practically a revived age-grade for the girls who in their youth grew up and slept together and now at the end of their life bunch up together again.

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000 up together again.

Some of the suku are large, some are small,
614 and some have died out. They have the same
171 idea in this regard as I noted on Ambon: that
789 a group which dies out may well have disappeared because of a wrong committed in the old days. It is as though there were a curse on them. Roy mentioned a case of an ama (I think) which did a lot of killing. Now it is extinct. Another group used too much magic, and it too died out. (Magic keeps cropping up. They have taken on my term kekuatan adjaib with a vengeance. I often wonder if they are kidding
[123] me, seeing that I like the pagan stuff.)

562 Roy says that the roles of the sexes has
●178 not changed at all. However, when there was
708 much warfare formerly, the women were important in helping the men by bringing in supplies, encouraging them, and in making magic against the enemy behind the lines. (Supply, psychological warfare, morale division, and "research.")

178 One firm rule which is changing today, however,
462 is that in the old days the women never did work
241 in the field, except for helping in planting and in the harvest. This is still so in a large degree, and it is true enough that the women are seen around the kampong all day while the men are off in the fields. However, nowadays more women go out and help with agricultural work. This is a slow trend. In the old days men would be ashamed to have women doing agricultural work. This was not their role (and there is a very sharp sex division of labor here).

Indeed, women have no work, properly speaking, except house work. They do very little agricultural work, even today. The planting stuff they do is clearly ritually linked, at least in part, and the harvest is evidently always an exception.

562 Roy says that the women have equal status,

562 but the men have a slight edge on the women. They are more "important." In rights, privileges, etc., they are equal. There is no abuse of women, and they are supreme in their own spheres; it is just that the men's sphere seems to be a bit more important. Women scold and shout and order the men around. They are not
[593] suppressed. If, for example, a man drinks too much, his wife will simply stop fixing his food and he will quickly come around and apologize.

Formerly, most marriages were prearranged.
584 This is less true today. Indeed, there was much
178 more forced marriage before, and I get the idea
882 that it is rare for one to show resistance when faced with a parental choice. There were cases
[762] of suicide (male and female) and running away. In the old days, the regular thing was for the parents to fix up everything by themselves. Today, more and more of the boys and girls speak up telling whom they like so that the parents learn of this before they try to fix up the marriage arrangement. Thus the initiative is shifting from the parents to the children.

I get the idea that there was quite a lot of trouble in the old days in this regard. Perhaps this was more pronounced as new ideas came in, if such an expression can be used for this stagnant place. For example, Roy's brother ran away.

764 At this point there was a funeral. The other
[177] guru had excused himself, and then we heard a low chant approaching, in the local language. It sounded like the Latin chanting the Catholics do in procession (an obvious imitation of the priests' chanting, in the local language). Then a line of people appeared, two by two, with a bamboo coffin of a little child on a litter, and behind this the guru with a sheet on, which had been made into a kind of cloak, resembling that of a priest. Behind him came the mourners. The

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764 bells in the chapel tolled and the service was held. The body was buried in the cemetery.

Roy has been full of life since I gave him
124 some medicine for his asthma. He jokes and
123 laughs. He had a meeting of the Red Cross yesterday, and the Radja and Dr. Sutomo and other notables were there. He knocked them out with the new words he has learned from me (sistim, desas-desus, kekuatan adjaib, etc.). They asked how this came about, and he said that the American professor was responsible. He told the priest that I was better than Vatter,[1] as we talk over each point at length, and I tell him details too, and then we discuss everything. Also, he says, everything is told to me and nothing is hidden, as he puts it. He tells the people, even in front of me, that I am like a suwanggi, because I learn so fast and come with material that an outsider should not know, and because I anticipate things that are not yet told. At one point, he said that I could join up and become a member of the Kottang sib.

The ratio between men and women here is about
162 fifty-fifty. They think this is all right.
793 Perhaps only two per cent of the women never
589 marry, and it is exceedingly rare to find an old bachelor. There are no nuns or priests in Wailolong yet. Leloba has one nun now. There is a case in Lewohala at the present time of a father making a terrific fuss because his daughter wants to become a nun and his son wants to go to a seminary. (Is he a pagan?)

586 Formerly there was no divorce according to
178 adat. There are two pagan cases in Wailolong and this is considered new.

684 I asked about adultery, and Roy said that in the old days if there was a case of adultery, the woman remained the man's wife, but a fine had to be paid. Or, if the couple were found

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

721 at me and raised his brows, saying, "Ah, but
789 you are forgetting the kekuatan adjaib. It was not a matter of men alone." I am accepted as one who can appreciate the magical things. In this case he was pointing to "those intangible factors which mean so much in warfare."

842 There are no limitations on the number of children in a family. There is not even a conflict here with the church. He did say, however, that they know or think they know a medicine (at least he has heard that some women know about this) which might limit the number of children a woman could have (or did I say this?). Anyway, it is unthinkable.

The bigger the family the better it is. A
[614] big family, ama or suku makes its members cocky.
[554] As Roy says, he is a member of Hurint, the biggest sib here, and he would like to see the so and so who would try anything on him. He would have to settle with the group. Thus numbers mean strength all along the line.

162 The average size of the family here is about
•178 eight individuals. Formerly, about fifty per cent of the children did not grow up. Now they
165 nearly all live (I doubt this, but evidently
758 the change has been so dramatic with the introduction of modern medicine and cleanliness that it seems this way). I asked why, and they at once said new medicines and cleanliness.

355 Women do most of the upbringing. The father,
368 for example, just looks on once in awhile. The
178 mother is the crux, as well as other women. Later on, boys learn to work from their father and girls learn their tasks from their mother. The only change in all this is the school and church, especially of course the former.

581 There has been no significant change in the
178] concept of a "suitable man or wife." So little has the pressure for mere existence lessened that appearance and looks are minor. First of

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624 like the marinyo of Ambon. I asked what the
465 secretary got, and he said cigarette money only. The pay is evidently very little.

583 Correction: Although he says there is no
614 case here now, he has found out that if the
611 bride price is not paid, the children are of
784 the suku of the mother. And the bride price must be paid at marriage. There is no post-marriage payment in order to get the children back. Thus there is real ambil anak here. The man remains a member of his own sib, and the wife a member of hers. Thus she assumes the "married woman" totem taboos of her own sib, not those of her husband's sib, as is the more usual thing.

346 I asked about the rumah berhala of Wolofeo.
778 This group has a real house, and in it there
614 are four ana deo, two in bad repair. There is one for each of the four suku. There are no other suku in the kampong. There are also plenty of belongings in the house. It is rather large, about twelve meters on a side. There are baskets and other objects therein. This old kampong is only one kilometer off the road in the hills at kilometer 17. I may go there one day. The four suku are Mbonggi (the kepala kampong is from this), Djo'bi, Soa, and Woro. The oldest suku is Mbonggi. There is
[769] also a grave-bone shrine here, of the suku Djo'bi.

The folk here are now mostly Catholic, but
771 they do have an annual ancestor rite, and the
769 Catholics attend too. The kampong Ratebedi, far off in the hills, has fewer Catholics, as is the case with the far off Bu'ube'i. The distant ones remain pagan longer.

872 Fifty years ago there was no school. It came
● 178 in 1921. No one went to school before this.
212 They were totally illiterate (this shows how
000 recently the schools came in here). They were

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791 all pagans then,[1] and all parents of the present
178 adults of about thirty or older were pagan. My assistant's father was.

872 The lower school here consists of three
[171] grades. It is a mission school although the government evidently makes a contribution to it. In Ndona (seven kilometers by road, four kilometers across the hills, and the children walk there) there are eight grades. Until the present there is only one from here who has gone as far as class seven, and ten in class six. The school in Ndona is the highest level school around here (and perhaps in all Flores) except for the seminary. The eighth grade qualifies one for the job of guru.

There are two children here who go to school in Ende where there is a connecting or intermediate school and a middle school, I think.

[171] There are few Mohammedans here, and no Koran school. They must go to Ende for this.

871 Everyone here is very much in favor of edu-
185 cation. Formerly, there was a bit of trouble
178 with the oldsters who saw no sense (and I suspect did not like the mission tie-up) in such things. But now everyone wants his children to go to school. They are anxious to have both their girls and boys go to school, although they are perhaps a bit more interested in education for their boys. If a girl is clever, however, they want her to advance too.

888 The children do show a bit of a superiority
212 feeling toward the illiterate oldsters, but there is almost always a great show of respect. And the illiterate old folk are not ashamed. They are only farmers, anyway, they say.

798 When Catholicism came in first, there was
872 much trouble, and the elders scolded hard. After
178 the school came in, in 1921, there was no more trouble. They say and insist that the pagan elders make no trouble at all for the Catholic children

[1] [i.e., fifty years ago --Analyst]

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178 In terms of technology and occupation, there
463 have been very few changes. They still farm
in the old way, and there have been no new jobs
342 created. There are today such houses as the
178 kapitan's, with a bit of cement work. This is
354 new. And every house has a pelita [a kind of
lamp] for which they buy kerosene. Few of
them have any real lamps like the kapitan's.
The assistant has one, but it is typically out
291 of order. Shirts here are new, but they are
178 rare and cost much. Shoes are new here and
[413] are very rare. Pens, etc., are extremely rare.
The women no longer wear the homespun blouses.
They wear homespun sarongs like the men do,
but buy kebaya of thinner cloth today.

286 They cannot make thin cloth with their
looms, and this is a great handicap. What
they make is too heavy. This is mainly a mat-
ter of thread. They can't spin thread any
thinner than they do and have it strong enough
so that it will not break in the loom. Thus,
if they could get trade thread, they might be
able to weave thinner cloth (?).

[346] The only tin roofs are on the grave-bone
shrines of Odja and Wanda.

Every woman spins thread and weaves. There
are no specialists, however, who sell cloth.
This is done only rarely.

463 There are no smiths or specialists of any
326 kind. There were about twenty men who worked
563 at making pots here, and this started evidently
about two years ago. It was a Chinese company
(evidently tied in with the Radja some way),
and these lads worked in their spare time. As
there are no orders now, they are working
there no longer. It is not a native craft.

241 The most important local agricultural crop
and food source is maize, by far. Then come
rice, vegetables, and yams. There is no sago;
000 they have never heard of it. Little meat is

R Little meat is

262 eaten, and this is done only during feasts. There are some eggs. They do not eat much fish, because they must purchase them. They do buy some food from the local store (never any canned food, because this is too expensive), for example, rice and salt. They do not grow [249] any tobacco.

494 To get the small amount of money they need to buy in the toko, they sell coconuts and anything else they may have, which is usually quite little. Fl. 5.00 in cash is a lot of money for a man here.

264 The people here eat three times a day, a little in the morning, and equally heavy noon and evening meals.

262 574 They like dog meat and also horse meat, but these, like pig and goat, are only eaten at the time of a feast. They say that the main feasts are funeral ones. They also say that the people here have no decided preference and will gladly eat any kind of meat. They [266] say they have no memory of cannibalism except for the eating of the hearts of enemies for 224 262 624 bravery in warfare. They rarely hunt. If they do they use a bow and are lucky to get monkeys or pigs. There are no deer here. There is a clear case for meat hunger here, and the only material gain of being a mosa laki is that you [465] are always given a piece of meat when an animal [171] is killed. This is like the Toradja pattern, and shows how much of a luxury meat really is. It is the "government man's salary."

436 178 449 Formerly there was no money and there were no toko. Of course there may have been a few gold pieces, but they were really sacred objects. Today they have little cash.

243 177 788 The irrigated rice fields started three years ago and were instigated by Hadji Akbar of Watu Roga. He went to Mecca and saw the many sawah in Bima, Java, and elsewhere. When

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243 he came back, he at once made a sawah, and the
177 others saw that it was good. Now, everyone
788 plants at least one sawah. Formerly there were no sawah. This is an excellent case of acculturation via the hadj.

412 Formerly the people here did not use hoes
177 or shovels. These came in at the time of the Dutch entry. Before that they had an iron tipped digging stick only. There are no carts.
493 They thought about my proposal for a group to buy one as an investment for hiring. Perhaps there is too little money even to pay for a bicycle here.

352 There are no tables, chairs, or lamps, ex-
354 cept in rare houses like the kapitan's. The
178 only new thing is the kerosene wick, not the lamp. It is called pelita.

342 The house type has changed here from a
●178 larger to a smaller structure, and many of the old style roofs are still to be seen.

291 Women now use bought cloth to make thin
178 kebaya. Formerly they made blouses of homespun, but these are all gone. Men and women still wear homespun sarongs. Men wear this alone and are usually bare above the waist. If a man wears a selendang, he is a big man. If he wears a shirt, this is really very slick attire. There were no shoes here at all before, and few now.

301 Men and women wore earrings before, the men
753 ones of gold (look like silver) which the pagans still wear, and the women ones of a different
[304] style. The assistant's ears are pierced, but this is no longer done to the boys, only to the girls. Beads are worn by men and women on festive occasions. These are great ceremonial objects and are worn by the people who are proud of them. If one is not entitled to them, he will become sick if he wears a string of beads.

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304 Formerly almost everyone filed his teeth
●178 down to the gums. Now this is optional, although most of them still file their teeth down a little for evenness. No more do they file them down to the gums. Women do not file them until they are married. Then they may or may not file them. Before, it was required. There is no specialist to do this. It is simply done by a clever person, with a stone. The teeth were blackened with varnish
[302] before, but now they let them color up with betel (and how they do). Tattooing was a matter of choice formerly as it is today. The tattooing of personal names, of course, is recent, and it is very frequently seen. There are no special beliefs in this regard. There was never any cutting here.

123 The next day I had to bring several people
181 to the hospital, and I became irritated and scolded at the way these people always pile in whenever I take any one of them anywhere. Even later today, just when I was thinking the assistant was going well, he made me the proposition that I should give him a tanda mata (remembrance, so he won't forget me) when I leave. He suggested a briefcase. He was very "sly" about it, but I can see that it is pure grasping. And they are too dumb to realize that I see through them. They think I can't see what they're doing.

We worked at the pasanggrahan and later took
164 the patients back to Roworeke. The assistant's wife has a three-week swelling, which looks like a bad bone condition, on the brow to the side. These are unhealthy folk. We brought
754 back the assistant's "foster mother," an old
756 woman who had been in the hospital for a week for some blood trouble. She is a bisa mari, a sorcerer, and the best one in Roworeke. She is also a dukun, and the folk call on her all

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000 be, the assistant says. Some cotton fluff is
438 sold in the pasar. Thread, however, is not
283 usually bought any more. It is rare and expensive. Thus the wheels and even the hand spindles are busy everywhere.

443 In addition to the market places mentioned before, there is another market in the cycle here. It occurs on the seventh day left out in the arrangement described before (or rather, on the sixth, as there is no market on Sunday), and this is on Thursday, I think. It is at Magekoba, on the way back from Wolowaru, and in the hills above kilometer 33.

[178] The whole market business is new, starting during the last war only. Formerly they did not have a single pasar.

436 Before the Dutch came there was no money
177 except the Portuguese dinar, which was in gold
[301] of various denominations. The assistant has heard of most of these only, as all of them have long since been melted down for ornaments. He remembers that the one like a silver rupiah was worth about fl. 12.50, and the ringgit sized one was worth fl. 25.00. There were also bigger coins and others which were smaller. There were also lead Portuguese coins, with holes in them like a gobang [a two and a half sen piece]. These too have disappeared because they were melted down to mix with gold to make an alloy.

436 I note that these people stare and stare at
727 my watch and watch band, and probably this is one thing (gold) which they might steal, as it is irresistible. I note that the women still
[301] have gold decorations. Thus the assistant's wife has a pretty good bracelet. There were big troubles when the NICA came in and the people had only Japanese money. Thousands of rupiah were lost in those times. There are just about no more silver coins here. Occa-

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462 the men. If a woman gets sick, a man may fetch
[286] water, and some men like to cook. The only
thing which is purely a woman's occupation is
[285] weaving. There is no mat or basket making
here. This is done only in the mountains.

426 Small debts may be accumulated among the
kampong folk. Thus if a man has fl. 10.00 he
lets it be known that he will lend it, and he
does so at interest. People seldom borrow more
than fl. 5. For one month for this amount they
must repay fl. 7 to fl. 8. Thus there is a
fantastic amount of interest. The Chinese will
lend only if the borrower has some form of se-
curity, for example, a gold decoration. He
charges the same rate. There were and are no
government pawn shops here.

465 There are about five men who work as coolies
178 in Ende town. These are the only wage earners.
The kapitan receives pay, and the secretary
gets a very small amount. The kepala kampong
gets eight per cent of the tax yield (this is
bad). The mosa laki mere gets meat at all
feasts. He also receives rice. Fifty years
ago there were no wages at all.

443 There are two Chinese stores (at kilometer 6
and kilometer 8). There are eight warong, six
owned by the papalele Ende folk, and the other
two by the guru agama and the kepala kampong.
They sell the same merchandise as the Chinese
stores but have smaller stock.

622 The posts of kepala kampong and kapitan are
634 new here. This is true also of their mandur.
The radja has always been here as a post.
578 There have been changes in the borders too.
Thus there is no more Radja of Ndona. The family
lives near the bridge but no longer has the post.
(All over Flores there must be these fragments
of old-time ruling families, and there is a
great deal of potential trouble here unless the
whole radja complex gets cleared away.)

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302 (Note: One thing he mentioned as brand new
●178 is the matter of haircuts. In the old days they shaved the heads of the young, and some children still have these shaved heads. But the older people had their hair done in a long bob.)

624 All of the adat posts are the same today as they were before, and Migo said that indeed the most important man is the mosa laki mere, even now (aside from the kapitan, perhaps). The only post which is no longer kept up is the non-hereditary panglima perang, or atambani.

634 First there is the Radja of Ende. Then
565 come the families or lineages of the mosa laki,
614 which are strictly hereditary, in an eldest son
632 succession. Thus the eldest of the eldest of the eldest, etc. This forms a kind of hereditary nobility, although it is not considered such. Aside from this, the suku have certain prerogatives now, and even before this was probably the case. And this leads to an important correction: It is true that any male member of the suku Odja or Rewarangga, and of these only, can become kapitan. He is chosen for cleverness (!). The Reandona suku has been trying to get a man into the kapitan's post for a long time, but unless Odja and Rewarangga agree, this is impossible. It is their business. This is why he originally wrote that every member of the Odja suku is "bangsawan." He thinks this is true in the other districts, but he is not sure. Certain suku have the pre-eminence in each district.

622 The kepala kampong post also must be within
614 the suku Odja, and the best man gets it. He thinks this is the same for other kampongs. Thus in Worowai, the kepala kampong must be from the Rewarangga suku, etc. Thus even the elective offices must be within a suku which

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666 about. But with the second election they came without pushing and were then experienced. The two electors recently chosen were both from Roworeke (Migo[1] and one other person). They went to Ende to vote.

666 Migo[1] is uncertain in regard to the system
646 here, but remembers that for the Flores representatives to the East Indonesian parliament there was a list of four candidates, among them the successful one from Ende, Montero, a teacher. He is unclear about the elections for the Flores parliament too (there are two local houses: dewan radja-radja and the dewan perwakilan rakyat Flores). He does not even know how many members there are in all. There is evidently a different election all along the line for each parliamentary representation.

(I know that there are at least three representatives from Flores in the Makassar parliament: Raats, Adrianus, and Montero; maybe more?)

Migo[1] says there is no feeling on the subject of elections, as to whether they are good things or not. He says the people are just stupid, and they do what they are told.

● 178 The ones elected today are younger than they were before, as they have to be schooled. Formerly, the older the man the greater his influence. The hereditary posts are just that and always have been. He says there was no conflict between the old and the young, not even at first. They take anything, they are so stupid.

665 There are no political parties. At first
178 there was trouble in regard to the new things, but long since the old ones have decided that this is a modern world (and how this word modern is used all over Indonesia!). There is absolutely no fuss about anything now, and there was very little fuss before.

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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521 At feasts, when the old rites are put on,
178 the old people reminisce over the old days and
887 the old ways, especially when they get drunk.
Then they are mournful.

562 There are no women in politics. They do not
641 come to the election meetings and have no voice
in the government. They are not even reckoned
in when the population is totaled to determine
the number of electors. They have no political
representation, and Migo says that everyone
would be against having women take any part in
politics. It is simply not right.

829 He says that they are stupid here. By this
he means only a few people know anything or
ever say anything about Flores or Indonesian
politics. And even about the local affairs they
say almost nothing. It is starting today, and
there are a few people who are thinking a lit-
tle. But how absolutely rudimentary it is!
This is the most backward place yet, by far.

Locally the people have a vague idea that
Roworeke is the most important kampong in the
district, because it is the center. The fact
is, and the kapitan and a few others know this,
that rank and influence of the districts in
Ende is in the following order: Nggobe, Rodja,
Rewarangga, and Pulo Ende. Below this are the
other five. About all the people know is that
Nggobe is by far the largest, the most populous,
and thus the greatest.

They do not know what Ende's place in Flores
is, or anything about the place which Flores
occupies in Indonesia. This is beyond their
ken. There are no political ambitions (yet
note that the suku Reandona has been trying to
get a man into the kapitan post). They are
politically dead. They know and talk nothing
about the Dutch, the Indonesian Republic, etc.

They knew that the Queen was their radja be-
fore, but that didn't mean much. They know

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000 does not amount to much.

178 When new things first came in there were
578 certain troubles, but now most of that is over. Nowadays when the old men get drunk they flare up about the old days, but otherwise they keep quiet.

166 The next day the kapitan said that the young men are now starting to talk about going off and becoming sailors or policemen. He has discussed this with the Radja, because he fears that if this goes on too much, the district will be drained of its present population (!). The Radja told him that he would allow only police trainees to leave. Does this mean that the people here have no freedom of movement? Perhaps an impelling factor in this talk is that the kapitan's younger brother recently left here after a vacation. He is a policeman and is being transferred to Sumba. It would take only a few examples to get the wanderlust going perhaps.

601 After a terrific struggle I got the kin terms, and as closely as I can figure them out they go as follows:

father	baba
father's brother	baba susu
father's sister	no'o
father's brother's son	ari, ka'e (male speaking); nara (woman speaking)
father's brother's daughter	veta (man speaking); ari, ka'e (woman speaking)
father's sister's son	edja (man speaking); aki (woman speaking)
father's sister's daughter	veta (man speaking); ipa (woman speaking)

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582 or father's father's father's sister's daughter's
835 daughter's son). However, the priests will give dispensation only with a certain amount of fuss here (unlike in Manggarai, where it is evidently easier because the Catholics are newer there and maybe they want to go slower at first).

583 A bride price must be paid for a good marriage, but the very poor folk may omit it, although they try to pay a little, and merely go and live together. The price is variana. Formerly it included tusks, money, animals (buffaloes, horses, cattle). They try to give these things now, but it is degenerating into money alone. The return gift is called tau laguana. The girl's family gives it. It usually includes properly a pair of gold earrings, gold beads, and formerly slaves. The price also formerly might have included slaves, I think. In addition, the girl's family gives a kind of "household outfitting" to the couple, including baskets, gear, food, and formerly slaves. This is like a dowry. Evidently it is also called laguana.

They say that if they did not give a return gift it would be like selling a slave.

[797] The church enforced a shift to more distant mother's brother's daughter type marriages.
● [178] The price is much lower now, and this constitutes a big change in the last fifty years or
[565] so. In the old days, for a noble girl one might pay one hundred tusks, ten gold units, two slaves, etc. This depended on her rank.

582 Another change is the removal of the former
178 taboo on slave-noble marriages. In the old days,
565 an upper man might take as a concubine a slave
567 girl, but they seem pretty sure that he would
684 not ordinarily marry her, although he might do so. In the old days, however, if a slave man tried anything with a noble girl, it would mean that both of them would be put to death. This

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582 has long since been tabooed by the government.
178 Nevertheless, I wonder if there is not a re-
565 luctance to marry a slave descendant. They
684 say that there used to be plenty of slaves
567 here and that they were obtained mainly by war.

583 They say that the Mohammedans have just
about given up the bride price here, but that the
184 Christians keep it up firmly. This is another
example of the greater conservatism in some
ways which the Christians demonstrate.

I wonder also if what a priest says may not
be true: that the Catholic church has decided
that the bride price is a good idea, as it
solidifies the marriage bond, and why drive it
out?

585 As for changes in the wedding procedure,
583 Migo gave me first the way a pagan marries to-
day and the way everyone married formerly:

First the intermediaries sound out the girl's
parents. If all is O.K., the parents get to-
gether and decide on the price. The wedding
starts with the boy, with his best man, going
to the house of the bride, and there her family
kills a pig. The girl and her bridesmaid and
the boy and his best man eat the pig or part
of it that evening, and then the couple have
their first sex relations in the girl's house.
The next morning the boy goes home taking what
is left of the pig and gives it to his family.
That day he returns to the girl's house with
his best man, leading a goat. This is presented
to the girl's family and they eat it. That
evening, the girl's family again kills a pig,
and the four eat part of it and then the couple
sleep together again. The next morning the boy
goes home taking the remains of the pig to his
family. He then returns with another goat and
gives it to the girl's family. That evening a
third pig is killed and the four eat of it and
the pair sleep together. The next morning the

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585 boy takes the remains of this pig to his family
583 and comes back with a goat for the girl's family. Then comes up the fourth night and again the pig is killed and the next morning the boy's party comes with the fourth goat and all of the bride price stuff. Thus, in all, the boy's family has given four goats and the girl's family four pigs.

On this fourth day, the bride price is paid, and also the boy's family must bring a buffalo, which is killed. At this time both families, guests, and all notables of the kampong come to the feast and eat the buffalo. The girl's family provides all the food and drink except for the buffalo. The day of this feast, the girl's family calls all the people to come by beating gongs and drums. If they haven't any, they borrow them. For perhaps a week the pair
[591] sleep in the girl's house. This is until their household outfit (the dowry) is all ready, and then they go to the boy's house, where they will live. They bring also the return gift as well as the outfit, and indeed, the two seem to be parts of the same thing, the tau laguana, or return gift.

585 This rite is still observed by the pagans,
583 but the Catholics do it differently now. First
●178 they pay the bride price. Then the priest announces banns for three Sundays. The date is set, and the day before, the two families each have a separate feast for their own guests at their own houses. The boy stays at his and the girl at hers. The two parties do not mix. The next day they all go to church for the wedding, and then, in procession, with music and dancing, they all go to the girl's house. There they have a big feast, provided by the girl's family. They dance, sing, eat, sing pantun, drink and have a good time. For perhaps a week the pair stay at the girl's house. This

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585 is to get the outfit ready. The outfit is
583 provided by the girl's family. Then they go
178 to the boy's house to settle down. This represents a big change. Elopement was never an established custom here, and it does not exist today. Formerly, marriages were arranged, and the girls and boys simply obeyed. Nowadays, the young are consulted, but there is still plenty of prearranged marriage.

582 Sib exogamy is still favored in the majority,
614 by far. Formerly, this rule was very strong.
621 There are a few cases of endogamy with distant relatives, but not many. Formerly this never took place. Most marriages are inside the kampong. The only frequent exception is marriage with Watu Roga, across the street. There are plenty of marriages with Wanda suku, the main one there. Indeed, with the mother's brother's daughter arrangement, and so many Odja-Wanda marriages, it is just about a regular thing. Of course, however, there are plenty of Wanda people living in Roworeke too.

An extra-district marriage is very rare, except for Watu Roga, which happens to be in Lio, which is even in a different radjadom, although it is just across the street.

582 The average age for men at the time of mar-
178 riage is about twenty-five. Today, for women, the average age is twenty-one. And they insist that in the old days the average ages were much older. They said it was usual for a man to be well over thirty, and many women were thirty-five at the time they got married. The kapitan said that they "aged" much slower than they do today. He said that he didn't even have clothes until he was very old, relatively speak-
836 ing. I asked about virginity under these conditions, and he said that all women stayed virgins until they were married. If a husband found that his wife was not a virgin today, he would

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836 be very angry, and I think he said that he might kill her. As for the men, he says that the situation may be different, as there were easy women in the kampong, that is, for example, widows whom a boy might get. Thus, it seems that unlike remote Wailolong and Leloba, the boys tended to get some sex experience premaritally, but the girls were regularly virgins until marriage. The same situation exists today, he says. I guess there is little doubt that this is outside the free premarital belt.

582 Probably as astonishing a thing as I have
178 seen in regard to marriage here is the younger age which they say now prevails everywhere. They are sure of this, and indeed they shout it out. This is a real and deep change.

124 Today the old mother of the kapitan sat with
123 us, and had our questions translated for her.
181 Also, there was a decent old lad there. He understood Malay and seemed to speak it too. He was middle-aged. There was the usual impolite talking while I tried to talk, and looking at the clock, even ringing the alarm at noon. And the secretary is as bad as the others. Then at the end, after I had heard enough in Endenese to know that they had been talking of it all the way through, the kapitan comes up to me and asks me to get a tanda mata (souvenir) for him too, that is, a briefcase. I said I would try to get one in Batavia as there was no place to get a good one here, but they have evidently talked that over and do not trust me, as he said, "Why not get one in the toko here and give it to me?" Then the secretary said on the way out that a good one for the kapitan would be the kind of zipper bag I carry. They are impolite, and so stupid that they think they can delude me. They have no shame, and they are crafty. They constantly pass around my cigarette case, obviously considering whether they might ask for one of those too.

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513 less pondok where in the daytime I see women
882 weaving. They call the boys' houses "kuwu."
There are no girls' houses. The girls sleep
with their parents, or rather each grown girl
has a separate apartment in the parental house.

562 Males are more influential, and they give most
178 of the orders, but women will revolt if men do
not behave. They will not give the men food,
they will scold the men, etc. They act up,
however, only if the men misbehave. And they
are not afraid of doing so. The girls nowadays
are a bit freer than before in regard to talk-
ing up, etc., but there is very little change,
in general. The old folk are not too pleased
about having the girls in school. They can't
see the use of this.

614 Correction: It suddenly turned out that
597 there are two ata nggaeh nua in this kampong,
Bapa Ketjil, for the Odja suku; and the brother
(older) of the kapitan for the Gusa suku. If
the suku is large enough, it has such an adat
expert in a kampong. These are the only ones
large enough here. Then the true story of the
kapitan came out. He is not classified as a
member of Odja, but actually he was born a Gusa.
The former kapitan adopted him. He became a
foster child, or ana gave (the g here is pro-
nounced like the French uvular r). I asked if
this was what Wouden[1] called ndueh, and they
were surprised. It turns out that ndueh means
"to have two wives." (How could Wouden's
source have made this error?)

Such a foster child becomes a member of his
foster father's suku. There is no ceremony;
he just moves in. He takes on a new set of
relatives, but also keeps his own. He becomes
a kind of "double-suku" man. Thus the kapitan
calls his real brother kaka, and also uses this
term for his new brothers in Odja. But I note
that he married an Odja woman, and it seems

[1] [See pp. 20285 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -Analyst]

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614 that the exogamy taboo is off, as he still is
597 half Gusa. Also, he still must attend all suku ceremonies of Gusa, as well as those of his adopted suku Odja. Thus, indeed, he is a double-sibbed man. Note that he could become kapitan only via adoption, because only an Odja or a Rewarangga suku man can be, and this does not apply to a man of Gusa. This is a good case.

583 In former times there was a strong force
178 behind the ruling which made a child marry anyone chosen by a father. This ruling has weakened, but still survives. The force, however, is no longer absolute. If a boy or girl remains adamant, the marriage is not forced. This is why they do not pay the bride price early any more, as they are not sure that the children will obey them when they are grown, and they stand to lose the payment for a non-fulfillment of contract. The bride price is paid, and that is all.

611 The system here is patrilineal, and there has been no shift away from this in any direction.

162 The sex ratio here is about equal, and this is approximately the same as it was before. They think this is all right.

586 There is no divorce here, and there never
583 was. They at once said, "why in the world do that, when the bride price of a woman is so high?" (A good substantiation of the priest's point that the bride price is a good thing in order to keep and strengthen the marriage bond!)

684 I asked what happens in a case of adultery. They said that formerly as well as today a man was satisfied with a fine, and gets this anyway. If the spouse catches the couple in the act, he can kill both of them. This is the same as before. The wrong party, always the man in the case, must pay the injured mate a

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842 family." This shows [a] the belligerent nature
181 of these people and [b] their distrust of most
[578] other people). Girls are good for weaving, house work, and for the bride price that they bring in. When I pressed the matter, they said that perhaps it was better actually to have a few more girls than boys, because of the money they bring in. This is different from Larantuka, and perhaps shows the greedy nature of these folk. They don't like all girls or all boys.

842 They have no knowledge or idea of limiting the number of children. As usual I told them about birth control in the United States, and they were very much surprised. They seem to have heard vaguely that there may be some sort of medicine used to prevent having children, but they never think of using it.

They are unclear, but they think that the
163 average number of births per woman is between
● 178 five and six. This may reflect the late marriage age here. Of these, three or four live (perhaps the population here is indeed relatively stationary). They think there has been little change in this regard, and this may be true, as it seems to be about as dirty and uncared for medically as it was before, or at least there has been no great improvement. They said that a great number of children die in infancy.

855 There was a chorus of agreement to the ef-
887 fect that the mother is the important one here. The father is away working all the time. Old women help in caring for the children.

584 There is no modern courtship. Intermediaries are used.

581 Although they do not like ugly women in a showdown, the ugly worker wins over the pretty drone. In fact, they think first about her skill as a worker and second in terms of her

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789 unfulfillment of ancestral duties can cause ill-
753 ness too (note the illness fear theme; this is just right for these folk who are ill a good deal of the time). But there is no real kekuatan adjaib here.

567 There were many slaves here before, and this
582 applies even to twenty years ago (this is
178 probably a bit too late, I think). The regular
565 thing was for the father of a girl to include
[583] in the return gift at marriage, two slaves (like the "and two persons" still used in the formula for the bride price among the Buginese). There are slaves in the kampong now, but he thinks that only about two to three per cent of the population are so categorized. They are, and were, taken into the suku, but formerly there was little intermarriage with them, and then it was only between a higher man and
[684] a slave girl. If the reverse took place, the death punishment could be meted out. The marriage taboo is still in, but it is lessening, and even a boy of slave descent (if he is an excellent man and a good worker) may marry a higher girl. However, they are well known, and in general are still to be classed underneath. For example, they have to do certain duties (the guru said they are like "servants"; he used the Dutch word "jongens"). They live in houses with regular people, or perhaps in their own houses. Everyone knows who they are, but no mention is made of this because they reportedly get furious. This is a thing worth investigating further: exactly what are the duties, and exactly how are they thought of and what do they think of themselves, etc.? (Remember that in the United States no one really thinks of taunting Negroes with an open charge of being descended from slaves.)

565 There are few possibilities for class mo-
555 bility. There are some meager beginnings at

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565 the present time. Thus the guru and the assis-
555 tant had illiterate, pagan, farmer fathers.

554 The only time one can see status marks is
614 at feasts, when the ornaments of rank are worn.
422 These are made of gold and are now largely
565 lost. Some still remain. They are suku property, and not all suku have them. Odja and Gusa have some (this may be why the kapitan and others are mad for gold: they want to get it in order to have ornaments made for feasts and for ceremonial objects). If they sell these objects, they will become sick. On ordinary days, one cannot tell upper class folk (for example, members of the Odja suku) from ordinary people. They are really unclear about this. Then I asked who wore no gold and who had no such marks of status, if all of Odja and all of Gusa and all the members of some other suku had them. They said vaguely that those who did not wear them were the "ordinary folk." I asked who, the slaves? And they eagerly said yes. I get the idea that there are not many of these ceremonial objects left and perhaps only enough so that the mosa laki or kapitan, etc., can wear those of the suku at certain feasts. They strut about wearing the suku's wealth. And these things are suku property and do not belong to the families.

614 The social order of the individual, family,
565 etc., here has not changed very much. The
624 most direct thing is that only certain folk of
[178] the right suku have land rights in the kampong.
[428] Within the suku, however, the mosa laki or other office holder is probably a bit higher. They say, however, that the mosa laki gets no more of a bride price for his daughter than an ordinary man gets for his. I can't get very far in class investigation here, that's quite clear. And now I see why he was so puzzled at first when I asked him to indicate class distinc-

411 I also noted many spear bearers. The one I talked with in Tana Ai said that his spear (with a regular head) had been bought from a traveling seller who had brought it from Adonara. Over the line in Lewotobi, I asked a man with a spear, whose head had only one barb, what kind of spear he was carrying. He said that it was unique to Lewotobi, and later I saw others like it. I guess they make them themselves.

Then I went on to Larantuka, where the
443 pasanggrahan disintegrates more all the time.
515 This time the place was full of medicine
514 sellers who follow fairs about and do tricks on bicycles. They sang Mohammedan chants endlessly, washed clothes and urinated in the bathroom, and sat around in the way. I had already run into a similarly unsanitary Arab couple in the Ende pasanggrahan. The medicine people were from Celebes. Now this place is really going native. The toilets are falling into ruin. I noted on my way that the tele-
206 graph wire was down at kilometer 44, and I told the next road foreman. Four days later I found the wire still down. The bridges will
491 never be rebuilt, it seems. The road simply uses fords, that's all.

797 I hear from Arriens that letters are coming
648 to the Flores Council asking how long the Dutch
●178 are going to remain in their posts. The whole place is on the way down. I hear that Radja Sikka, has appointed Pastor Raats, a Dutchman, as a special adviser. Thus the mission alone will remain of the West here. The new superstition is substituted for the old.

797 I get more and more depressed by Larantuka with its constant Catholic processions. On the way in at a suburb, a long procession with crosses, chanting, etc., came winding out of a church (I wonder if it was the old time one at

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533 In connection with special training for
871 individuals, the only thing they can think of is that the children have flute lessons in school and learn to read notes.

212 In Wailolong fifty years ago only one person was literate.

Everyone here can speak the local language.
191 Of the old folks, perhaps only one per cent
212 can speak Indonesian. The younger people are learning it in school. No one here speaks Dutch. No one here speaks any other language. About fifty per cent of the population here can read and write. At the most perhaps ten persons read regularly or at least look at the mission paper. This is the only "reading matter" except for prayer books.

There is almost no writing done locally. Perhaps about ten people have at some time written or received a letter. One guru can read and write Arabic.

There is no special instruction given in reading and writing. There are no aliens, and hence no foreign languages used in the area.
[207] There is no radio, and perhaps only the guru have ever seen movies.

178 There have been very few changes in the
412 technology here introduced during the last fifty
262 years. They are using shovels a bit, etc., but mainly the same old artifacts. In regard to food, there are a few changes. For example, there are new kinds of vegetables (in the old days they evidently had practically none), new varieties of bananas, etc. Evidently food was simple to the extreme in the old days.

286 The women spin and weave here, and this is perhaps the most important craft (in fact there is no doubt about it). There is no pottery
323 (they buy such items from the few places where pottery is made). Recently, a few people have
000 learned how to cook salt. There are about ten

We There are about ten
326 smiths (are they full time? I doubt it).

241 As before, rice and corn are the staple
177 crops. There has been practically no change except for the introduction of new kinds of bananas, peanuts, and a few vegetables, in
[433] the diet. The local community is still almost one hundred per cent self sufficient.
283 They even make their own thread from their own cotton, although they may buy some thread today.

178 There has been practically no change at all since Vatter's[1] book was written. In Wailolong they still have a tuno wudjo.

[852] Fifty years ago there were no tables or chairs, and there are only a few now. There
291 has been a little change in regard to cloth-
178 ing, especially in that a few men now wear shirts. And a few men also have shoes; there were none before.

A few women wear European dresses; no one wore such dress formerly. They could not sew at all fifty years ago, and there is still not a single sewing machine in Wailolong.

438 A few of the women sell some vegetables and some arak. They buy small quantities of thread, salt, hairpins, soap, medicine, and tobacco. The mountain people sell some of their forest products.

443 There has been no change at all in the mar-
178 ket system here except for the disappearance
437 of the Delang pasar. This was mostly or entirely a barter pasar. Cash is used at the Okka pasar. Up until seven years ago the Delang pasar was still used. There are no toko or warong here.

483 Very few people have ever ridden in a car here. Roy guesses that at the very most one per cent of the population has had such an experience.

423 The kinds of property in terms of land here are the following: kampong (which is "owned"

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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000 for tolerance!

764 At death, different rites are given accord-
●178 ing to the age of the deceased. Formerly, children were just buried, fast. Today they are also buried, but after a Catholic funeral service. Before and now, among all groups, after four days a beast is killed and the house is cleaned up. After eight days they wash the hair and bathe (does this mean that they do not wash until then?) and throw all the dirt into the river. Anyway, they buried and still bury after one day.

The same treatment is given for a person of middle age or a mere adult. If the person is very old, more rites are held. The blake (means mother's brother, but also all affinal relations) must bring tusks, goats, pigs. Until these are brought, there is no burial. Formerly, the body would be kept until it began to smell. Evidently, this was a kind of shaming. But if it got too smelly, it was buried (and evidently they still bury under these conditions) finally even though no gifts came from the blake. For an old person, a little house would be built on the
[656] grave. I gather that the government will not let them keep the bodies any more, so probably this practice is no longer kept up even by the pagans. Thus it seems that they have sanitary laws which have changed the death cult and rites over all Indonesia.

765 In the old days, after four days an animal was killed, and after eight days they had the wash up, cleaning of the hair, and the throwing of the dirt into the river. (This is clearly a rite to rid the community of the stain of death.)

764 And here it is, as I see it. Yes, he says
178 the government now forces them to bury within
656 a day. But until now, for an old person it was proper for the blake to bring a tusk and beasts.

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764 If the people were very poor (or evidently for
178 some other reason) they may not bring them.
[656] Thus there has not been much change except for the fast burial now enforced in all cases.

One can see a change in that the Catholics have church rites as well as pagan. And another change is that whereas even now all pagan bodies are merely wound up in mats, Catholic bodies are put in a coffin. Formerly, very
766 famous men and stillborn children were buried near the house. Other people were buried outside the kampong (something like Limbo!).

764 Another thing is that if an old person dies, one must guard his sleeping mat (evidently all
769 of this applies to old women too) for four days. Food for the soul and a lit lamp are placed beside the body. The ghost comes and eats. It can be seen whether or not the ghost is happy if the food has been neatly eaten. If the food is left messy, it shows that the dead one is not happy. The pagans still do all of this, and sometimes the Catholics do too.

764 There are no tombs here, and there were none in the past. They have graves. There are stone markers placed on the graves.

53 All forms of entertainment are local. They are particularly fond of singing. They also dance, and there are many kinds of songs using a complement of such instruments as drums, flutes, and gongs. There are no viols. He stresses that they love singing.

526 Soccer is a new game here but it is very much
524 liked. They also have raga, the rattan ball kick game. This is also new here, Roy says. They do not play cards, dice, etc. They have a kind of fruit-pits-in-holes game.

53 There is no sculpture here. A little carving is done (on the korke, barns, and they used to have images in the korke). There is no painting.
536 There is no drama (but he sees the point that

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585 come mainly in the "free months" after harvest,
[221] that is, July, August, September. (Note here
796 that the tuno wudjo fasting period comes in,
261 which he said lasts for about six months. It
just jibes with the quiet time.)[1]

Head-hunting was done formerly for a feast
721 for a new korke (they can't do it for the new
346 church; too bad!). I have already mentioned
178 how they would give the new posts of a korke
782 some food if the posts did not fit into the
rafter holes. This showed that they were hungry. Formerly the food given was human heads. They were hung in the korke. (I suspect there was more of this than Roy[2] says, but he is honest, and perhaps this simply was not done during his time.)

[241] I asked about the blood and the heads needed for making the land fertile and the crops plentiful, etc. He was very vague about this, and my guess is that it is not native in this area. Still, I note the tuno wudjo myth. But this may indeed be a Lio importation. Anyway, they know the connection between blood, human sacrifice, and "fat land." There must be a link here.

226 He says there is no cannibalism here. He
727 says Seegeler[3] was wrong to suspect that they ate parts of the human beings killed in human sacrifice. In fact, he says they didn't even have the human sacrifice. But then he hedged a bit when I reminded him how the Keweluk had forbidden the killing of the Padji women. Then he corrected my previous version of this tale and said that when they had these wars, they didn't, as I thought, kill half the defeated at once and bring the other half back to the kampong and there kill them. He said that actually what they did was to kill only one person and bring the head back. Thus, in the Padji case, they killed one woman and brought her head back. It

[1] [i.e., January-June; see category 116, p. 276, #2 --Analyst]
[2] [the assistant] [3] [a former Controleur --Analyst]

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167 651 486 men to leave, as the tax is on each household headed by an adult man (fl. 12.50 annually), and thus the radja would lose income if they emigrated.

266 681 754 There was head-hunting here before. They say that the only cannibalism was the eating of the hearts of enemies in order to gain additional strength. There was no human sacrifice, they say, but they have heard of the Lio stuff (and I checked with Arriens[1] and noted that de Bruine[2] in a report on Lio did not list this as among the crimes of the executed Radja of Lio--whose alias was Pius!--but Arriens says that he did it anyway). The only way a person could be given the death punishment was to be proven a suwanggi.

778 831 178 More about the tubu musu. They say that "musu" means "two become one." If so, this is perfect, and indeed the tubu musu is similar to the linggam-yoni. Indeed, they say that it consists of an upright stone, less than a meter high, standing on a flat one. "Tubu" they say means "stone," but I note that Arndt gives it an "obscene" meaning (or is it the musu part that is obscene? check Arndt's Lio dictionary).

They have a rather vague idea that this tubu musu may represent male and female. And it can have children. Thus it is like many such stone-bearing stones in Indonesia, including the stones of Larantuka and some on Ambon. I asked if the tubu musu still had children, and this is beautiful, "no more." It is like Roy saying that the familiars of his father appear no more (but they are there and he could call them: "I can call the spirits from there, etc." "Yes, but will they come?") He has no doubt that they would come. I should have asked if the stones still could have children. Anyway, both they and Roy are completely serious about what used to happen. There are no more rites held at the tubu musu, but plenty were held formerly.

1 [Controleur at Ende--Analyst]; 2 [Probably Controleur at Lio--Analyst]

217 statistics are available for all of the people), but the pastor puts names down in the church book. There is not even a registry of births and deaths (as I think there is in Larantuka and Ende), but each year for taxes a census is taken, by asking how many children there are in a house, etc. I see that one could easily have a continuous census in most parts of Indonesia, as the units are so small, and the hierarchy of administration is so close knit. The kepala
[622] kampong knows everything in his kampong, and the kepala kampongs could report to the kepala district, and so on up.

583 I noticed a case of a little girl of seven living in a house with her father's sister, who has a son. I asked, could this be a case of having already paid the price for this little girl? That is, has he already "taken possession of the goods"? He said that he didn't know, but said that this happens here (i.e., an early payment of the bride price for a little girl). This happens even when the girl is as young as five years. I must check on this case.

178 I talked with van Bekkum[1] about Kattenburg's
342 notion that in Manggarai, economy has advanced, but adat holds, whereas in other parts, economy has not changed but adat has changed. He thinks this is not a bad idea. And then he gave cases of how houses are rapidly becoming changed to the new type, and the old round ones are almost dying out. Also the way wet rice fields are
[241] spreading is most rapid, as is the spread of the use of the buffalo in agriculture. Note how, even in the new rectangular houses, if there is a rite held, the tuan tanah sits in the high spot, and although there is no more a center post, they put a stick up where it should be. (I can't help but think that the lodok must be linked with the center post of the old round houses, and I wonder if perhaps the wedges of

[1] [i.e. pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

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178 the fields might not have been arranged like the
342 places of the various panga or families in the old round houses. If so, it is beautiful.

The assistant says that in the old days when
592 perhaps all of one kampong lived in a single
614 house, the panga were like families therein. That is, since then the panga have expanded into subclans.

632 I asked if perhaps, before 1870, the tu'a
622 tenu gelarang might not have been the highest
152 chiefs except for the alien Bima sultan. He thinks that this is probably so, as there was no dalu until 1870. Then I asked if maybe even yet the tu'a tenu gelarang might not really be more of a real head to the people than the dalu. He said that in the district, in all adat matters, especially land cases, the tu'a tenu was indeed supreme. And even the dalu would not dare to tread on his power in these respects. Then I asked if the dalu were all of Bima origin. He said he thinks so, but that the people are afraid to say so. I asked if any of them have family trees, and he said they must have them. Then I caught him, as I reminded him that his wife was of the "dalu" bangsawan! I asked if her ancestors were aliens. He, embarrassed, said yes, they are said to have been. She is of the Rahong dalu bangsawan. I pressed the case by asking whether her ancestors came from Bima. He said that it is said they were from Pulo Rintja! This is a practically uninhabited island between Flores and Komoda!

This remark about being afraid to say anything about the dalu led me to remark that Manggarai seemed to be a part of Flores which was always under alien rule. He looked a little startled, but saw the point. Evidently, any mention of these "imperialist" matters causes a fear reaction. This came out when I asked if perhaps the tuan tanah was really more powerful

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632 622 152 than the dalu. This, it seems, is the kind of thing that is not discussed!

I must get the dalu relationship straight.

634 I asked if there was really a Radja of Riung, and he said yes. He is on the same level as, for example, Nageh. He said that there has been a radja there for a long time. The radja there now is a Ngada, but the folk there are mainly Manggarai. The houses there are mostly 342 the old rectangular type (not the new style ●178 rectangular type which is coming in now) of East Manggarai. The round house area is West Manggarai, although there are round houses in East Manggarai too.

I noted that one of the three round houses in Ndung is going to be torn down shortly. Thus the new type house, which came in only about ten years ago, is swiftly replacing the round ones everywhere. I asked if, since originally Ndung 622 was a branch kampong of Weol, the tuan tanah there was not less in prestige than the tuan tanah of Weol. He said that in theory they are the same, but indeed the tuan tanah of Weol was like the older sibling.

614 114 It seemed to me that the va'u here are very large (e.g., va'u Weol has over two gelarang), and I told him so. He agreed and in fact said that he has found that there is a still larger genealogical unit (I must ask about this; maybe it is like the isi that Arndt denies, but that Staveren says is found in Ngada above the voi 685 there). On the way back to Weol I saw a buffalo with one of its rear legs hanging nearly off with a deep cut behind the knee. I was shocked and asked how it had happened. He said that the buffalo had broken into someone's garden and that the owner of the garden, who had become angry, had crippled the buffalo. He said that this is done frequently here. I can see how a feud could be started in this way.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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621 there. They remember their descent vividly.
567 These include, in Rahong: Tjera, Lerong,
565 Se'ing, Ngadjok, and three others.

Thus it turns out that the "slave class" people were located largely in separate kampongs. But there were other slaves too. The lampang-sekontu type were commoners who were enslaved en masse, but there were the mendi too, who were either bought or captured in war. These were located in many kampongs, and were owned by nobles, gelarang, and even rich commoners. These were the ones who had to be paid (some of them) as a form of tax to Bima. These are probably the ones who would be most sensitive today, or rather their descendants would be. But the chances are that the lampang who no longer live in the separate kampongs are also sensitive. Thus I note that there are people from Teras, Tjera, etc. living in Veol or Ndung now, either married in or by some other means. They probably would get angry if this matter were brought up. He imitated the reaction that one might expect to such an insult. He looked very fierce. This shows that the fear is quite real. I suppose they might even kill him if he asked too much.

Cornelius[1] says many slaves were made so by the dalu or kraeng on one pretext or another. Thus a man might ride past a noble's house with bells on his horse. The noble would say that he was insulting him and hence enslave him and his family. If this really happened, and he gave it as a circumstantial kind of case, this was a land of real oppression until recently.

● 178 He says that up until twenty or even fifteen
567 years ago there were heavy duties on the lampang,
565 and this was long after the Dutch came in. Only fifteen years ago everyone was open about the slave stuff. This is thus a place where there has been very rapid change: the covering up of

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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567 178 565 slave descent and the removal of slave or slave-like services.

The kraeng of Todo and Pongkor, who were all over this area, were evidently the worst, because they were more numerous and more omnipresent. Bima was rather far off, and asked only peace and taxes, including slaves.

[578] 565 614 567 In regard to Todo and Pongkor, I got plenty of undercurrents of resentment here. Cornelius says the people here regard them as aliens (as indeed they are in this area, especially considering the localism of "nationalism" here). [173] And they themselves say that they are from Minangkabau via Makassar. I wonder if there is a tie-up with the Datu ri Bandar who brought Mohammedanism to Makassar from Minangkabau about three hundred years ago? I would like to see the treasure chest of the Pongkor kraeng, as perhaps I could decide whence their ancestors came. I then asked why all the people of the kampong were noted as gelarang. And here I ran into the same thing as in Ende. Indeed, all the members of certain clans are a kind of nobles, like Odja there. This goes for the va'u Veol. It also goes for the va'u Pau, to which the assistant belongs. I tried every way to plumb this matter, and first got this information about the kampongs:

565 567 621 614 (1) There are kampongs in which all the "locals" are of the gelarang class, for example, kampongs Veol and Ndung. But there may be included among these, descendants of slaves who were admitted into the va'u after long residence, or who now claim membership, and although no one gainsays this, all know that they were from lower depths before. Still, I wonder if possibly some of the many men from the outside va'u, who are especially common in Ndung and who are married to outside women too, may have been here a long time and may have been slaves before.

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621 and of the dalu. (Later the assistant said that
565 they were spies all right; they checked to see
661 that the lampang didn't chisel on tribute and paid the proper share of produce to Todo, Pongkor, and the dalu. The assistant said they had to pay plenty.

567 Thus there has been a very rapid change here,
●178 in the disappearance of the slaves as a class. And the recency may explain some of the sensitivity. These folk are just trying to make their way into full freedom and won't be held back.

565 When I first started on this, the kraeng, whose identity I didn't know as he was just dressed in shorts and was very unimpressive, said that all men were equal now! Then he went on to say that the kampong folk gave respect to the kraeng.

621 Possibly three hundred years ago there were
565 only two sorts of kampongs (see Coolhaas;[1] had the dalu in the eighteenth century). The dalu were not in yet then. The two sorts were: the ones where most of the population was gelarang (for example, Veol), and the ones where most of the population were commoners (for example, Adjang, which later became lampang). I asked whether any of the gelarang kampongs were made lampang, and the assistant said that he thought not, as the kraeng had to keep the native nobles in in order to keep things going (indirect rule!).

Cornelius[2] says that he does not know whence came the dalu or what the situation was before they came in. Evidently the Todo and Pongkor kraeng were conquerors and rulers here before the dalu came in (see Coolhaas)[1]. It looks as
[177] though the dalu were put in by the Bima administration.

567 In regard to the recency of slavery here, note that the Sarasins[3] in 1902 or thereabouts

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst] [2] [i.e., the assistant -- Analyst] [3] [See 2:Kennedy, OB1 Indonesia, cat. 116, p. 242 -- Analyst]

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346 there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.
824 They beat the gongs and drums to keep the wood
533 satisfied and I suppose to make it think that
776 the work is going on. Also, I notice that a few men carry planks up now and then to the rafters, perhaps making as though they were carrying on the work. Meanwhile a delegation is in Ruteng to persuade the carpenters to return. The situation is desperate, and perhaps the folk regret having argued with the tukang in the first place. They must "make the wood cool," they say. This is dramatic.

I also noted that a pig was being skinned in the shed nearby. This is for the workers, but it had been ritually killed with prayers, etc. The drum and gong rhythms constantly changed, and the girls are really clever. This
[562] is beautiful stuff. There are beats which are peculiar to men and women, and also some which are used by both. These people are really virtuosos. All day the women sit thus, doing their duty by the wood spirit.

There is a main post in the rectangular house too, and when it is set in, animals are killed and blood is placed in the hole.

342 Until about ten years ago all houses here
● 178 were round. Today there are very few of the
346 old round houses left. Cornelius[1] says there is scarcely a single tuan tanah round house left, because everyone must contribute to the cost of a new one, and when they build one they want one that will be a strong rectangular type so that it will last for a long while. The cost of
[435] this new type tuan tanah house is nearly fl. 3000.00 in addition to the free labor contributed. Each family contributes to the cost and also gives animals for the workers, ceremonies, etc. It is a big thing.

342 I went into one of the two round houses left
178 in Tjantjar. It is a bit different from the

[1] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

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342 old type, because it has low wooden walls, where-
178 as the old ones had the walls to the floor. The first change was thus, and within ten years the rectangular house is sweeping the country.

342 Inside this house (and before we entered the
[592] man worried as he said perhaps I would tell the police that there were more than three families living in it; indeed there were eight! and the law says only three), everything was dark, and several fires were burning on the floor and smoke was everywhere. There were a couple of low windows in the low walls, but even these were lacking before. All over men, women and children were sitting or reclining. The planks of the flooring were roughly worked with big cracks in between, but they were worn smooth by years of bare feet. In the rear was the apartment of the tu'a mbaru, set off by a low wall. Other spaces were not set off until night, when mats were hung up between them. There is not much privacy here. Looking up I saw the intricate network of rafters, with ropes binding the whole thing. And above this were the big mat holders for food. Long rows of ear corn, unshucked, were hung on the beams. The main post was the center of everything, but I did not see the food shelf for the naga, as I did not hear about this until later.

342 The conical roof is beautiful. This was an
531 ordinary house, with merely an upright stick
178 above the tip. Formerly, only the tuan tanah house could have horns, but I note that now many houses, rectangular ones (but I haven't seen any round ones that use the horns illegally) use horns illegally. Some horns are accompanied by birds. One set here has a bird in the middle and a bird on the tip of either horn. Another has a human head with horns like arms (looked like the human figure atop the Ngada ngadu).

614 I found that the Tjepang va'u is the main one

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582 mother's brother's daughters; they were the eldest sons of their respective families. Perhaps this shows that formerly this was just about an invariable rule.

582 178 The reasons why several do not do it today are: (1) the church taboo (but they can get dispensation), (2) absence of a mother's brother's daughter of the proper age, (3) refusal of a son to marry a mother's brother's daughter or of a girl to marry father's sister's son because of a lack of affection, and (4) propaganda via education (I think it is this, but he says "government") that inbreeding is bad (this is possibly a neat trick of the church, which can insert this into the schools and thus beat down the mother's brother's daughter rules indirectly.)

614 773 784 I got onto totemism and origin legends. The Veol folk must clearly be the original people here, because they came out of bamboo right on this spot. The Pau va'u original ancestors came out of a stone which still stands in the kampong Pau. It is more than a meter high, flat on top, and is called vatu Pau.

Cornelius's wife's va'u came from Rintja Island. The va'u is called Manong.

Radjong va'u (kampong Radjong in East Manggarai) also originated out of a stone which is there now and is called vatu Radjong. Another va'u set of ancestors was born of a buffalo and therefore its members cannot eat buffalo.

If the totem is an animal (i.e., ancestors came from animals), the members of that va'u cannot eat the ancestral animal. If a va'u came from a tree, its members today cannot use that wood. If a va'u is from a stone, they simply must keep and cherish the stone.

The Veol taboos are three: (1) bambu belang: because the ancestors came therefrom; (2) the lusa bean: I don't know why yet, but I will

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621 rang Veol was run between the two kampongs. This was because if it had included in the Veol gelarang all the kampongs inhabited by va'u Veol, it would have been very large. And Bima wanted to have as many gelarang as possible, because thus a greater tax yield was made certain.

342 592 656 178 Fifty years ago all houses were round. There were three of them, two in Veol and one in Ndung. These houses were about two times as large as the present round ones, that is, about twenty meters in diameter rather than about twelve meters in diameter. In one such house there might live up to three hundred people!

The assistant until about five years of age lived in a house in Pau with three hundred people. There were only two in the Pau kampong, one for each of the two va'u there. Then, in 1926, came a law stating that not more than three families could be housed in a single dwelling. It took some time before the houses became smaller.

In 1927, came a law stating that all houses had to be rectangular, not round (the paternalistic Dutch!). The people were willing to make their houses smaller, but they refused to make them rectangular. Also, they didn't know how to build a rectangular house. They had to call in specialists, carpenters. It is notable here that a really complex style of building, the round house type, was known to the primitive folk, but not the simpler rectangular type! Anyway, the law about having to build rectangular houses was rescinded after three hopeless years. Since then, houses until very recently were mostly round but smaller.

342 178 The next change was to have low walls on round houses, and also they began to use nails (I noticed that in the new rectangular house

342 in Tjantjar they use some nails, but also many
178 wooden pegs; perhaps the nails are expensive and hard to get).

Now comes the last stage, when the rectangular houses are coming in all over. A certain pastor went around showing how to build the rectangular type houses, and now everyone follows his model exactly. They do not know any variations! Until 1948 all houses in the Veol--Ndung area were round. Now there are only three left, and Number 11 is to be torn down this month, and they intend to tear down Number 8 soon. In the old days, and now, a round house lasted only ten years, anyway.

166 Usually, when they build a new house the
178 whole population of the old one moves out and
[342] into the new one en masse. This took place every ten years. They seldom move from the kampong. An exception was the mass move of Tjepang to Tjantjar twenty years ago.

In the past fifty years the only movement he knows of was the Tjepang one. Before this there were many moves out of Veol, and Veol
[614] va'u kampongs are found all over the area, as well as families from Veol. But this was all before fifty years ago.

The places to which Veol folk have moved are all in Manggarai, and only in the two or three nearby dalu or gelarang, for example Rahong and Tjibal.

166 Families move because of four causes, accord-
578 ing to the assistant: (1) arguments over whose pigs are using the troughs and when, (2) arguments over pigs getting into gardens, whereupon the pig would be cut (like the buffalo I saw yesterday), (3) arguments between women over the use of pestles, and (4) marriages of men who went to live with their wives, taking the Veol name with them. Thus it seems that the main cause or causes are arguments, and they

Wa In regard to the Radja and the land matter,
425 I finally got it straight. The radja and kraeng
565 used to take what they wanted, worked or un-
634 worked. Also, they used to make the lampang
661 work the unworked fields and gardens. Starting
466 about two years ago there has been no more free
178 labor, but the radja and the kraeng must pay wages. If anyone resisted before, he and the whole family could be enslaved instantly. Even now, they can generally get undeveloped land for the asking when a new field is laid out, but they must work it themselves or pay laborers wages. They do not need to pay for undeveloped fields, any more than the local folk have to pay for them. But other aliens, like the assistant here, must buy such land. If the radja or kraeng wants to obtain developed land today, he must pay for the labor done on it. Even the last remaining privilege, to ask and get a piece of undeveloped land, is in danger. A year ago, in Dalong, the folk took back from the radja a piece of land that had been given him and that he had worked. Thus the old privileges die under merdeka.

565 All of the above information about the dalu
624 being here only since 1880 is wrong. Coolhaas ń
167 has reported that dalu were in Manggarai in
174 the eighteenth century. Their origin is unknown. The assistant says that they all came from overseas. The gelarang were merely tuan tanah. The kraeng were among the dalu. They were originally the dalu of the Todo-Pongkor area. Thus the dalu have been here for a long time. They were evidently pro-consuls of Bima and Makassar (which fought long over Manggarai). The pastor says that he thinks some of them were originally locals who were elevated, and others came from the outside. The assistant insists that their family trees are different from those of the gelarang. Maybe they represent a partly elevated gelarang and partly kraeng from Todo-

ń [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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484 In the Japanese time trips were made to
166 seek cloth, etc., but now this is done to a lesser degree, and the people never leave Manggarai although there is quite a bit of movement
[438] within the area. The people who do this moving are the men who buy and sell horses, tobacco, etc. If they are away for long or at some distance, there is a feast when they return. The four who have left the area have not yet returned. When they do there will be a great gathering to hear their experiences. The assistant has seen this happen in Pau. Formerly there were no relations really with even nearby places like Tjumbi, except for marriages, and if they went to war in the dalu's army, or had internal wars, (which were rare). Nowadays there are many more relations within Manggarai.
[621] In the rituals the only environs mentioned are the environs of the kampong. This comprises the ritual world and the social world of yore.

484 Today they travel more than they did before,
178 but still they do not go very far. Formerly
492 any outsider was fair game for robbery and
166 murder. Thus they were afraid to go afar.
[609] There is little in the way of transportation here. Also, the kampong is a bit too far from Ruteng to make regular trips back and forth easy. However, the horses make Manggarai people greater travelers than, for example, the inhabitants of Larantuka. Every household has
[422] at least one to two horses. They are a big thing here, and now I see why I got the impression at once that there is more internal movement here than in most of the Flores areas. It is the horses. The people are fine riders, and the horses, although small, are fast and
[562] spirited. Women used to mount carefully and the horse on which they rode was led. Now they jump on and gallop off (still, I don't see many women riding horses).

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[493] [492] The fact that there are no buses here is a big hindrance. However, the horses help for short runs. The assistant gives the travel
481 178 times on foot in the old days and now. It shows that they walk much faster now than before. The world is speeding up! It used to take a day to walk to Ruteng; now they do it in three hours!

829 In general there is no fear of the outside.
789 In the old days they feared robbery and murder,
609 as outsiders were fair game for such. Magical danger is only encountered in certain places which are well known.

776 There are many kinds of roro, or spirits,
784 e.g., darat (tree), naga (house and kampong), potiwolo (woods). Although the others may be good or evil, the potiwolo are always wicked. They live in woods. For example, they live in the taboo grove on the way to Ruteng. Darat live there too. The potiwolo sneak up and hit their victims. Thus it is dangerous to go into the woods in such an area, and they never enter such a grove alone. The assistant tells that as a boy with his father he was afraid to enter this wooded area. These potiwolo look like men but have goat bodies. They have two arms but only one leg. They either run on all three, or hop along on the one leg. There are other local spirits, and the places where they live are avoided.

20 Formerly no letters were sent in this area at all, and even today, nearly none is written. There is no telephone here and no telegraph. There is a telephone and there are phonograms in Ruteng. There is no radio here. Letters come to Ruteng and stay there until the post office sees a man who happens to be going the right way. Then he passes the word along. A letter may take three months to be received. Even the phonogram I sent was delayed for two

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871 Some of them come twenty kilometers, and those who come from afar sleep in this "internaat" (on the porch of which we are working). Inside there is a floor on which mats are unrolled. That's all. There are forty-eight pupils in grade four, all boys. There is no room for any girls.

There are one hundred and eighty-five pupils in the whole school. If gurus were available and there was enough space, two hundred more children would like to come to school. They now have to turn them away. Before 1947 children from here had to go to Tjumbi to go to school. This is about six kilometers from here.

There are now eight schools in Manggarai with six classes. There is also a two-year additional course in the Ruteng mission, for gurus. In Ende, there is a Middelbare School (Sekolah Menenggah). The mission hopes to open another one in Ruteng this year. (How high do these go? They have four grades, but where do they start?) Beyond the students have to go to Makassar.

[178] [185] Before the war it was necessary to force parents to send their children to school. They were afraid their children might be made slaves (the old fear! and Coolhaas[1] says that in its heyday Bima received two thousand slaves from Manggarai annually!). They also feared conversion. Now they all like school. This year there was great indignation created when the school opened and the gurus had to turn away many pupils. Parents protested en masse, and the giri tumba said they would go to the government and complain. "We have no more gurus and no more space. There are two hundred children right in the district who cannot go to school because of this." What a change!

871 185 All groups of people here like school. The

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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614 and these are the keys to the stuff: wodja bakok are the same as lampang. The meaning is "white rice." Lampang means "stocks" wherein new slaves are put to keep them from running away. The totems newly inserted are:

[784]

lavo	mouse
kaba	buffalo
paku	a leafy vegetable
betu	a kind of mouse
pake	frog
peti	a kind of bird

614 764 784 756 178 Naked burial is called gilo. Note that this used to be a totem of the Pau va'u, and it was given up via a big feast in 1932. At the same time, the buffalo taboo of Pau (Pau therefore does have a food taboo, or rather it did), was given up too via the same feast. In regard to the naked burial, the people decided it was too much trouble, and I suppose they felt they might as well get rid of the buffalo taboo at the same time. To do this kind of thing a va'u must consult a mbako to see if it is all right. If so, they have the feast called kaba oke tjek'i ("buffalo removes the taboo").

nggevo red bean (different from the lusa)

531 622 I asked if it was right that the radja has no horns on his house as he is not a tuan tanah. They said yes. He has no relation with the land. But nowadays there is plenty of illegal use of the horns by non-tuan tanah.

782 It is true that an offering is always made at the vatu Veol before starting garden work. This is as Coolhaas says.

829 No one is able to draw a map of Flores and Indonesia and the world.

212 Fifty years ago (and even forty years ago) no

[See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analysis]

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212 one could read or write. In fact, this goes
for all of Manggarai. Everyone here speaks
191 the local language. About fifty per cent of
the people here speak Malay, and most of those
who are not able to speak it are oldsters. No
one can speak Dutch or English here.

212 Only those who have gone to school can read
204 and write. No one reads Bentara, a mission
797 paper (although the guru does). Two people
read the sheet which the mission puts out for
Manggarai. It is called Palita.

212 The only books here are religious books and
song books (and books in the school?). Note:
I saw many children with their school "tackle"
hanging on a string around their necks. They
wear them on their backs. They are a piece of
chalk stuck in a bamboo, a ruler, and a bamboo
with a wet cloth. These are for writing on
slate.

[651] The children and other literates write in
[217] order to "keep books." Thus there are the "tax
books" showing how much each person must pay in
palm wine, etc., to the tuan tanah. These are
written for him. All sorts of transactions are
"recorded," e.g., prices, borrowing, gifts for
such things as marriage feasts, etc. This is
brand new. There is practically no other form
of writing done here.

185 Everyone is eager to learn here. The only
191 language other than their own which is taught
here is Malay, but in class four they are start-
ing to learn Dutch, taught by the guru who was
in a seminary for two years.

207 There are no radios here. Once a pastor in
546 1941 brought a movie projector here, and many
people saw movies then. That's all.

412 There are many new tools here, for example,
shovels, drills, and axes. They are even able
178 to make some of these now. There is much more
415 use of iron tools and utensils than was formerly
the case.

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415 the case. Dishes and forks and spoons have
178 come in to some extent. Formerly they used wooden things, gourds, etc. only. Kitchen stuff is now to be found in the area. Terrac-
241 ing is new. Irrigated rice fields came in
178 only twenty years ago. The use of buffaloes in agriculture and the plow are very recent (five years ago). All the people are still farmers, however.

436 Today the people have much more money than
178 they had, for example, twenty years ago. Fifty years ago there was no money here at all.

342 Formerly there were no tin roofs or nails.
178 Now there are a few. Houses are different in style. In quantity most of the stuff is not changed.

285 Rattan baskets for clothing are no longer
415 made. They prefer wooden containers. However, they still make mats and baskets. The women make these, and the men make their plaited songko.

286 There is no spinning or weaving. This is
784 taboo except in the northeast quarter of Manggarai (Coolhaas is incomplete on this) and Todo-Pongkor and Labuan Hadji. It is beginning to come in in the west.

323 Pottery is made in a few kampongs (Puruk,
784 Mungges, Bolong). This is taboo except in these places. The penalty is the same as for weaving: bad crops, illness, etc. In Pongkor, only one kampong can make pottery, and only one in Todo. Usually one or two kampongs can make pottery in an area.

326 Smiths are new. There was no iron work here
178 before. Formerly they had to buy instruments made from iron. Now they have equipment to do some forms of iron work in Rai and a few other places. Todo-Pongkor has had smithing for perhaps three hundred years (they brought it in evidently). It is not taboo, but they just

[See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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326 do not know how to do it.
● 178 Formerly there was no gold or silver work here. Today there is some. However, it was in Todo-Pongkor for a long time. Only a few people have learned this trade recently. The
[656] Dutch forbade any metal work in any kampongs because it resulted in metal theft (what fools!).
262 There have been very few changes if any in the local diet. There is a little flour, tinned milk, etc. today. However, these things exist in very small amounts. The local people eat almost entirely their own food. The staple foods here are corn and rice, of about equal importance. In most of Manggarai, corn is more important (remember that the pastor said there was more rice now, but as a result of the wet irrigated rice fields there are more mosquitoes and more malaria). Meals are
[264] served three times a day. The people eat vegetables but almost no fruit. Meat is generally reserved for feasts, and this applies even for fowl. They may cut a fowl if there is a guest, but pigs and the like are reserved for feasts. There is no longer much hunting
[224] at all. There is some bird snaring. A lot of
[223] dry fish from the coast is eaten. This they have to buy. There are almost no river fish. The use of milk is new. Cheese and butter are said to make people sick. However, they eat all kinds of animals if they can get them, including cats, pythons, dogs, horses, etc.

The situation regarding food is much better today than it was. There are now many gardens, whereas formerly there were few. Today they
[438] must buy salt, tobacco, fish, betel ingredi-
[435] ents, and in particular, cloth. (This is dear; an ordinary sarong costs fl. 60.00 now.)
241 Irrigated rice fields and terracing tech-
178 niques came in only twenty years ago. Farming tools have been introduced. The buffalo and

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241 plow came in only five years ago. Still,
178 there are no wheeled vehicles. They cannot
[493] make them.

291 Fifty years ago men dressed only in loin-
178 cloths. Only the rich had pants or sarongs. They also had shoulder cloths. There has been no change in the dress for women. They used the same kilt down to just below the knees as they use today. Now, however, more women dress in sarongs and kebaya. Pants, shirts, kebaya and sarongs are carefully kept for special events. They are really one's "best," and they are not plentiful. Nevertheless, nearly everyone owns something of this sort.

There is probably not a single pair of shoes in the two kampongs.

[287] Formerly, a long time ago, they used tapa. And in the Japanese time the people made tapa again. They also made wooden hats. The tapa making was pre-Dutch.

In remoter areas a few loincloths are still
[301] seen. So are earrings, rings, and bracelets
[304] (no leglets). Men never puncture the ear lobe.

302 The style of cutting the hair short for men
301 came in only twenty years ago. Formerly the men were great for beads. Now they are of little importance. The festive ceremonial
292 clothes I saw in Ruteng on the dancers are pusaka. They are mostly men's pusaka. The horns are made of buffalo hide.

304 Tattooing (tikam) is brand new. It came in
178 only ten to fifteen years ago and is now going out. It was done by men who learned how, that's all. However, it is just about gone, and there were not very many people who had tattoos at any time.

304 Women always puncture their ear lobes. Both
178 sexes file their teeth, and this must be done
562 before marriage. Some young people (for exam-
881 ple, the assistant) do not do this, but they

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304 say of such people that they "grew up in school."
178 This is still preserved by almost all others.
562 It must be done before marriage. Thus, the
881 kraeng did not have his teeth filed until he was twenty-five years old, just before marriage. Usually the teeth filing takes place much earlier, especially for the girls, who have theirs filed at about fourteen years. Formerly they filed the teeth down to the gums of both upper and lower teeth. Many of the people here still do this (I saw one young girl with only stumps left for teeth). The ordinary people do the filing. They used a stone before, but now they use an iron file. (I note that these people take to new tools very fast. They use all sorts at once. This means that there are no taboos on new techniques, and this should help.) Nowadays most people merely file their teeth even. And there is no feast.

There never was any cutting here.

439 Imports here include cloth, salt, tobacco and fish. Exports include stock, rattan and a few other wild products. There was not much business of this sort and never was. There are no markets. Formerly there was no money. Now it is plentiful. Formerly barter was the
436 only means of trade. Note: in 1942 the Dutch called in all silver and gave out only paper money. The Japanese thus easily took all the silver (the Dutch were invariably mistaken).

493 There are no cars here. There are three people in all Manggarai who could drive a car. None of these is here.

There is very little traveling done by car. The only autos are those of the traders (Chinese) and the government. Fifty per cent of the population have never ridden in an automobile.

178 The main change here is that formerly no out-
425 sider could buy land in the kampong. Now an

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178 outsider can buy land in the kampong. Also, the
425 kraeng privileges have been cut sharply. In
[422] regard to property in houses, things have remained the same except for the new private houses (see below). There has been no change in the personal articles and ceremonial objects.

The land is family-owned, but there are some
423 individual pieces (for example, the assistant's).
428 The kampong has eminent domain, and it is a tuan
562 tanah's. When an old man dies, the land is divided, but the eldest son gets his choice and the larger share. If there is only one garden, he gets it. But generally each son gets a share. Women get no land. Personal effects are divided. They work the land as a family unit until the old man dies.

Houses which are large are the property of
423 the inhabitants, who build them. Thus owner-
178 ship is communal. But a great change has taken place since they have been building single houses, e.g., the assistant's. The eldest son gets this new kind, after all others have married off.

I note the remarkable ease of sleeping in
574 houses here. There is no fuss to put someone up. Thus the assistant slept in the tuan tanah's house last night in Veol, and tonight the tuan tanah will sleep in his house at Pau (they are going to talk much more, and he promised the tuan tanah some palm wine for which I paid).

As far as specialization goes, the women
462 make mats, do the cooking, wash clothes, fetch water, do the gardening, sew, and take care of the children. They also care for the fowls and pigs. There is not a single sewing machine here. The women also pound grain.

Men plait songko, work in the gardens, carry on trade, gather wood, and do heavy work around the house, and care for buffaloes and horses

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476 602 614 [585] to obtain the bride price, but also in such cases as the building of a new big house. The va'u helps with the costs of a wedding feast. The rona get animals for their women, and the vina give animals for theirs. The return gifts go in the opposite direction: the rona give the gifts and the vina receive them.

I get the impression that there is more to it than just this simple roundabout exchange. Thus, a family has several relations of rona and vina, and the same ones will not always be involved in a given marriage. The ones not directly involved evidently help out, or can be called upon to help in a marriage in which they are not directly involved. But this is not too clear to me. Cornelius[1] says that the whole thing is quite a burden, as when they are called upon they must give this aid. The nearer the groups live, the more they are called upon. If they are far off, this is not too much of a burden.

582 583 There are no marriages here with foreigners, but in other places a few Manggarai women have married Chinese men. These are definitely not liked. They are "lost." They are outside the adat and the magic circle.

582 291 178 At the time of marriage, local males are sixteen (some are fifteen to twenty-one years old. The majority fall within the age groupings sixteen to seventeen. Females, at the time of their marriage, are fourteen to twenty years old. Formerly they married later. The youngest was about nineteen (I think this was for males). He says that this was because they "got clothes" when they were older. The boys did not even wear loincloths until about the age of sixteen. The girls wore only a little cloth from about the age of twelve on. This was because it was so hard to get clothes. They married only two to three years after getting clothes. The rich

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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582 people married earlier, because they got their
291 clothes earlier. Cornelius[1] says that until
178 about twenty-five years ago you could see quite old and young people going about naked. He remembers this. They do not like too young marriages (!). Also, they do not like them if the partners are too old.

[561] There are no age grades.

614 The Veol clan is very large, but there are clans which are even larger. Not a single clan has ever become extinct. However, some panga have. There is one such panga in Veol.

562 Formerly, the position of women was really
178 low, like that of slaves. Now they are a little
584 higher. Today there is a beginning in the direction of freer choice in marriage. Formerly all marriages were arranged by the elders.

611 The system here is all patrilineal, and there have been no changes.

162 In 1930, Cornelius[1] says, there were five thousand extra women in all Manggarai. I will check the records for the ratio.

587 The levirate obtains if there is a widow. If
768 there is no brother, her family must take her back, and pay one horse. The children stay with the dead father's family. If the levirate goes through, the man pays one horse.

[583] If a widow remarries to a man other than the brother of her deceased husband, the price must be paid to the family of the dead husband, and the "bonds" are "broken." The sororate is not required. The bride price is required in the case of a sororate. It is quite usual, because the sister of the deceased is accustomed to the widower and his children. The children of course stay with the father's family always.

586 There is not much divorce, but it did occur and still does.

[587] The main cause of divorce is discord, not barrenness, as in this case a man simply gets another wife.

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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586 another wife.

586 In the case of adultery on the part of a
684 woman, a fine must be paid to the grieved hus-
562 band. The wife pays only a little, her paramour a lot. In the case of a man committing adultery, there is no fine or punishment of any sort. The wife may be angry, but that is all.

A man may divorce an errant wife, but there is no bride price return. This just about never occurs. A man is satisfied with the fine.

Adat here does not allow for killing an adulterous couple caught in the act. This may be done later, but it is still not allowed, and not condoned. The payment of a fine is the thing here.

If a divorce is requested by a man, there is no repayment of the bride price, and he must pay one horse. If a wife asks for a divorce, the price must be repaid. The children always stay with the father's family.

842 The people here like many children; the more the better. There is no set limitation. When I talk about birth control, often, all over they say about condoms that they are "like the Japanese use." He was surprised about other methods of birth control. Until now there has been no thought of limitation.

Cornelius[1] says that about ten children are
[163] born per woman, but only about half or a little more live to adulthood. Sons are more important. If a couple has only one child, they prefer a son. A few more sons than daughters are wanted. Va'u and bride price considerations are important.

868 When the children are very young the mother takes care of their education. Then the children follow the parent of the same sex and learn their roles and work.

584 There is just about no courtship. Formerly
● 178 marriages were all prearranged. Now, most frequently the young people tell their parents

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

We

584 whom they like. They always used and still use
178 intermediaries for the approach. There is never a chance for much acquaintance before marriage.

581 In marriage the main thing wanted is a good
276 worker, by both sexes. Secondly, they want good behavior and good nature. Looks are very unimportant for both. I notice this, and it may be a reason why betel mouths are of no consequence. But I do notice that the prettiest young women I see (the head guru's wife and the mandur's wife) do not use betel. Maybe they are beginning to think of their appearance a bit. I asked him if the men here think the guru's wife is pretty. He said not especially so. She happens to be a beauty. I said that in the United States she would be so regarded, and he seemed embarrassed at the whole talk. They evidently don't go into such questions very much if at all.

836 About ten to twenty-five per cent of the women here are not virgins at marriage, but he says, how can he tell? This is his guess. They do it in the dark. A girl can ruin her name in this fashion, but they do it secretly. If a bride is not a virgin, there is no fuss. He insisted that there is no special feeling about it, which seems a bit queer. He said that perhaps there is a bit more sex now, but he is very uncertain. About fifty per cent of the men are not virgins at marriage. There is not much sex with widows, mainly with those who are young girls. But there was a bit of talk about widows, and it seems that there are cases. If
[848] a bastard is born, the mother looks for a husband. If she can't find a man who is willing to marry her, the children merely enter the girl's family. Cornelius[1] doesn't know of a case in Veol.

584 An adat wedding first involves an intermediary to sound out whether the marriage will be

[1] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

We

864 very sure about this. Nothing is a mystery.

178 There have been no changes in the last fifty
565 years in regard to social classes here, except
634 that the kraengs have lost their power, and
621 that Bima is no longer in. Also, the radja is
567 now superimposed. But the regular classes are the same, and even the kraeng still get a bit of respect, although this has suffered a marked decline. Note that the Radja is a Todo kraeng, and I can see that he tries to do the best he can for his enormous "family" by getting land for them, etc.

Cornelius lists in his notes:

tu'a kilo	household head
tu'a mbaru	house head
tu'a panga	lineage chief
tu'a tenu	va'u or kampong chief
tu'a beo	elders of the kampong, collectively
gelarang	who is also a tu'a tenu
dalu	district ruler
radja	new Manggarai ruler
ata leke	commoner
ata mendi	slaves who were bought or captured
ata lampang, ata sekontu, ata mangko' pitu	other slaves

The general term for "population" is ro'eng.

651 In the old days a tax was paid to Bima in
567 slaves (taki). It is remembered that three
661 men from Veol were taken off in this fashion,
178 but it is not known where they were taken. Others were taken as slaves because they didn't behave correctly toward the Bima dignitaries.
[689] Enslavement was evidently a great form of punishment here for any infringement in showing the proper respect to authority. Today there are no more "slaves"

We

565 dressed, e.g. the kapitan of Roworeke, he is not
291 dominated by an "assistant." However, he domi-
177 nates (cautiously as yet) the adat dressed mosa
554 laki. This is interesting.

565 The Pongkor kraeng said that manners differ
576 by class, and he may be right. However, I met a rough kraeng in Anam. And I think that he was from Todo too. Todo ones have a reputation of being more refined than those from Pongkor. All this probably does not mean very much.

[195] Special words are used as part of the lan-
576 guage of ceremonies and rites. However, this
178 is merely a matter of occasion. In the old days real respect was shown for the Bima dignitaries, the kraengs, etc. When one approached a kampong where there was a kraeng, one had to dismount from one's horse and remove one's shoulder cloth down to the hips, where it was wound around, leaving the torso bare.

[689] If one did not show the proper respect formerly, a whole kampong might be made lampang. Thus, enslavement was the great mass punishment. Even today there is still a bit of feeling in regard to the rank of the kraeng, although it is nothing like what it was before.

554 There are grades of pride on the kampong
621 level, and thus Veol feels a bit higher than
614 its branch kampong Tjantjar. Also, Veol va'u feels a bit better than the incoming va'u Tjepang. But this is not a real formulization.

565 There are no approved marriages with mendi.
582 This is still very bad. It is possible to marry with other kinds of "slaves" (e.g., lampang). There are a number of such cases now in Veol. Everyone, up to the radja, may marry everyone else except the mendi. There are plenty of such mixed marriages, and even the radja has a commoner for a wife. Here again one can see the ordinary quality of the radjas

We

771 conservative, but not fanatic. Cornelius[1] says that they do not analyze the situation by thinking of what good things Catholicism has brought. Opposition is in the form of criticism, not in [871] terms of a balance of good and bad. Just a- [797] bout all education is in the hands of the mis- [658] sion, although schools are paid for mainly by the government. Even in Mohammedan Reo, I found, the schools are mission run.

[521] The people here do not debate very much about religious matters, but they do criticize the Catholic opposition to polygyny and feasts. There are no real debates or discussions, however, not even within families.

[829] In regard to other religions, they know only Catholicism. All they know about Mohammedanism is that they eat no pork and are allowed four wives. There is no knowledge of other cults.

764 Formerly, in disposing of the dead, a mat [178] was used, not a coffin. Today boxes are used everywhere. The big change in funeral rites has been the addition of Catholic rites, but the old ones are carried out too, as in the case of the wedding. When someone dies, everyone howls, and this includes men and women. Then two or three children carry a spear around the area, telling who has died. A few people from each house come to the house of the dead. They place the dead on a mat, on the floor, with the head toward the door. A cloth is placed over the whole body including the face. Thus the body remains on the floor for one day. A coffin is made. The dead is dressed in fine clothes. A few carefully saved silver coins are usually put in the mouth of the dead.

At the cemetery a man hits the ground five times with a stick before the grave is dug. When the grave is ready, they bring the coffin and bury the body. The reason for hitting the ground five times is in hope that in this way

1 [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

We

764 they will encounter no big stones while digging, as this is a sign that more people will die. After the burial they return to the house and [888] pray. If the person who died was old or a big [654] man, they kill a buffalo. If the person was of lesser status, they kill only a pig or a fowl. Three days later, if the person who died was old or was a big man, they may kill two or three horses or buffaloes and eat them. At the same time, if the person was of lesser status, they will kill a pig or fowl.

[766] Clothes are placed on the grave of a person who dies a violent death. (See Coolhaas.)[1]

The local Catholics go through the same rites, except that they add on the church service.

[178] The big feasts for the dead dalu mentioned by Coolhaas[1] are no longer held. On such occasions they might wait quite a while. They killed up to perhaps ten buffaloes.

769 There is a very close relation between the ancestors and the death cult. The dead are always invited to feasts. There are no tombs, but the ancestor cult is strong.

[574] Note: The whip duels are held at all big
526 feasts: New Year, harvest, illness exorcism,
524 wedding, but not at the funeral.

All local recreation is native: tjatjih (whip duelling), tug of war, rope jumping (!), children's games like tag and hide and seek (he says they are the "hunter and hunted"), the bam-
[535] boo jumping dance (tekarulu). The dances are: sanda (round), sae (group and solo), danding (round). They play the rattan football (raga) and soccer.

526 The most loved of all is tjatjih. Cornelius says that to the best of his knowledge he has never known of any man being actually blinded, because the superorbitals protect the eyes. However, plenty of people get bad scars on their

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

123 panda, a kampong about thirty kilometers to the
west along the coast road. The drive was very
133 scary above tremendous cliffs above the sea,
but the scenery was magnificent, with Pulo Ende
in the bay and the mountains all around. The
road is extremely dangerous, especially when
the rains come. The kampongs here seem to be
[771] mainly Mohammedan. They are shabby. Only one
361 side, that which faces the sea, of Pulo Ende,
is inhabited.

123 When we returned it was too late, although the
men were sitting in the pasanggrahan. We talked
[582] for a little while and I got some information on
the non-existence of strict exogamous marriage
rules. We also talked a little about a map and
the schedule with the assistant. Then we took
them back to the kampong. We did nothing more
that day, but the kapitan suggested that we go to
Kilimutu, the colored lake mountain, on the next
day, Sunday. I refused at first, but then thought
that I might as well and get it over. I note that
[181] these people are not retiring and respectful like
the Buginese, although the kapitan is really quite
polite. Still he has an eye on the jeep as a
means of getting around. They are all mad over
the camera and talk constantly about photographs
I should take and give to them. I could easily
lose my patience with them. They keep asking for
things.

126 The next day we went to the kampong at seven
123 in the morning and tried to get away fast. But
we had to take photographs, and I was almost de-
luged with requests for more from all sides. I
took pictures of the two old mosa laki, the
kapitan, etc. The old mother of the kapitan, a
good type with the usual betel teeth, asked me
through the interpreter to take her photograph
before she died. I said I would on the return
123 from the lakes. Finally we got off, and I had a
terrible struggle insisting that I could take

123 only six, including me and Kattenburg, in the jeep. A wisecracking and obnoxious religious guru, who had started right off giving us a lecture on the virtues of Catholicism, got right in and displaced a better man.

632 The kapitan has no authority as I see it, and I remember the kapitan of Gunung Rodja who Ariens said has real power. He had told me that he had to help this kapitan all the time because he is so weak. He looks and acts this way, and is young anyway. He should have thrown the guru out. I would have done so, but I did not know what his influence really amounted to. Anyway, we finally got off with this unpleasant guru, who talked all the time in a raucous voice, the kapitan, the secretary (assistant) a nice lad, and a quiet relative of the kapitan who was dressed in adat clothes, a young man who sat in the rear box who said nothing. We went up the 487 dangerous road for 52 km., beyond Ndetosoko, pass- 133 ing a few kampongs, including the magnificent hillside kampong of Wologai, and Ndoeria. At km. 52 we turned off onto a grassy road and passed two kampongs on the twisting and high road to the mountain. We got there in two and one quarter hours in all, and it was a fine sight, on top of the world. The elevation is 1550 meters. Red lake is really almost brown. The green one is Nile green, and the blue one is robin's egg blue. [262] We ate lunch, during which I found that in 521 Roworeke they eat dogs. The guru talked constantly, and the kapitan seemed to be dominated by him. The secretary was his butt and he constantly punched and pushed him like a real joker.

123 I got so sore at the pressure to take more than four of them along that I threatened to go 181 home and call off the trip. All the way I thought of how disagreeable these people were, except for the secretary and a few other young ones. The old ones are almost uniformly O.K. The guru is oily and loud and hearty.

R

764 It is done in one day now, because the body be-
178 gins to smell otherwise.

The physical types in the mountains, the Lio
144 folk (who speak the same dialect as the Ende
361 coastal dwellers but with a different accent,
[197] and they are really only a mountain branch of the Ende-Lio tribe) are mainly proto-Malay, or at least that's the way it seems to me. One can see this especially in the women, but also in many of the men. It seems that the more Melanesian and Papuan types are settled along the coast, which makes me wonder if maybe there might not have been a reverse movement of the black people from the Timor area into Flores, pushing the proto-Malay people back into the hills. There are plenty of Melanesian types, and Papuans, and even Australoid types in the hills, however, just as on the coast. I get the impres-
[181] sion that the mountain people are nicer, better looking, more polite, and perhaps even a little cleaner than the coastal dwellers.

609 I notice that these Roworeke lads, especially
197 the guru, order the Lio folk around. They seem
771 to be regarded as hillbillies. However, they speak the same language, and many mountain kampongs are one hundred per cent Catholic. In fact, I really wonder if maybe there might not be more pagans in Roworeke itself than in many if not most of the mountain kampongs. Certainly there seem to be more obviously pagans in Roworeke than I saw offhand in the mountain kampong. I
778 asked if the mountain kampong has a rumah pemali. They said yes, but that it is quite far off, near the main road. I didn't have time to see it.
291 Much of the clothing here is in the form of ikat
286 work, and I can see some of this material woven on the local back bar looms (horizontal).

Much of the cloth is plain, unattractive, dark material. The ikat work, and also much of the plainly woven cloth, is dark and is used mainly

349 and in the corner is a long wooden drum used in
769 certain ceremonies. Most amazing, however, is
614 a box under the roof and set on planks across
766 beams. This box is covered with old ikat clothes and measures about 3x2x2 feet. In it are the bones of the great ancestor of the Wanda suku. The kapitan said they are "hundreds of years" old. When they have a suku feast, hundreds of people come here and kill buffaloes and dance and sing and pray, asking the ancestors for favors. They do not call them but call on them. All a-
764 round[1] are the stone heap and slab graves of lesser folk. Bodies put in them are bound in the knee-to-chest posture. They often are too small to allow lying down anyway. I was told that many are placed in one cist, and new bodies are put in by lifting the slab and moving the old bones over.

286 I saw a back-bar loom and two women spinning
126 on primitive wheels from cotton fluff. It is impressive and the threads they make are good.
●181 One old and one young woman were so employed. I started to take a photograph of the old one and a young lady came up and said that she was his mother and that if I took a photograph of her I had to give him one too. I closed the camera and went away. These are the least agreeable folk I have met yet in Indonesia. Still there are plenty of fine people here. Nevertheless, they are not uniformly polite as, for example, are most of the Buginese.

181 We then got out of Watu Roga, leaving discon-
126 tent, it seemed, as we had taken photographs but given none to the people as we had done across the road in Roworeke. I get the impression that the Watu Roga folk are a bit antagonistic possibly to the people in Roworeke. I also suspect that these Ende people are aggressive and competitive and grasping anyway.

621 R Then we went around the sections of Roworeke. These are, so far as I can get them up to now:

[1] [i.e., Watu Roga.—Analyst]

R
349 set on the rafters a similar chest with bones of
766 the old ancestor of the Odja suku. I was told
769 that this has been there for hundreds of years,
614 but then it was reckoned that it had been there
621 for at least seven generations. It too was covered with ikat clothing. There was no drum in this one. They said that when the ancestor suku feast is held, hundreds of people gather here and buffaloes are killed, as was true in the other place. All around are many other stone cist tombs, all graves of descendants of the big
342 Odja. There are some high houses here, but most of them are lower in construction.

286 In Padjambu we saw many women spinning and weaving. One girl was pressing cotton fluff on a primitive wooden wringer arrangement in order to flatten it before spinning. It looked just like an old-fashioned clothes wringer. We saw an old woman preparing the loom threads in the first stage of ikat work. The white threads were wrapped with fiber windings. We saw several ikat sarongs, all of which were heavy and dull in
[435] color. The kapitan said that I could buy one for
[181] fl. 150.00 and another for fl. 250.00. This again shows the grasping character of these folk.

123 I forgot to say that the kapitan wants to go to Larantuka with us. I refused to let him go along. Also, at the Odja ancestral bone bundle tower an old mother said we had to leave an offering. We left some cigarettes. Perhaps they wanted money.

286 These ikat things are all over. I don't like
386 them very much, but they are genuine. The cotton
531 is grown locally and is pressed and spun. The dyes are blue and black and are made from indigo leaves. The ikat work is done with ties of fiber.
[438] Indeed, the only trade material used here is the red dye they buy in the stores. They also weave regular cloth, but the colors are always dull. The designs are small and indecisive.

R

778 I asked if there were no rumah pemali here. They then called it rumah berhala and said that there was none in either Watu Roga or Roworeke. They said there is one at kilometer 17, two kilometers up on a hill. It is the rumah berhala of Wolofea. They said that in it are many pictures painted by the ancestors and that it is big. The people who care for it live nearby. I would like to see this and may have the time to do so.

142 On this tour we saw plenty of good looking folk, especially the proto-Malay female type. Some were handsome. Many were bare to the waist.
736 Many were children. The kapitan said there are many orphans here, perhaps ten per cent of the children, because so many die. They are taken care of by others.

721 They said there used to be lots of wars here.

Then we went back to the kapitan's house and
342 thence took the secretary along the road to Ende, and along this road are Aibod and Aiutu. The latter is a magnificent place with high houses. They said that this is because the Japanese did not level them in this place. This is the best
634 house area. The secretary went to his section,
621 Wolomere, on the Watu Roga side of the road.
578 Just beside the kapitan's house is an upright stone. It is said to be the boundary marker between Watu Roga and Roworeke. However, it is in from the road on the Roworeke side. Evidently, from his statement, although the road is the boundary of Lio and Ende states, Watu Roga has a slice on the Roworeke side of the road in Ende territory. This shows again the senselessness of putting any of Watu Roga in Lio. He said that there were many disputes, and when he ascended to the kapitan post he would put a marker up and then put his house half in Watu Roga territory and half in Roworeke. Thus he is "neutral." This again
[181] seemed to show up rivalry and the disputatious nature of these people.

582 rule. There is also a taboo on father's sister's daughter marriage.

(Lalong kampong is not far to the northeast from Weol.)

582 583 There may be a system here, but they are sure that it is not a mere three move thing like what we found in Larantuka. In fact, I asked about this, and they said that it was impossible (that is, for example, Weol women to Tjepang, Tjepang women to Lalong, and Lalong women back to Weol; this is impossible, i.e. the last move). In fact, there does seem to be a system, as he said even four moves is not possible, but five moves may be. Also, when I described the Larantuka figuring on how to get around the bride price by arranging a series of marriages, he said this type of talk is done here but that the price must always be delivered even though the books might balance in the long run. In Larantuka they can wait, but here they must make actual payment (though theoretically the same horses and buffaloes might some day come back to the original giver).

583 It is true that the bride price must be in horses, buffaloes, and money. The return gift is in women's ware, that is, pigs, cloth, and ornaments. In value, the women's ware return gifts are far less than the former. Coolhaas[1] [114] was wrong to assume that perhaps fowls were included in the return gift.

562 181 The assistant saw the point of a male-female dualism in the whole society, but he is not sure that it is entirely so. He agreed that it is a good hunch.

231 585 At the marriage feast they kill animals. Usually about ten pigs are killed and the normal custom does not include other animals.

114 585 565 The wedding rites described by Coolhaas (page 351)[1] are all right, but the amounts quoted are for the upper classes. The lowers have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

243 where around the earthen plaza there are Every-
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They
looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the
peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it
were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with
shelleyes. It was set in cement.

From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
132 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However,
124 when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from
Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of
two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we
had to stay overnight at the house of a former
kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the
oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see
the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of
Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan.
He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and
his cronies are taking everything. There is
only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente
Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed
from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And
now they are asking the Christians to move up

R

778 feasts. Thus it is like Barupu in Toradja.
769 (Ratebedi is one of the Rabu kampongs.
346 Vavoëü is another, and so is the non-shrine
574 kampong Kekamberu. The others which have merely the grave-bone shrines have a feast only when they need to fix up a shrine.

632 The next day we went to Roworeke again. Note an error in the preceding notes: The sikesani besar, who lives in Worowai, is of the suku Nggonggora'ba. Thus the Big Four are as follows: Mosa laki mere of Rewarangga, Giri tumba of Odja. Ndeto au of Rewarangga, and Sikesani of Nggonggora'ba. The names of these posts mean: mosa, male (animal); laki, male (human); mere, big; giri, around; tumba, spear (he walks around with a spear); ndetu, many colored; au, bamboo; sike, here; sani, there.

181 I am always impressed by the combination of
124 lack of courtesy and the cringing servility of
576 these Endenese. They constantly talk to each other when I am talking, pass remarks about me in Endenese, etc. At the same time they keep on "tuanning" and bowing. They are grasping too. For example, the kapitan looks steadily at my gold watch and band and asked me to sell him U.S. gold pieces. The assistant asked me to give him personally a ring-spiral notebook such as used for the work. He can't answer questions on the schedule, so I have to do it all. The kapitan is a bit better, and the guru is smarter, but I get the idea that these folk are a rather poor lot.

784 Again we got on to the subject of totemism.
262 The word for such taboos is pire. I doubt that
614 I got the whole story, but as far as I can see
562 there are three kinds of totem taboos and they apply to foods:

(1) Suku or pu'u taboo. This is called pire ngguäh, the latter term meaning "descen-

Wo

684 This was not so. They were merely a kind of fine
231 for committing the wrong, and the animals were all those of the groom. Both parties give animals at the wedding feast.

665 There are no political parties here, not even
•181 internal factions. At any given time they may have a kind of loose lineup on an issue, but this is purely ephemeral. There is not even enough issue feeling to have meetings on any subject. Roy keeps saying that the folk here are stupid, and when it comes to politics they are youngsters. This is an illustration of the prevailing habit in East Indonesia of running themselves down. This may be a form of politeness or modesty or a real feeling of self-disparagement learned through many years of subjection to the radjas and to the Dutch.

462 No posts are held by women. This adat. Women
562 are household managers, and work on clothing, food cooking, and the arranging of marriages (or at least advising the men on how to arrange good marriages). They also hold the positions in ritual of nu'a luka and tuno wudjo. If there is a discussion taking place in a house, for example, a group of lads sitting about and talking on political topics (at this level), etc., the women of the house may join in a bit. This is all. However, I don't get the impression that women are suppressed here at all.

186 In the old days, the local people were very proud of Larantuka, and they remember now that Larantuka alone, in all Flores, remained independent when the rest was under Bima. Larantuka was free, and as Roy says, "It bordered on Bima." As for feelings in regard to other radjadoms in Flores, there seems to be no rivalry or enmity. They have not come up enough to do as the people in Ambon do, and say that Flores is the "forgotten island." They do not yet know enough to complain about their share in the Indonesian government.

Wac

797 that there was less open conflict than in Leloba.
798 There was a chance to mix the pagan with the new
177 and develop a syncretism. In Leloba it was a
184 life and death struggle, and indeed it was, as
578 the issue shows, a showdown. Perhaps Roy refused to compromise. This is a very interesting contrast. They had their fight out in Leloba and gave up paganism, while Wailolong held onto a little of the old. Indeed, he says that the Catholics in Wailolong do many of the pagan rites today, whereas the Catholics of Leloba have no ceremonies left to participate in.

[665] Since there are no political parties here,
797 and the real issue in Wailolong now is religion,
177 since all depends on it, I went right back to
798 the struggle on this point too. The leader of
578 the Catholics in Wailolong is the guru from Bama. His outside origin is a handicap. (I am just about sure that Roy is the main man to destroy paganism in Leloba. He was the perfect man for the job.) The leader of the pagans is Blawa, the kelake of one of the Datong ama. He is the one who shares the office with the legitimate kelake, Doeng, who is less able to do so. The Radja tuan of this head suku is not so eloquent, and so Blawa is the center of resistance. I asked if he got along all right with the guru
[181] and with Roy, and he said yes. Again the mild-
[152] ness of the folk stands out, together with their tolerance. They simply do not show anger.

Anyway, the pagans, even Blawa, have given up. Their only struggle is over little things (please let us have at least one little girl for a tuno wudjo!). They just try to hold on, like their last gasp. They are going down the road to death, and after them the pagans will be eclipsed. It is dramatic.

166 The only people who go away from here usually
484 go to jail, as Roy says. This is the only trip they make.

War

684 out, one or both could be killed. (He said that usually one escaped.) (I didn't ask about widows, but must do so.)

659 Note: Formerly, no vital statistics were kept here. Only since the war have they bothered to keep a record of births, and deaths. They still do not record marriages.

842 The belief here is that the more children one has the better it is for him. A man feels big
534 if his family is large. It is fine to have
556 twenty children. They have no idea at all of
857 limitation, or that it might even be conceivable. If a man has no children it is cause for terrific shame. This applies even if he has only a few. They like boys and girls, and perhaps boys even a bit more than girls. Girls bring in tusks, but this is not all gain, because the family must pay a return gift. The boys, however, work in the fields and thus bring in a certain income. In addition, if there are lots of boys and thus a large family income, the family can buy tusks.

Thus the girls get tusks, weave, and cook; but the boys work and bring to the family an income and keep the group name going (and in the old days were probably good for warfare).

●181 The word hasil is very important here. It means product, and this is the center of their life. Everything is judged in terms of hasil, and even religious and ritual leaders are judged by their hasil. If they produce, they are all right. If they do not, something is wrong. And these profits, or income, or produce, include food, children, tusks, magic, etc. This is a wide concept. They want lots of hasil, and of all kinds.

721 I asked about war in the old days and how
789 any of the kampongs could fight the traditional enemy Riang Kamiĕ when it was always so much bigger. The kepala kampong looked significantly

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304 Formerly almost everyone filed his teeth
178 down to the gums. Now this is optional, although most of them still file their teeth down a little for evenness. No more do they file them down to the gums. Women do not file them until they are married. Then they may or may not file them. Before, it was required. There is no specialist to do this. It is simply done by a clever person, with a
[302] stone. The teeth were blackened with varnish before, but now they let them color up with betel (and how they do). Tattooing was a matter of choice formerly as it is today. The tattooing of personal names, of course, is recent, and it is very frequently seen. There are no special beliefs in this regard. There was never any cutting here.

123 The next day I had to bring several people
• 181 to the hospital, and I became irritated and scolded at the way these people always pile in whenever I take any one of them anywhere. Even later today, just when I was thinking the assistant was going well, he made me the proposition that I should give him a tanda mata (remembrance, so he won't forget me) when I leave. He suggested a briefcase. He was very "sly" about it, but I can see that it is pure grasping. And they are too dumb to realize that I see through them. They think I can't see what they're doing.

164 We worked at the pasanggrahan and later took the patients back to Roworeke. The assistant's wife has a three-week swelling, which looks like a bad bone condition, on the brow to the side. These are unhealthy folk. We brought
754 back the assistant's "foster mother," an old
756 woman who had been in the hospital for a week for some blood trouble. She is a bisa mari, a sorcerer, and the best one in Roworeke. She is also a dukun, and the folk call on her all

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836 be very angry, and I think he said that he might kill her. As for the men, he says that the situation may be different, as there were easy women in the kampong, that is, for example, widows whom a boy might get. Thus, it seems that unlike remote Wailolong and Leloba, the boys tended to get some sex experience premaritally, but the girls were regularly virgins until marriage. The same situation exists today, he says. I guess there is little doubt that this is outside the free premarital belt.

582 Probably as astonishing a thing as I have
178 seen in regard to marriage here is the younger age which they say now prevails everywhere. They are sure of this, and indeed they shout it out. This is a real and deep change.

124 Today the old mother of the kapitan sat with
123 us, and had our questions translated for her.
181 Also, there was a decent old lad there. He understood Malay and seemed to speak it too. He was middle-aged. There was the usual impolite talking while I tried to talk, and looking at the clock, even ringing the alarm at noon. And the secretary is as bad as the others. Then at the end, after I had heard enough in Endenese to know that they had been talking of it all the way through, the kapitan comes up to me and asks me to get a tanda mata (souvenir) for him too, that is, a briefcase. I said I would try to get one in Batavia as there was no place to get a good one here, but they have evidently talked that over and do not trust me, as he said, "Why not get one in the toko here and give it to me?" Then the secretary said on the way out that a good one for the kapitan would be the kind of zipper bag I carry. They are impolite, and so stupid that they think they can delude me. They have no shame, and they are crafty. They constantly pass around my cigarette case, obviously considering whether they might ask for one of those too.

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587 moved out of the girl's house, a man must pay another price for her sister. If they have not yet moved out (for example, the guru still lives in the house of his wife's father, the head guru), no bride price is paid, and the father gives a sister free.

601 Now, note the beauty of the kinship terms here. I had wondered why the terms ari and
587 ka'e were restricted to: brother (man speak-
835 ing), sister (woman speaking), sister-in-law (man speaking), brother-in-law (woman speaking), wife's sister (man speaking), husband's brother (woman speaking), brother's wife (man speaking), and sister's husband (woman speaking). The fact is that the terms mean, not really sibling, but these relations and these linkages only. The connotation is that one can marry his or her ari or ka'e, while the real brother and sister terms (nara, veta) mean a marriage taboo. Thus the levirate and sororate are beautifully reflected in these terms. Where the terms are used for persons of the same sex, they cause no trouble, because marriage here is impossible anyway. Perhaps the truth is that they mean brother and sister, in a way, but since they have to have other terms to indicate ones who cannot be married, they have also the terms nara and veta. The edja and ipa terms, the other ones for cousins, make no difference, as they also are used for persons of the same sex.

842 The belief here is that the more children
578 one has the better it is. They are sad if
181 they have only a few children. They like children of both sexes for different reasons. Boys are good to work in the gardens (and can develop new land) and are good in standing up for their father (a relic of the old war days, but even now in an argument it is good to have a big gang, and as they say, "You can trust only your

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842 family." This shows [a] the belligerent nature
181 of these people and [b] their distrust of most
[578] other people). Girls are good for weaving, house work, and for the bride price that they bring in. When I pressed the matter, they said that perhaps it was better actually to have a few more girls than boys, because of the money they bring in. This is different from Larantuka, and perhaps shows the greedy nature of these folk. They don't like all girls or all boys.

842 They have no knowledge or idea of limiting the number of children. As usual I told them about birth control in the United States, and they were very much surprised. They seem to have heard vaguely that there may be some sort of medicine used to prevent having children, but they never think of using it.

163 They are unclear, but they think that the
178 average number of births per woman is between five and six. This may reflect the late marriage age here. Of these, three or four live (perhaps the population here is indeed relatively stationary). They think there has been little change in this regard, and this may be true, as it seems to be about as dirty and uncared for medically as it was before, or at least there has been no great improvement. They said that a great number of children die in infancy.

855 There was a chorus of agreement to the ef-
887 fect that the mother is the important one here. The father is away working all the time. Old women help in caring for the children.

584 There is no modern courtship. Intermediaries are used.

581 Although they do not like ugly women in a showdown, the ugly worker wins over the pretty drone. In fact, they think first about her skill as a worker and second in terms of her

797 Waibalun?). There must have been hundreds of them in this procession. Following this there was a long parade of a lot more. Perhaps this was the Confreria Santa Maria, the underground men's organization that kept Catholicism going in the kampongs during the long time when the Portuguese missionaries were not here. The second guru in Leloba told me that the white sheet cloak I saw on him as he was leading a funeral last week was the robe of the Confreria. In spite of everything, the mission is the only modern, efficient, and perhaps one of the few honest (how honest?) things in Flores.

I am glad I shall be leaving this truly
377 forsaken island before long. It gets on one's
181 nerves. One can't buy anything, few places have electric lights (the ones here just went off, but miraculously came on again after a few minutes), everything is broken down, the people are stupid, the radjas are hopeless.

124 Larantuka: I spent a final three days in Leloba finishing up the schedule on Wailolong, and it was lucky I did this, because, as usual, my assistants (the same everywhere in Indonesia so far, except in Makassar) did not finish the answers. They did do the census and the map. Anyway, I got onto the schedule at once, covering old spots which were not filled in yet, and finishing what was left undone.

Wa In 1913 the Dutch forced the people to move
648 down from the old hill location to the present
361 location of Wailolong. Formerly, it was located one-half kilometer from Leloba. Then, in 1922, it was allowed to move back, but it moved not all the way back to its former location, but only as far as it is now. This whole business is typical of the Dutch administration in the worst days, when, for the sake of "peace, order, and taxes," and for all I know, the mission, they made these poor people move out of the

651 Arriens said that he had heard this from the Radja as a big source of trouble now. I can imagine it. Their big trouble on this simple level, with the government, was only taxes (and for a few, jail). Thus, when freedom comes in, it means freedom from the Dutch burden, taxes. [622] Anyway, I noted that the kapitan, as usual [554] when in trouble, had called the giri tumba and the big ata ngga'eh nua (Bapa Ketjil) to come to his house in full adat dress. This underlines again the point that real prestige is in these old adat chiefs. They are the ones to call upon when a real decision has to be made. And there sat the malcontents, about to face the adat chiefs.

114 In Ndona, as I waited for the assistant to get the dukun from the hills, I sat in the jeep and read Bruine's[1] report on Lio, which was very 123 appropriate. As church got out, there gathered about at least twenty men and boys, and the latter hung over me while I was reading or at least trying to read the book. They were astonished, and read aloud, when they saw words [212] like "mosa laki Ndona." And some of them could [515] read the Dutch. Overall was the smell of sweat and onions.

181 The last trick of the assistant was to ask 123 for my fountain pen so that he could look at it and think of me. These folk are easily the most greedy yet. I doubt that one could appeal to mere good spirit here.

114 I think I have finally located the Rea which Elbert and Körner[2] always refer to as Rea Ndona. 103 I think they mean the Ende coastal area. I know where Ndona is, but I now see in a map in the Bruine[1] report that Tanah Rea is the former name of the area in which Nangapanda is on the south coast. It stretched to the north coast of Flores.

000 Back in these hills, which I wish I could explore, there may well have been endocannibalism!

[1] [Probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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789 even the rice, animals, iron and trees have it. If an animal lives for a long time despite many blows, he is in possession of a lot of this power. Men differ in the amount of this power they may have. The radja has lots, and so on down the line. Thus power is a combination of ancestor sanction and real, indwelling power which comes with the blood of legitimacy. The stones and other fetishes linked with office reinforce and symbolize this power. One can even have power from animal familiars, as is the case with the assistant's father.

769 797 ●182 This led to a talk about how to reconcile the ancestors, who were pagan, with the abandonment of the rites they were used to. They have rationalized that God is more powerful than their ancestors, and the latter are in heaven anyway. They call on them rather than call them in person. The pagans, however, still do the latter. This is usual, and I think it is a real problem to them. Roy told how Laba, the last powerful pagan of Leloba, gradually took on Christianity after swearing that he would not. He tried it and his crops were still good. He decided that maybe it was all right. What would have happened if his crops had failed? And what if his crops failed steadily now or there was a great calamity? Could there be a nativist revival of paganism? The Catholics are working fast to kill everything before there is any chance of this.

346 [656] [796] I asked why the korke of several kampongs were in such bad repair. He said that this was because of the great cost in animals, etc. needed for a feast at the time of rebuilding. And, the government will not allow "wasteful" rites to be held. They say that it is a waste because so much food is consumed and so many beasts are killed. But why, then, let them build a new church for the one which is now burned in Riang Kamië? 346 797

346 This costs money, at least. With cleverness,
797 Pastor Krol told how the scheme is working to get the folk to sell their tusks in order to get money to contribute to the new church. This works on the grounds that the people were careless with their fire in the fields when there was a high wind, and this caused the burning of the church. It is all a wily game, and the pagans are lost.

797 This whole religious matter is endless. It
782 is the most powerful acculturation thing here,
769 and the whole weight of Catholicism is on the last few pagans. The guru is full of the propaganda of rationalization. For example, he says, how do we know where the ancestors are? If they led good lives they are in heaven; and if not, they are in the sea (hell). And if they were good they must be in heaven, even though they were not Catholic, because they knew nothing of the Word when they lived.

632 The next day we started by clearing up a point
614 about the radja tuan. He may come from another ama than the No. 1 or waru'ing ama. Thus in Ama Datong suku the present Radja tuan is the kelake of Ama Radja, which is the No. 3 ama.

789 Roy said that not only officials have magic
565 power, but that also all members of the noble
171 families have some, though not so much as the
865 chiefs. They definitely have more than common folk. This is why one must show respect to the uppers. It is like Bone in Celebes, but less so perhaps. For example, they are very much afraid of hitting a noble child.

756 A sorcerer (molang) receives respect too,
754 even though his post is not hereditary. Some
[462] sorcerers, however, are noble. Sorcerers may be male or female, and indeed Roy thinks most of them are women. I asked how one got to be a molang, and he said that in general they get a call while dreaming. It is a matter of getting

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582 has several wives. (This shows the recency of
578 conversion here. Here is this smooth and smart
835 lad, almost sophisticated, one who could get along almost anywhere in the world, whose father is a completely benighted heathen. He says that the family will be torn apart if one of the sons
835 does not marry the mother's brother's daughter.)

582 Then I asked what happens to the Catholics.
797 He said that usually they are given isin (dis-
[189] pensation), but the priests do not like it at all. However, he saw the point when I said that after all it was only one brother in a family who had to get the dispensation, and so maybe the church would not be too worried.

This led me to a speech, and I think the point was not bad, and perhaps the priests
●[182] think of it. If they destroy the mother's brother's daughter marriage, the whole social organization falls apart, as this is the keystone all over Flores (and all through this part of Indonesia, I think). If they do this, perhaps the adat will fall apart and cause a breakdown of all the good rules, from the Catholic viewpoint. However, perhaps the reason is more realistic, i.e., it is hard to get converts if they make it too hard on the old adat.

Anyway, they can use the three generation up and three generation down dodge to get a classificatory mother's brother's daughter and keep up the old system.

583 Then we got onto the records again and ran
591 into some trouble. But before that I note that No. 167 is a girl who lives with her father's sister. She may well be already spoken for and even paid for, for the son of the latter. There is a son of nearly the same age there.

There are several families in the kampongs of outside origin in the case of both spouses (46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65). There are several men in Ndung

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551 I asked about personal names and found that the suku name is not used as a personal family name. What they do is the same as the Scandinavians and Arabs and old Jews. They indeed usually employ only their own names preceded by their Christian names, if any. But if asked, they will also give their father's name after their own name. Thus my assistant is Migo. His church name is Adrianus. His father's name was Pega. Usually he calls himself Adrianus Migo, but if pressed he will say Adrianus Migo Pega. The same holds for the kapitan, who is Mani and whose father was Api. The giri tumba is Raki, and his father Dura. Thus in full, Migo is Adrianus (Church) Migo Pega of suku Odja. They
197 said that no one in the kampong could speak Dutch, and perhaps only a little more than ten per cent could speak Malay. There is one man
[212] (Bapa Ketjil of Aiutu, an old man who chews betel and has almost no teeth) who can write in the Ende script. They call it tulisan lontar. They say that in Ende town alone it is well known, but outside of the town it is rare.

595 The wife of the Controleur says that the
●183 Radja of Manggarai is a Catholic, although he has two wives. This is a nice problem. The former Radja of Lio was brought back from exile by the Japanese during the war. Later he was executed by the Dutch because he murdered so many Dutch, Australians, etc. But he also killed many children for the fertility of the rice fields. Nevertheless, he was a Catholic. The Radja of Sikka has had several wives, even at the same time, and many concubines. At one time he had a Mohammedan wife and also a Mohammedan concubine. Each time he confesses and reenters the mother Church, to the rejoicing of the priests.
793 The priests here are evidently worse than death
178 for the old adat, much worse than the Protestants
797 in Ambon, and the people are scared of them, for

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584 comes pregnant.) This sexual activity is about
836 the same as marriage anyway, as it leads finally to marriage. And anyway, there is no
584 adat rite of marriage. What happened in the
836 old days and what still goes on among the
178 pagans is simply that one day, when everything is all right, the girl is brought to the boy's
178 house, and the couple simply moves in. There is no ceremony.

Nowadays, with Catholicism, and with prearranged marriages, they have a church rite before they sleep together. But the other type of marriage goes on, and in this case they just confess and get married after having slept together. This is a pretty case. And even
595 prettier is the case of polygyny. In the old
178 days this was more frequent, but even now there
●183 are Christians who have more than one wife. In this case the first one is married in church, but the second can have no church rites. (As he says, she has no sacramen.)

They are very prudish about molesting girls
684 (ganggu). If, for example, a boy squeezes the
832 breast of a girl, and even if she likes it and
721 says nothing, her father and brothers, if they
128 hear about it, go to his house and kill his
627 animals and break up his tusks. They get directly at his property (and that of his ama or suku too) thus, and so it hurts. He has molested their property, and they get back at him in the same way. This might lead to war, and often did in the old days. Note that he mentions as the second most frequent cause of war that of molesting women.

He gave a fine case of trouble between kam-
832 pongs resulting from such a case. In his youth
684 three girls from Leloba were molested by boys
628 from another kampong. The girls were getting water. The father and brothers of the girls became angry and smashed up the belongings of

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832 those rascals. They scolded them, saying that
684 if they wanted women, they should ask about
628 them, and speak up about it. That is, they were willing to hear a request, but it had to be done through regular channels without chiseling. ("If you had come to us decently, etc.")

582 In regard to the relative ages of the couple when marriage takes place, the ideal is to have a couple whose ages are nearly the same. If either is older it is better for a boy to be a bit a girl's senior. If there is too great a discrepancy in age, it is not good.

595 His grandfather had four wives. I note that
•183 he does not seem to regard polygyny as very bad, even now. And he does not hesitate to tell me that other Christians do this. It is simply that they do not get the sacramen for the second, or third, or even later wife. That's all. Dispensation is called isin.

582 He says that the people in Tandjung Bunga
836 marry when they are very young, and that they begin their sex life as early as nine years old.

178 In the old days, the boys in Leloba and Wailo-
513 long slept regularly in the korke or sebuang
882 (the ama korke, and this is a correction:
[346] sebuang does not refer to the barns of the ama,
[614] but to the cult houses).A I think he said that this is not done any more in Wailolong. It was not required, but they just did it. This took place after a boy reached the age of about sixteen. Roy did it himself. They liked this because it was more fun. They could talk, sing, discuss girls, etc. (I think it was practically a rule, and I wonder what they would have said if a boy did not go there.)

What has happened now is peculiar. The boys
178 sleep together in groups, wherever it seems
513 good. They get in the habit, for example, of
882 sleeping on the benches of a certain house, or
171 in a vacant house, etc. (Thus I see that the

A [See cat. 116, p. 166 -- Analysis]

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771 families which are split (e.g., Migo has Mohammedan relatives, including a hadji) talk very little about religion except for such things as how was the trip to Mecca, etc.

582 This led to the matter of marriage. Migo
797 said that there might be trouble with religious differences in marriage, but there had not been much fuss yet. There are two or three cases of Catholic men who became Mohammedan in order to marry Mohammedan girls. There is no case yet of a Mohammedan becoming a Catholic in order to marry.

This led to a discussion of a case where a Catholic married a pagan. Usually the pagan agrees to a church wedding, but there are some cases where the pagan will not agree, and then they just live together.

595 Then I got some real data: There are Catho-
●183 lic men who have two wives. They marry the first wife in the church, and just live with the second. The second wife is often a pagan. Thus the kepala kampong has a second wife, and she is the young beauty who was among the crowd who got into the jeep one time going to Ende. I tried to speak to her, but she was wide-eyed and said nothing. She looked like a wild animal. She is illiterate and one hundred per cent pagan. Thus he admitted that there are still young pagans (are they mostly men or women?). She was perhaps twenty years old. I asked if the pastors nag about this, and he said no. Evidently the pastors are not concerned about these people. They just preach that it is not right (but evidently they go easy on such cases, because they are afraid that they might turn some of the individuals against the church. Thus, how could they excommunicate the kepala kampong?) As for the children of mixed pagan-Catholic marriages, he said that there are some arguments. Evidently, here again the whole level is so low that it does not amount to much.

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578 conversion here. Here is this smooth and smart
835 lad, almost sophisticated, one who could get along almost anywhere in the world, whose father is a completely benighted heathen. He says that the family will be torn apart if one of the sons
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There are several families in the kampongs of outside origin in the case of both spouses (46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65). There are several men in Ndung

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124 will tell them. He says that the pastors do
[797] not like it if a guru gets too zealous. They want him to respect the old ways and go slowly. This is indeed crafty.

771 Among the thirty-nine dalu, about twenty of
565 them are Christian, says the kraeng. About
796 thirty per cent of the gelarang are Christian,
●189 says the kraeng, but the assistant says that this is true only of their heirs apparent. The trouble in regard to the rites which the gelarang must lead is still to come. For example, the heir apparent of the Veol gelarang is Serai, who is about twenty-five years old and a Catholic. What will happen? The assistant says that he must lead the rites, but they will have troubles reconciling the old with the new Catholic ways. But so far everyone, including the Catholics, must go through the ceremonies, because they are so closely related to their livelihood. Agriculture, on which everything depends, is unthinkable without the rites!

601 Larantuka: I met Oudehand, "controleur" at
[115] Waingapu in Sumba, and had a talk with him. He worked in Leloba and is writing an article for "Indonesia" about the adat there. We got onto the subject of kinship terms, and he had this to say. He says that opu is the term for affinal relationships. This goes for both sides. Thus, with the qualifier belake (my term for mother's brother) opu belake means all the relatives with whom a man is related by marriage, that is, his wife's (mother's brother's daughter) group. And on the other side, he says opu wai(ng) means all the relatives-in-law on the father's sister's side, i.e., the man's sister's relatives-in-law. The general term opu, he says, he got for mother's brother, mother's brother's son, and father's sister (all man speaking), and perhaps also father's sister's son (man speaking).

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565 of Flores, so unlike the radjas of Celebes.
582 This is a correction of some of the previous notes, because he had said that radjas, dalu and gelarang intermarried only among each other. The truth seems to be that all except the mendi are intermarriageable.

There is still great feeling against marrying a descendant of a mendi. For example, in Pau, where there are about ten persons descended from mendi, there have been a few marriages of these families with commoners, but never with gelarang families (e.g., the assistant's). The assistant says that he would never want his daughter to marry a mendi descendant. I pressed hard on this, and asked him if he would not be willing to have his daughter marry a mendi descendant if, for example, he became a great man in Indonesia, along with the new democracy. He said absolutely not. This is a Catholic, young and educated fellow. Then I asked about his son, should he want to marry a mendi girl. He said there would be much less resistance in this case.

Among the uppers there is a great deal of inter-district marriage, for example, at the radja, dalu, gelarang and kraeng levels. There is also some inter-district marriage among the commoners.

789 The only magic power known is in the hands
756 of the mbako. They can give magical strength
565 to individuals. Thus again I see how important and powerful are these secret persons. The nobles, however, have no kekuatan adjaib.

797 The only major change in the local religion has been the introduction of Catholicism, and it has been epochal.

771 About fifty per cent of the local people are
788 Catholic. Just about every family has at least
183 one Catholic in it. If a Catholic wants to attend community rites, this is all right, but he

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771 should not pray. Also, a Catholic may not
788 initiate ceremonies by himself, for example,
183 house rites. I wonder what happens to a Catholic who lives in a house with the little hanging shelves for the naga. There the shelf is over their heads, and I wonder if they do not give offerings. If I had the time I would like to trail a Catholic around; my guess is that most of them do not worry too much about orthodoxy. There is still a lot of friction here.

875 There is a guru agama for Veol and Ndung,
793 but he lives in Rai. Usually there is a guru agama for each kampong, but these are twins. Usually one pastor serves one or two dalu. Rahong has the Maumere man, who lives in Tjantjar.

797 Most conversions are made of the young through the school. There are no cases of children converting their parents. There are relatively few direct adult converts. The school does the trick. A convert must first be a catechumen and learn the ropes. This lasts for one to two years.

797 The priests worry a lot here about what to
183 do, because adat is so dependent on the old
578 ceremonies. In Larantuka they have tried to
595 Christianize the pagan rites, etc. Right here there is a real problem, as the heir apparent of the big tuan tanah of Veol is Catholic. The assistant says van Bekkum[1] has discussed what should be done with him. Then too there is the matter of polygamy, which is very strong here. Most of the outright opposition to Catholicism comes from men or women who, because of a plural marriage, are not looked upon favorably by the
[783] church. There is no possible idjing (dispensation, according to Oudehand's version)[2] for this. This is a head-on conflict, especially because they desire so many children. The polygamists

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]; [2] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

We
797 are the ones who most often get lost to the
183 church, and they are the ones who fight bitter-
578 ly against the church. Perhaps here Mohamme-
595 danism might have an advantage, but the pig necessity at ceremonies would stop it cold. These people can get along without more than one wife, but without pigs the whole ritual life would be unthinkable. Thus each church has its weakness.

634 The first Radja of Manggarai, Baruk, was
595 put in by the church, actually. He was a
797 Catholic. The present one has two wives, one
578 of them a Minahasan. The mission is worried.
183 This is why the radja is only a deputy or acting radja and not a full radja. The mission runs Flores and will not agree to let him become a real radja as long as he remains a polygamist. The mission is on the spot. Probably the present man will never get the full status. This is checked by Degens, the Controleur.

Later, in Waingapu, Oudehand, the former Controleur in Larantuka, told me that the Radja of Larantuka also has several wives and keeps them, although he is "Catholic." One of them, the head one, is the daughter of the Sikka Radja.

This is all beautiful material in regard to acculturation and Catholicism. The Catholics are as tolerant as they can be, but they can't accept polygamy.

554 Note: The title nyora (from Portuguese sen-
177 hora) is used here as in Ambon for the guru's
171 wife. I don't know whether it is also used, as in Ambon, for a chief's wife.

771 There is no Mohammedanism here, and no tendency toward Mohammedanism. Polygamy would work out all right, but the pig taboo would be very difficult indeed.

162 Degens says that the population of Manggarai is about one hundred and ninety thousand. Of these, about ninety thousand are Christian.

782 suku, does the praying, as the Kottang, Kelen,
788 and Hurint do their jobs. The guru has seen old
614 men of all suku do the praying, but has never
happened to see a Marang doing it. This is conclusive. He agrees that perhaps some relation exists between the term and the function and the suku, but he doubts it.

I read how Vatter,[1] shortly after he left
721 Leloba, heard that there was a war between Le-
682 loba and Waibalun. And right now while we are here, after nearly twenty years, there is a war between Leloba and Waibalun. They ask whether aliens here bring the wars. At present there are several Leloba men in jail because they have killed a Waibalun man (just the other day).

I read the passage in Vatter which tells that the guru's father, when he was kepala kampong, killed (I think) fourteen suwanggi in one day. The guru said that this was true and that nowadays even though there are still suwanggi the government will not allow them to be killed. The kepala kampong said that it happens once in a while that a man, plagued by the wickedness of a suwanggi, kills someone and is then sent to jail.

Then we started to work on the social organi-
614 zation of Wailolong. What is happening is that
621 I am getting material on the two kampongs and maybe that is the way to present it, not explicitly, but with emphasis on Wailolong. There
[184] are noticeable contrasts with the one hundred per cent Christian community.

Ama Datong, Leworita, Ama Hurint, and Lewato,
[788] and Lewodoreng are the suku. The first plays the part of Kottang in ceremonies. Kottang is not found here. Leworita plays the part of Kelen, which is not here. Hurint is O.K. The Datong are the original settlers here.

I. Ama Datong

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Wa.

778 must give them respect and why the folk are scared
789 not to obey them. (Thus it is like the aradjang
171 in South Celebes.)

789 The guru really got going on magic power. He
721 said that they call on magic power especially
778 when they are going to war (and right now too).
769 If, for example, Wailolong were going to war tomorrow with Riang Kamiß as they did only some fifteen years ago, the respective radja tuan, kelake, and maybe even the molang would get to work the night before doing the magic stuff. Among the other things they would call on the ancestors for magic power and also go through the betel rubbing on face, bodies, etc. They would also kill animals and use gin, because blood and alcohol have power. Then, on the next morning, they would be full of magical power and would go to war. All the men would come to the "big houses" to be "treated."

778 These "big houses" of the suku and ama also
614 have sacred objects, including tusks, plates,
237 etc.

422 These tusks, all of them, are ama property.
583 If any member gains possession of one, he places it in the big house of his ama. Any man in need of some tusks for a bride price may take them. If the tusks of the ama are exhausted, he may draw on the tusks of the suku. Thus Kassi, who Vatter said had no tusks of his own, could not use any tusks because his ama no longer had any. He happened to be a member of the Hurint suku, and the guru, the kepala suku, gave him some finally from the suku store and thus he was able to get married.

583 The minimum price for any girl is five units
237 of tusks (I think this is a matter of length, that is, the small and large are reckoned up). One may pay more without limitation. It is not a matter of beauty.

584 Child betrothal is common here, but this is
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Ne

584 true no more for the Christians in Leloba. Here
184 they have only adult betrothal. In Wailolong, however, there is still plenty of this child betrothal business. This may take place at the age of three to four years. They are told of this when they are from five to six years old. As children they think nothing of this until
584 they become older. Sometimes the tusks are paid
583 early; at other times they wait until actual marriage. If the boy's father agrees to pay for a girl and later the boy refuses, he must pay the bride price anyway. In the old days, however, a boy never refused, or almost never. The younger brother of the guru hated the girl he was betrothed to as a child and ran away to Badjawa. His father paid the tusks anyway and they were lost by so doing. Later the brother married a woman from Roti.

621 The guru was the first man from the Belakang
582 Gunung [behind the mountain] area (consisting of eight kampongs) who married a Larantuka woman. His wife was from Balela. Later, the present kakang (who is a Leloba man) married a woman from Balela too. Balela is a foothill kampong now a part of Larantuka town.

595 A man may have up to three wives, but no more.

The guru's father had much magic power. He
789 was the panglima perang [war leader] here. He
776 had familiar spirits who helped him and usually
178 he alone saw them. Other people would see them
825 sometimes. Thus the guru heard a noise like a horse in front of the house one night when he was young. He looked out and there stood a buffalo. There are no buffaloes in this area. He called his father and the latter told him to shut up. This buffalo was one of his father's familiars. Another time the guru was in the fields with his father and heard stones rattling. He saw a crocodile. There are no crocodiles here either. He called his father, and again his

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796 done in an excited pagan style, although on the
535 occasion of a Christian festival. We saw
144 clearly the difference between East and West Flores as far as racial composition is concerned. As you pass into Lio hills the proto-Malay becomes much more marked, though the Negroid element is still there. Some of the women are remarkably white. Such women are seldom or never seen in East Flores.

797 About the Malay here: When they want to say someone is converted, in Larantuka, they say that he "ikut Rom" [follows Rome]. The titles
554 are interesting: the territorial priest of
793 Flores is Tuan Regionale; then there are the Tuan Boswesen, Tuan Landbouw, Njonja HPB, Njonja AR (Assistant Resident), Njonja and Tuan Bestuur (Bestuurshoofd), and for a nun
[792] they do not use Njonja, but Tuan Zuster.

647 Note: The Controleur here is C. B. Arriens.

Although there is a general similarity in
342 house style all over East and Central Flores, there are differences. The tremendous high roofs are typical of Lio and Ende. The flat and large four-sloped ridges are found in Larantuka, and in between, in Sikka and Tana Ai, there is an intermediate form, with the four-slope ridge a bit on the rounded off side, and the whole thing appears to be smaller.

411 In East Flores especially the bow is still
224 used. We met a large band on Christmas not far
126 from Larantuka with bows and spears. They were coming up from a kampong with a large church. I asked if they were going to war or to hunt, and they said they were going to hunt deer. I took a photograph of them. They are always glad to be photographed. I can hardly take photographs, however, because they all rush in to be included, especially the children.

291 The style of clothing changes from place to
184 place, though here again there is a general

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291 similarity. The ikat work and weave patterns
●184 of sarongs especially show certain differences.
302 In Sikka the children have the front half of
482 their hair shaved. Here also the women and children usually employ a tumpline.

[527] We had one day in Roworeke as December 27
123 was Independence Day. We left for Badjawa on the latter, after a ceremony. As appears to be usual in Roworeke, which is a most annoying environment with constant requests for jeep rides and a general lack of respect, the kapitan and a large group had to be taken first to kilometer 10 where they had a garden. The kapitan and the kepala kampong pleaded that we come to haul them to Ende for the ceremony tomorrow, but we refused firmly. Today the kepala kampong
[282] wore a woman's felt hat with a chin string.
304 His wife who is pregnant had a tattoo over her arm, but it consisted of a name and random marks. I see this sort of thing everywhere. The old patterns seem to have gone. Today the thing to have tattooed is your name. Then we went back to Roworeke and went to work in the "office" which was full of flies and people.

621 The kampongs in Roworeke are as follows (the
361 area extends from kilometer posts 5 to 8):

1. Nuamere (kilometer 7; the kapitan's area)
2. Bita (across the road, north of Watu Roga)
3. Kopoëdo (inside from Nuamere)
4. Puüdjambu (same)
5. Roworeke Asal (same)
6. Ae Boü (along the road below Nuamere)
7. Ae Utu (along the road below Ae Boü)
8. Wolomere (across the road from Ae Utu; the secretary's area)
9. Tana Ri (kilometer 6)
10. Ndetu (kilometer 5; many Ende folk live here)

[i.e., Kennedy and Kattenburg --Analyst]

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243 agricultural rite, they must make a sacrifice
782 at the very center. The main post is the place
778 for house and kampong offerings, and it is called pusat. I think the center of the circular rice field complex is also called the pusat.

115 The assistant's name is Cornelius Lawang.
624 He is from the va'u Pau, which is also the name of a kampong about one kilometer outside the town. His father is the tuan tanah there, and there he will spend tonight. He is his father's successor. Will he take the post? He said just about all tuan tanah (tua' tano') are pagan. But evidently they could be Christian, although a bit of trouble may rise when it comes to the ceremony.

582 I forgot to say that the mandur said it is possible to marry with one's mother's brother's daughter, but not with the other cousins, including father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and father's brother's daughter. If so, this is interesting. He said that
[184] the Catholics forbid mother's brother's daughter marriages now. I must check on this.

567 We got onto the census matter with the assistant. This led to some new points. He said that they do have slaves here and said that he would indicate them in the census, but I must never tell, as this is never mentioned although
842 everyone knows about it. He said that they like
583 to have many children here, and if they have many they give a feast of thanks. (Evidently the more daughters the richer the family may become because of the bride prices. If the family consists of all boys, there is considerable trouble in getting enough goods for the bride prices. These bride prices are reckoned in terms of animals mostly. The mandur said there is trouble often in getting the price and that men who can't marry on this account are not

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178 religion, when he knew so much about the old
797 ways and his ancestors were so important in
565 it, then this new religion must be all right.
177 (Here we see the old theme of converting the
769 chiefs first. And all the magic aspect is clear too.) He admitted that if the nobles had been against Catholicism it would have been much more difficult (impossible? Note India, where the handicap of missions has been that most of the people converted have been untouchables; and the joy of the missions has been whenever they could snare a Brahmin.)

797 Roy says that they received Catholicism at
175 first gladly and were interested and liked the medicine. Then there came trouble, however, when they saw that the Catholics were determined to wipe out the old things. Then came resignation. The trouble started when the Catholics began to win. Thus there were three phases, starting with the conversion of the first man, Guru Bala, in 1885:

(1) 1885--1912: period of amicable relations.

(2) 1912--1920: the pagan fight, and real conflict.

(3) 1920 to the present: the surrender and acceptance of the inevitable.

[614] Bala was of the suku Lewonuhah.

565 Even now, the asli, the men of real noble
177 descent, have the power and prestige. It is very hard, indeed impossible, for a commoner, no matter how clever he may be, to bring in alien things. If a commoner tried he would be killed. If he is a noble, he will find things easier, but he too had better be careful, for if he is a "trouble maker" he too might be thrown out (killed?).

797 In Waitolong the first Christian was Pulo,
177 converted by Bala in 1890. Conversions were
798 slower here than in Leloba, and paganism still
●184 holds on. Because it was slower there, Roy says
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797 that there was less open conflict than in Leloba.
798 There was a chance to mix the pagan with the new
177 and develop a syncretism. In Leloba it was a
●184 life and death struggle, and indeed it was, as
578 the issue shows, a showdown. Perhaps Roy refused to compromise. This is a very interesting contrast. They had their fight out in Leloba and gave up paganism, while Wailolong held onto a little of the old. Indeed, he says that the Catholics in Wailolong do many of the pagan rites today, whereas the Catholics of Leloba have no ceremonies left to participate in.

[665] Since there are no political parties here,
797 and the real issue in Wailolong now is religion,
177 since all depends on it, I went right back to
798 the struggle on this point too. The leader of
578 the Catholics in Wailolong is the guru from Bama. His outside origin is a handicap. (I am just about sure that Roy is the main man to destroy paganism in Leloba. He was the perfect man for the job.) The leader of the pagans is Blawa, the kelake of one of the Datong ama. He is the one who shares the office with the legitimate kelake, Doeng, who is less able to do so. The Radja tuan of this head suku is not so eloquent, and so Blawa is the center of resistance. I asked if he got along all right with the guru and with Roy, and he said yes. Again the mild-
[181] ness of the folk stands out, together with their
[152] tolerance. They simply do not show anger.

Anyway, the pagans, even Blawa, have given up. Their only struggle is over little things (please let us have at least one little girl for a tuno wudjo!). They just try to hold on, like their last gasp. They are going down the road to death, and after them the pagans will be eclipsed. It is dramatic.

166 The only people who go away from here usually
484 go to jail, as Roy says. This is the only trip they make.

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582 has long since been tabooed by the government.
178 Nevertheless, I wonder if there is not a re-
565 luctance to marry a slave descendant. They
684 say that there used to be plenty of slaves
567 here and that they were obtained mainly by war.

583 They say that the Mohammedans have just about given up the bride price here, but that the
●184 Christians keep it up firmly. This is another example of the greater conservatism in some ways which the Christians demonstrate.

I wonder also if what a priest says may not be true: that the Catholic church has decided that the bride price is a good idea, as it solidifies the marriage bond, and why drive it out?

585 As for changes in the wedding procedure,
583 Migo gave me first the way a pagan marries today and the way everyone married formerly:

First the intermediaries sound out the girl's parents. If all is O.K., the parents get together and decide on the price. The wedding starts with the boy, with his best man, going to the house of the bride, and there her family kills a pig. The girl and her bridesmaid and the boy and his best man eat the pig or part of it that evening, and then the couple have their first sex relations in the girl's house. The next morning the boy goes home taking what is left of the pig and gives it to his family. That day he returns to the girl's house with his best man, leading a goat. This is presented to the girl's family and they eat it. That evening, the girl's family again kills a pig, and the four eat part of it and then the couple sleep together again. The next morning the boy goes home taking the remains of the pig to his family. He then returns with another goat and gives it to the girl's family. That evening a third pig is killed and the four eat of it and the pair sleep together. The next morning the

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614 this is so too. Thus there is a kind of "kepala
624 suku" in the form of one of the mosa who is hereditary in the suku. This means, however, that there may be suku with no big man in them because there is no hereditary rank in them. Such would be the suku which had lost their privileges in the old kampong of origin and which had not obtained any office in any of the other kampongs to which they have moved.

576 A lower person must sit or squat in the
516 presence of the kapitan or mosa laki. This is respect. There are no honorific terms of address. They just call the officer by his title. Only the educated ones even know the use of the term "tuan."

789 I have been unable, even with the most extreme pressure, to get anything on magic power of individual persons here. The dukun and the bisa mari are just dreamers and clever ones with second sight and occult gifts. I can find nothing of the true magic power of office that clothes the radjas of Celebes.

611 Monday, January 16. Today I left Ende for
● 184 Larantuka. I stopped and asked a man in Tana Ai about the matrilineal rules and finally got it out. It happened that the place I asked about this was over the border of Larantuka, to the east of Tana Ai, and he said that here in West Larantuka the matrilineal adat of Tana Ai is also found. In fact, he spotted the border for me exactly, which represents a new find for the book. These towns are in the matrilineal part of Larantuka: Unu, Palueh Lewalalang, Sukutukang, Riangwulo (which is where he and his group were from), Kedang, Bawalatang, Duang, Tabana, and Watubuku. These represent the eastern border of Tana Ai matrilineal adat. To the east of them all is patrilineal, that is, Lewotobi (e.g., Riangbarang). This is excellent material.

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764 were put in a box and placed in the "attics" of the tombs. All except one of these tombs are gone, and this one is the Odja shrine. Now I understand why the bones are placed above in this shrine. This is like all the big men in the old days. Today, they can't [656] use trees because the government forbids this on hygienic grounds (why worry? the place is so dirty and disease-ridden that it seems foolish). Today the big men are buried in especially elaborate tombs of stone, in which many bodies are put (as in Sumba). Formerly, ordinary folk were just buried, or if they had money enough they were placed in tombs.

764 554 565 Thus one can say that only big men, that is, the kepala suku, were put in the attics of the pondok before. Other nobles were placed in stone tombs if they could pay the expenses. Evidently both of these kinds of nobles were first placed in a tree. An ordinary noble who did not have enough money, however, was simply buried, as there would be no use putting him in a tree if there was not to be a second funeral and a stone tomb.

764 Today bodies must be buried within twenty-four hours. They are buried or put in tombs. The only "memory feast" aside from the second burial disposal was held when it was desired to ask for rain by calling directly on the dead (evidently).

[184] Only the pagans still put the body in knee-chest position at burial. The Christians and Mohammedans bury their dead in an extended posture.

At the old tombs, when they have a funeral of one to be put therein, the Catholic priest, (and I presume the Mohammedan leader too) prays.

At the funeral feast, pagans, Catholics and Mohammedans all kill animals.

517 All amusement is local, except for rare and

609 We
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
497 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has magical power, but we didn't get into the full
[778] story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

764 with upright stone. They are built by indi-
211 viduals to commemorate their own name. There
[554] is great vanity here in keeping one's name alive after death. Thus the ngadu builder gets his name on the ngadu too. There are no offerings, however, at these rest places.

231 The Nageh in Soa kill animals with spears
411 as they are released (probably a hunting survival). Perhaps this is related to Toradja spearing?

556 Larantuka: We left Ende on Friday, January
237 6, and after ten and a half hours we got to
177 Larantuka. There we met a young Chinese trader
438 who was born in Lomblem and whose father has a toko there. They are now in Surabaja, but he comes through Flores and the islands to buy stuff each year. He is now buying kemiri nuts. He told me a lot about Lomblem. He said that there are thousands of tusks in Lomblem alone. And he said that Maumere, which is relatively rich in various products, is cornering a large part of the tusks of Flores. In other places, for example, in Larantuka, there are fewer tusks now, and people are beginning to pay money instead. The Maumere folk, he said, think nothing of money. The real wealth and goal of all striving is tied up in the tusks. He said that the Chinese brought the tusks in originally and told the radjas here that they were the teeth of the naga (which was important locally before that). The radjas paid dearly for them, and soon all the folk here wanted them. Hence, thousands were imported by the Chinese. It may have been the same situation as that which obtains with the mokko in the Alor area. They too may well be from China.

511 This Chinese said that in Lomblem the folk
461 want very little. They work a little, just
● 185 enough to get the corn going, and then drink
273 enough gin to go to sleep. When drunk they

511 sing a little and then go to sleep. The only
461 time they work hard, and this consists of
185 bringing in coconuts and other stuff to the
[273] Chinese, is when they want to get clothes for
feasts and when they have to pay taxes. Their
only thorn is taxation. Without taxes they
would be completely happy. I heard later, in
237 regard to the tusks, that there are very few
438 in Wailolong, perhaps only ten. However, they
556 circulate and keep the system going. The as-
sistant said that many have been sold because
the people need money so badly. Many were sold
to the people in Tandjung Bunga.

Wae When we went to Wailolong we met the assis-
614 tant on the section of Wailolong which is on
241 the side road near Leloba. He was there getting
796 census material. We went off there and at-
231 tended a rite of the Leworita suku, or rather
one of the ama of the suku. It was the rite
for the beginning of the agricultural season.
The big kampong rite was held first, and here
it was held on Christmas. Then, each suku has
a similar rite, and then again each ama. They
are just now getting around to the ama rites.
[343] In this section there are two kebang (lumbung
or barns) adat, i.e. suku or ama barns. The
big kepala barn is that of the Number One suku
(here Ama Dotang [usually Ama Kottang] which is
near the main korke). The two suku represented
here are Lewodoreng and Leworita. This rite
was held under the adat barn of Leworita (where
jaws of sacrificed pigs hang), but the land is
owned by Lewodoreng. This is why the men who
played the roles of Kottang and Kelen (head
and feet) were not from Leworita but from
Lewodoreng.

The old pagans (some were not so old) did
the rites, but the Christians stood all around,
and they ate what they could get later, probably.
A small pig was brought in and then the prepa-

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799 all pagans then,[1] and all parents of the present
178 adults of about thirty or older were pagan. My assistant's father was.

872 The lower school here consists of three
[191] grades. It is a mission school although the government evidently makes a contribution to it. In Ndona (seven kilometers by road, four kilometers across the hills, and the children walk there) there are eight grades. Until the present there is only one from here who has gone as far as class seven, and ten in class six. The school in Ndona is the highest level school around here (and perhaps in all Flores) except for the seminary. The eighth grade qualifies one for the job of guru.

There are two children here who go to school in Ende where there is a connecting or intermediate school and a middle school, I think.

[191] There are few Mohammedans here, and no Koran school. They must go to Ende for this.

871 Everyone here is very much in favor of edu-
● 185 cation. Formerly, there was a bit of trouble
178 with the oldsters who saw no sense (and I suspect did not like the mission tie-up) in such things. But now everyone wants his children to go to school. They are anxious to have both their girls and boys go to school, although they are perhaps a bit more interested in education for their boys. If a girl is clever, however, they want her to advance too.

898 The children do show a bit of a superiority
212 feeling toward the illiterate oldsters, but there is almost always a great show of respect. And the illiterate old folk are not ashamed. They are only farmers, anyway, they say.

798 When Catholicism came in first, there was
872 much trouble, and the elders scolded hard. After
178 the school came in, in 1921, there was no more trouble. They say and insist that the pagan elders make no trouble at all for the Catholic children

1 [i.e., fifty years ago --Analyst]

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197 can speak Lio, but Lio people have a hard time to speak Ende, as the latter had difficult phonetics.

212 Today eighty per cent of the population is literate.

203 Very few of the people here read, and the
204 only paper that comes here is the mission "Bentara." It is seen only by the kapitan, the assistant, and the guru. Others ask them what is in the news. If there were more papers, more would read. For the first time, the Information Office (Makassar) monthly "Pandji Negara" came here just now.

The only books here are religious books, and these have to be bought (prayer books). In
217 Ende, the mission has a library and there people can borrow, but no one here does. If they had a library here, plenty would borrow books, because they like stories.

The assistant is sad about the lack of news-
204 papers. They would like the reading material they provide, he thinks.

As a rule, they do not even write letters,
212 because very few of them ever leave. The Ende script is not used. Bapa Ketjil, for an unfathomable reason, got a man from Ende to teach him a little of this lontar script two years ago.

563 The Chinese family here speaks Chinese and
197 Ende. The man of the family also speaks Lio. The Savu learn to speak Ende fast, but they speak Savu at home.

• 185 The belief today is that everyone must have
212 literate children, but there is not much thought about foreign languages, except that they know that they now must have Malay. There
[207] is no radio here and few have ever heard one.
546 About once a year some of them happen to see a movie in Ndona or Ende, but the great majority of people here have never seen one.

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000 ring system.

829 Since the war, there has been plenty of talk and interest in Indonesian affairs. Before the war one never heard of such things. Formerly, the people knew only of the Dutch as far as the outside world was concerned. They knew very little about other parts of Indonesia. The war "opened the world" to these remote people. (But, I'd say, this was still a very slim opening.)

871 There was no school here at all fifty years ago. In those days, however, there was one guru in Wailolong and one guru in Leloba who could read and write. No students from here have studied at a university or at an HBS. Two students from here are now attending the middle school, in class six. All children from here now go to the lower school. One from Wailolong goes to school in Larantuka. There is also a middle school at Maumere. There are no native schools here.

[185] Roy reports that the people here like school today, and want their children to go as high as possible. (I doubt this. I think many, if not most, are rather vague about this subject. But I have to take his word for it.)

[463] There are no noticeable differences in activities connected with the level of education achieved by individuals in this area. This is because everyone is a farmer. The only exceptions would be the guru, but there are no local men of Wailolong who are guru.

[876] There is no non-official individual training. At one time they tried (evidently under government propaganda) a system where "everyone teaches another" but it stopped fast.

[797] The mission runs the schools here, but the government subsidizes them. I think this is
[658] true for nearly all of the schools in Flores (check).

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871 Some of them come twenty kilometers, and those who come from afar sleep in this "internaat" (on the porch of which we are working). Inside there is a floor on which mats are unrolled. That's all. There are forty-eight pupils in grade four, all boys. There is no room for any girls.

There are one hundred and eighty-five pupils in the whole school. If gurus were available and there was enough space, two hundred more children would like to come to school. They now have to turn them away. Before 1947 children from here had to go to Tjumbi to go to school. This is about six kilometers from here.

There are now eight schools in Manggarai with six classes. There is also a two-year additional course in the Ruteng mission, for gurus. In Ende, there is a Middelbare School (Sekolah Menenggah). The mission hopes to open another one in Ruteng this year. (How high do these go? They have four grades, but where do they start?) Beyond the students have to go to Makassar.

[178] [185] Before the war it was necessary to force parents to send their children to school. They were afraid their children might be made slaves (the old fear! and Coolhaas[1] says that in its heyday Bima received two thousand slaves from Manggarai annually!). They also feared conversion. Now they all like school. This year there was great indignation created when the school opened and the gurus had to turn away many pupils. Parents protested en masse, and the giri tumba said they would go to the government and complain. "We have no more gurus and no more space. There are two hundred children right in the district who cannot go to school because of this." What a change!

871 185 All groups of people here like school. The

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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871 old people have been heard to say that they
185 wished they were young again so that they could go to school. "We didn't have these advantages in my day."

871 There is no trouble between the educated and
212 the uneducated. Until recently there was no
[578] conflict between the illiterate older people and the schooled young. Of course, they have only three grades anyway, but in all events they haven't had the problem of the stuck up children at all. There is no disobedience. There are still a few dalu and kepala kampongs who are illiterate, but this is becoming less and less so all the time. And they have assistants who help them.

The young do not teach the old here. The literacy campaign of the East Indonesian government failed here as everywhere. It started and then stopped. (Why learn to read when there is nothing to read? Why learn to write when no one writes? This is my interpretation.)

[797] The schools are run by the mission, but the
[658] government pays all of the expenses except for what the mission wants to give, for example, books. This is a system found all over Flores, I think. Mission schools are paid for by the government. The whole administration is carried out by the mission.

874 There is not a single person from here who
797 has gone to seminary. After the six grades the gurus go to OVO (Opleidingsschool voor Volksonderwijzers), a two year course at the mission in Ruteng. There is also a trade school at the Ruteng mission. The trade school gurus must go to a two year course in Ende Ambachtsschool, in the mission there, after they have finished six grades. There is no other available special education.

614 The assistant worked until midnight getting information for the outline in Veol and Ndung,

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212 one could read or write. In fact, this goes
for all of Manggarai. Everyone here speaks
191 the local language. About fifty per cent of
the people here speak Malay, and most of those
who are not able to speak it are oldsters. No
one can speak Dutch or English here.

Only those who have gone to school can read
212 and write. No one reads Bentara, a mission
204 paper (although the guru does). Two people
797 read the sheet which the mission puts out for
Manggarai. It is called Palita.

The only books here are religious books and
212 song books (and books in the school?). Note:
I saw many children with their school "tackle"
hanging on a string around their necks. They
wear them on their backs. They are a piece of
chalk stuck in a bamboo, a ruler, and a bamboo
with a wet cloth. These are for writing on
slate.

The children and other literates write in
[651] order to "keep books." Thus there are the "tax
[217] books" showing how much each person must pay in
palm wine, etc., to the tuan tanah. These are
written for him. All sorts of transactions are
"recorded," e.g., prices, borrowing, gifts for
such things as marriage feasts, etc. This is
brand new. There is practically no other form
of writing done here.

185 Everyone is eager to learn here. The only
191 language other than their own which is taught
here is Malay, but in class four they are start-
ing to learn Dutch, taught by the guru who was
in a seminary for two years.

207 There are no radios here. Once a pastor in
546 1941 brought a movie projector here, and many
people saw movies then. That's all.

412 There are many new tools here, for example,
shovels, drills, and axes. They are even able
178 to make some of these now. There is much more
415 use of iron tools and utensils than was formerly
the case.

We The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof,
are easier to keep clean and are better in
general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the
kampong, and even fewer move out of or into
the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration
from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas
beyond Larantuka.

The kakang has the only telephone here.
20 There is no telegraph. There is no mail ser-
vice. There is no postman. The priest has a
battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië.
Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not
Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to
change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few
people have much knowledge about the world.
This is really the lowest place I have been in
yet. Most of the people are strongly attached
to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is
very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong
is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they
had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at
war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an
enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

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166 property and status are kept for them. If any youth wants to go out to seek his fortune, his family and the kampong officers oppose this. They do not want people to leave. There is a [186] strong sense of localism here. For example, [829] I asked why they knew so little about the kampongs which are not far away from them when I had come all the way from the United States to find out something about them. They said that they never went to other kampongs unless it was necessary. This seems to be the Flores pattern.

166 Very few people have immigrated. There are some from other kampongs in Ende and Lio, and in fact these areas account for the examples of immigration aside from the women coming to marry in. Normally, women who marry men from another kampong go to live with their husbands. There are a few individuals from Savu, one [563] Chinese family, and a fair number of Ende town folk on the lower border. They are not members of the kampong.

423 There are evidently two kinds of land: the kampong land in the older parts of the kampong, which is used by members; and border land, which used to belong to Ende or other kampongs and which was bought by either the kampong folk or the Ende folk who live there. Thus the borders have expanded by the latter means. The fields may be used only four to five years and then must lie fallow for a long time. I must get more on the system of land ownership.

614 I had a hard time getting the truth about the suku organization from these people. They are 124 dumber here than in Larantuka by far, and they have lost much more of the memory of the actual rules involved. Still, in Larantuka, I notice that I have to ask many people in order to get answers to some of the complicated questions, for example, in regard to marriage rules. But

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[585] exactly the same rites and all moves are the
[565] same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas'
[784] word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate
[614] ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).[1]
[286] In addition to the technical totem taboos given by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 I note on the map that place names recur
614 often all over Manggarai, especially not far away. These are clan names, which are given to kampongs founded by split offs from the mother kampong. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 The mandur said there is criticism of the
578 Radja today because he is not "one hundred per
632 cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of
648 Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, al-
●186 though somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud of this Minangkabau story while at the same time it may harm them in light of Manggarai nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes[1] says that when the Dutch were trying to select a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not a contented area and that the people there wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may see a possible chance of paying off old scores. This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where self-governing setups led to exploitation of lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may try to raise themselves up to a parity level and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask questions, and they will reply without first going through a translator. However, the reply

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 1B--Analyst]

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632 8. Nangapanda (km. 28 on the way to Badjawa).
9. Tana Djea (km. 31 on the way to Badjawa).

632 173 Thus Rewarangga is the easternmost of the gemeenten, on the border with Lio. It is half surrounded by Nggobe. I asked about the ancestor stories which make Rodja and Nggobe the first and greatest gemeenten. The kapitan said that this was because of the manner in which Suchtelen got his stories. The people who gave him his information were nearly all illiterate townsfolk. I retold the story of the five siblings from Java. He agreed that every area had [186] its own version in order to make themselves appear greatest.

632 He said he got along all right with the Mohammedans and that the former Christian Rukuramba kapitan was merely inefficient. Arriens said so too, and that the present Mohammedan kapitan there is the best of all.

614 361 Then I checked the place of origin of the suku in the census and got the following information. Odja came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Meo came from Ndetuko'u (Nggobe). Djawa came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Ndoru came from Ndungga (Lio). Reandona came from Woropau (Nggobe). Wanda came from Waturoga (Lio). Tibo (Gusa) came from Koavena (Rewarangga). Ndosi came from Wolotole (Lio). Rewarangga came from Worowai (Rewarangga).

Note: This suku (Rewarangga), the real old one of this region, originally lived in an even higher kampong, Wawotonda. It was located two kilometers above here on the road into the hills. Worowai is only a half to one kilometer above the road. A few people live in the Wawotonda area, but it is no longer a kampong. It is in the territory of the kampong Worowai. In Wawo- [778] tonda there are stones and cannon. But the [346] ruma berhala of Rewarangga suku (a bone house like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

484 day at a time. Some people here go to the mountains, but they never go very far. Almost none has ever left the district, and those who have did so seldom and perhaps only once, for example to Nggobe or to another nearby area. Only the [625] police have been to Ngada or other Flores areas. And there are only two policemen.

[167] There are no soldiers here. No one here has ever left Indonesia.

[443] There are no regular traders in the kampong. One could say that there are no regular trips made to the outside.

Those few who have been outside of Roworeke relate, on their return, that other places are completely different from Roworeke. How true this is! They are not specific, however.

[178] There has been little change in the very non-moving character of the people here. They just know so little that they never think about leaving.

People here who have never seen any other place than Roworeke and Ende, i.e., just the [162] road to town and back, number about two hundred and fifty, that is about fifty per cent of the population. For example, these people have never seen even Rukuramba. This is especially true of the old people, although all except the children have seen Ende. Trips to Ende are not frequent. This is perhaps the most completely non-moving place I have seen yet.

484 Reasons given for not moving or visiting or 152 traveling outside of this immediate vicinity are that there is too much work in the kampong for ● 186 people to leave at any time. And formerly, there was a strong fear of war and a general fear of anyplace except home. There was never any reason to leave the area, but if one wanted to there was no objection. Aside from the war danger in former times (especially did Roworeke fight against Nggobe and Rodja), the old folk

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484 are afraid to sleep outside, even today. They
152 fear evil spirits (they say setan) of the out-
86 side. This is a real and vivid fear to them.
[776]

Roworeke does not have a telephone, telegraph
20 or radio. Mail is brought by people who happen to go to Ende, and letters are mailed by the same means. A letter is first sent by the Post Office to the office of the Radja. It may take a long time to get here.

There is a gong used for signaling (it is located near the kapitan's house) on the occasions of the death of a noble, a tax meeting, and the like. News is spread fast by rumor, and the gossip here is uncanny. Everyone in the area knew when the kapitan went with us to Kilimutu.

There are no "local authorities" on the news front. The only people who would approach this are the two police. News bulletins from the Information Service are practically never delivered here. Such things simply do not get this far. There are no traders who give news.

There are markets and there is a market sys-
443 tem. The district markets are located at:

1.	Kilometer 14. (Friday)	An empty place, merely.	
2.	Kilometer 24.	The same thing.	(Saturday)
3.	Kilometer 33.	In Lio	(Monday)
4.	Kilometer 52.	In Lio.	(Tuesday)
5.	Kilometer 66.	Wolowaru. Lio.	(Wednesday?)

Thus there is a circuit, and the Ende traders (papalele) go by truck, day by day, up to the mountains and then down to the start and then over again. Sunday is evidently out (Christian influence, evidently). These traders make little
[563] money as they are mere tools of the Chinese who
[426] lend to them at high rates or merely pay them salaries, or let them buy and sell on a commission basis.

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443 basis. They obtain products by purchase in the backland and sell them in Ende. They also sell gewgaws which they bring along with them.

●186 829 Interest in local, foreign or international news is at a very low level. They insist that nearly everyone here knows just about nothing in regard to anything outside of the kampong. They are even ignorant of Rewarangga.

614 621 They said that originally each kampong consisted of only one suku. Then others moved in. Thus, at one time Wawatonda was the kampong of suku Rewarangga. Then they came down to Worowai. Here today there is a rumah berhala, [764] but it is a mere bone-grave hut, like Odja in Roworeke.

Rabu is now in three kampongs. It was one at some former time. It is ten kilometers from here. This is the place where the original kampong of the Odja suku was located. But they have now lost contact, and indeed, so complete was the move to Roworeke that probably no Odja folk are left in Rabu today.

124 829 The kapitan said an interesting thing when I was pressing him to give information in this regard. He said that only since I came here had he learned very much about the culture and the past of Rewarangga.

778 614 346 764 These rumah berhala, with images and a real house, or merely with the grave-bone shrines, are suku shrines. There are four real rumah berhala houses in Rewarangga. These are as large as a real old style high roofed house, [753] and in them there are images (ana deo) and per- [782] haps bone bundles too. These run as follows: (and anyone who visits them and looks into them must leave an offering, for example, money or cigarettes, etc.; otherwise he may get sick):

1. Volofeo has a real house and in it there are four ana deo, wooden images. There are no bones. This house was used by all four suku

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000 story.

829 People here all know the arrangement of the
186 kampong, and maybe thirty per cent know the general arrangement of the kampongs in Rewarangga. Perhaps only five per cent know the general arrangement of Flores. They have heard of the radjas, but they know little about where they come from. For example, it is not known where Sikka is or what kind of a place it is. Perhaps only one per cent know very much about the arrangement of Indonesia, geographically. These are the ones who went to the Ndona normal school. Practically nothing is known of world geography. They know at least the names of Japan, Holland (the assistant thought that Holland was the second or third largest country in the world!), the United States, Australia, China. India was a bit beyond their ken, and they knew nothing of other countries. Perhaps they know something about or have heard the name of Russia a bit. They have also heard of Rome and Jerusalem.

They have no ideas about the population of Indonesia. This includes the guru, the assistant, and the kapitan.

People here simply like their own kampong and their own district. They have developed no local chauvinism and it simply does not exist. However, they scorn the mountaineer population of Lio. They do look down on them a bit. They say that they have never seen the big town. They know practically nothing about other tribes in Flores anyway. They also have a bit of scorn
[578] for the mountain people in Rewarangga. There seems to be no feeling of enmity toward any other place, tribe, or Indonesian folk of any kind. There is no dissatisfaction evident in the village.

829 No one could draw a good map of the kampong, even though they know the arrangement. The

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829 assistant said that he just did it, and that it was a revelation to him. They simply do not think in such diagrammatic terms.

769 The ancestor cult is strong here and there
●186 are many stories about it, but it is not used to glorify the place. In fact, there is no real pride as such. They are simply satisfied as they know nothing else. There is no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village.

178 There has been very little change here in regard to the expanding horizons of social and economic contact.

721 The old wars and head-hunting continued until recently. Wars seem to have been caused
578 mostly over border disputes, so far as they
178 can remember. Heads were taken as a sign of victory. But I got very little regarding a real head-hunting cult. They said that the heads were placed on the borders, evidently on the borders over which the war had been fought.
[789] They said voluntarily that they ate the hearts
[246] of enemies in order to increase their magic power. They are quite clear and vivid about this. The hearts were removed through an incision in the back under the shoulder blade. The main enemies were Nggobe and Rodja, but there is no hostility now. More seldom, war was waged against the Lio folk. Spears and
[411] guns were used, and formerly bows. Bows were used especially by the Nggobe folk. Circular shields were made of buffalo hide and wood. There were alliances of mutual aid too. For example, Rewarangga (Worowai) and Odja (Roworeke) were in such an arrangement. Also, they
[634] went to war for the Ende radja who paid wages for this.

721 The radja bitjara (a post no longer present
634 in Ende; he was a kind of minister of foreign relations) (and he was able to talk all lan-

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582 in other areas, or working in the gardens lo-
476 cated in another kampong. Here again, it is a
602 matter of marriage. Indeed, only if marriage
621 gives a person some sort of privilege to work in the other kampong does one usually engage himself in such work.

632 Relations between districts have not changed
582 much in recent years. If there are marriages
602 between the districts involved, the same situation obtains as between the kampongs just described. Similar situations are those involving different tribes. Bonds are formed if there are marriage links; if there are no such links there are no bonds. Trade is so small a
[438] factor that it is unimportant in intercommunity relations.

186 The people here love their own kampong and
621 feel that they are lost when they are outside.
166 Figuratively and literally, they have no place in another kampong. They can see good in another kampong, however, and if they go elsewhere and return they tell about the good things there and may even adopt them themselves. Only the young people, and few of them, want to get out and see other places. Once they are married they never leave.

609 They say that if they leave their own kampong for another they become outsiders. They are then nipatale (beyond the fence). The other term used in suku terminology for outsiders is rere. It means "low." The opposite term, which also occurs among the suku, is belolong ("high").

578 All seven kampongs have been enemies of Riang
621 Kamië. The seven have remained about the same
614 in relationship to each other, but tales tell a
173 bit about the ranking among them. Riang Kamië was formed by a union of several kampongs which were separate formerly. These united into one kampong in defense against the Bai Pitu (seven

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000 Radja's kampong.

721 There used to be much warfare with the Mohammedan coastal folk too. And war was waged with other districts and tribes, but this was rare, and was largely tied up with the higher politics of the radja. A pure border war, however, was one carried on with the district Lewotala.

186 621 484 Only a very few people locally have been in other places enough to have inferiority feelings about their own village. They have all seen the town of Larantuka, but this is not much and they get tired of it after a little while. Those who have, for example, seen Makassae, of whom there are very few, are less happy when they come back. This is a real difference. They tell a lot about the big town. Thus, the truth is that in all Flores the towns are so little and are so much like the kampongs (i.e. dull), that there is little contrast. Therefore, they see no advantage locally as over against the kampongs. Of the kampongs here all are about the same in wealth and land holdings. Lewohala and Watuwiti have a bit better land and perhaps more of it; thus, in general, one place is about as good as another.

721 178 578 691 693 Wars were waged over borders, women, and molesting children. Now warfare is outlawed, although they still carry it on in a modified way. For example, there is a dispute of this kind going on now between Leloba and Waibalun, although the chief says that they must not carry on a war. There have been repeated grievances; their patience is gone. A band goes out hot for revenge and although the chiefs in general try to keep the people from war they are unsuccessful. Most disputes are settled by legal procedures, with the kakang as the main judge and the kepala kampong, radja tuan, and kelake of the kampongs concerned making up the court.

693 614 For inter-suku cases, the court is made up

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684 This was not so. They were merely a kind of fine
231 for committing the wrong, and the animals were all those of the groom. Both parties give animals at the wedding feast.

665 There are no political parties here, not even
181 internal factions. At any given time they may have a kind of loose lineup on an issue, but this is purely ephemeral. There is not even enough issue feeling to have meetings on any subject. Roy keeps saying that the folk here are stupid, and when it comes to politics they are youngsters. This is an illustration of the prevailing habit in East Indonesia of running themselves down. This may be a form of politeness or modesty or a real feeling of self-disparagement learned through many years of subjection to the radjas and to the Dutch.

462 No posts are held by women. This adat. Women
562 are household managers, and work on clothing, food cooking, and the arranging of marriages (or at least advising the men on how to arrange good marriages). They also hold the positions in ritual of nu'a luka and tuno wudjo. If there is a discussion taking place in a house, for example, a group of lads sitting about and talking on political topics (at this level), etc., the women of the house may join in a bit. This is all. However, I don't get the impression that women are suppressed here at all.

186 In the old days, the local people were very proud of Larantuka, and they remember now that Larantuka alone, in all Flores, remained independent when the rest was under Bima. Larantuka was free, and as Roy says, "It bordered on Bima." As for feelings in regard to other radjadoms in Flores, there seems to be no rivalry or enmity. They have not come up enough to do as the people in Ambon do, and say that Flores is the "forgotten island." They do not yet know enough to complain about their share in the Indonesian government.

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•186 This may come later. The truth seems to be that they are not "Flores-conscious" or "Larantuka-conscious."

186 798 Indeed, the only slight flare of criticism of any other section or group on Flores was Roy's statement that the Mohammedans cause a bit of trouble (but this seems to be a fear or perhaps a recognized resemblance to the previous troubles here; for example, see the history of the Mohammedan attacks on Christian settlements in Flores). They are singularly mild on all this, especially when contrasted with Ambon and the chronic "gripers" there.

648 609 578 681 The people here all knew that they were a subject group. Although they were not happy, there was no revolutionary spirit. There was some secret criticism, and everyone was sure that it would be better to be free. Roy said that one impressive thing was that the people disliked the coarse quality of the Dutch, and he said that there was too much of the "god verdomme" stuff. He imitated a coarse Dutchman swearing at the natives. And in the prewar period, all the people here would gladly have seen every single Dutchman leave, except the pastors. They liked the latter, but hated the officials. A sore point, of course, was that of taxation, but they also hated the summary way they were so easily put in jail. He keeps on saying how if a man tried to press his case with the Dutch, the latter just waved his hand and said, "To the bui with him."

648 578 609 When the guru had his famous case concerning the land, and the kepala kampong was put in jail because Roy and he would not sign the paper, twenty soldiers surrounded his house. The kampong people were so angry that they wanted to start a battle then and there. Roy dissuaded them, however, and then offered to pay a fine in order to release the kepala kampong. The

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763 There was a death in Veol, and from the hill there came the sound of weeping and howling. I asked if someone had died recently, and he said after listening that the person had died this morning. He could tell by listening, so it seems that there are evidently stages of howling. The next day there was no drumming in the kampong, because of the death, and evidently the dead takes precedence over wood.

● 186 Everywhere in Indonesia now, as this morning from the school, one can hear Indonesia Raja sung. They all know that it was taboo before.

342 I saw the Radja's house in Ruteng today. It is a complex of three round houses, with one big one in the center. Of course, it was made of fine wood, which was about octangular, but the roof was made of grass thatch. It was impressive.

766 The Radja's daughter of about ten years of age died today, and there was a constant coming and going of cars, police jeep and others, bringing the local kraeng to Ruteng. I took one of the kraeng along at noon. I also took 515 a lot of others, and the smell was strong in the car. I think they never bathe. The pretty head guru's wife got sick, and also one child. They vomited because of carsickness.

194 The mandur said the Ngada can never get over their accent, which is full of gutturals. It is like Dutch. I heard this in the Radja's Malay in Badjawa. The guttural g is here a bit too, as noted in the place name Ndeges, with the g pronounced as in Dutch.

756 683 The assistant agrees that several mbako were jailed from time to time. The charge has been magic murder, but they can't get a conviction because they have no "witnesses." Still, this is a big reason why they no longer tell outsiders who the mbako are.

In regard to the radja and the land matter,

War

829 all, have heard of Holland and Japan. Beyond these very little is known. Many people know the word America. Wilcox was here recently and then they heard of England. But these are just names. The gurus in Tjantjar know a bit about the outside world.

Nothing is known about the population figures of Indonesia or even for Flores. The school level is too low for even children to know these things. The assistant, however, knows the population of Indonesia, and of the world (exact! two billion!). He knew that there were four hundred and fifty million people in China too! But he did not know about India or the rest of the countries. He was surprised that Holland was so small.

●186 Formerly, in the wartime, there was a great feeling for the kampong, but no real thought in regard to patriotism. They like their place and their adat. They dislike Ngada. They say that the people in Ngada kill, are coarse, etc. They don't like Ende, Larantuka, Sikka, etc. They simply do not like the adat from other areas. This is the main point. They hate Bima, and have vivid memories in this regard. Formerly there was no criticism of the Dutch, but now they are getting onto colonialism a bit in retrospect. However, there is no real thought on these things. They know that the Chinese are tipu orang (crooks). They consider Arabs as better people; in fact, they are O.K. They are rich. They have no knowledge about other people.

166 There are kampongs which are declining in population and seem not to amount to much, but the people stay there because it is their kampong. They simply do not move unless they decide their naga is no good.

764 A dead person must be taken back to the home kampong for burial unless (1) it is too far or impossible, or (2) they are already established

[Analyst - 1949]

[i.e., author of "White Stranger, Six Moons in the Celebes", London,

632 The kapitan of Ambu Nggobe, whom I met in a new hadji costume before, is a rather oldish one. Ariens says he has the most power of any-
123 one in Ende. The guru is a hard, pushing, Christian type, who has lost the old respect forms and feels superior to all the others. This guru kept trying to find out whether we[1] were Catholics, but we didn't tell him.

At last we went back to the kampong but stopped
191 off in a fine village near where the Kilimutu road leaves the main road. I forget the name. It has
[142] handsome women, proto-Malay type, who are ruined
[276] by betel. The men too are pretty good looking. Some of the children are very intelligent. I asked about the language situation and the guru said that only the schooled ones speak Malay anywhere in Ende. Thus the old ones do not, but this is not entirely so as some of the old ones who were never schooled are able to speak Malay.

342 In this kampong the houses as usual are roofed
343 with alang-alang thatch. There are many barns, which are small and have roofs which go to the
764 floor. The graves are in the plaza. One was
178 very large and of massive stone situated under a roof. It was the grave of an important ancestor. Others were of usual stone piles and slabs. One burial was set up last month, as it said on a wooden cross set up on top of the old style stone slab grave. The bodies here are laid out in a lying down position in the stone cists. From later evidence in Roworeke I think that many individuals may be placed in one grave. They lift the slab, move over the old bones, and set the new body in. In the old days they would put the body wound up with gemutu ropes in a tree until the whole thing rotted. Then the bones were placed in a box which in turn was placed in the cist. A rather long time ago the government made the people here dispose of the bodies at once.

[1] [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg--Analyst]

114 Wa
[585] exactly the same rites and all moves are the
[565] same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas'
[784] word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate
[614] ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).[1]
[286] In addition to the technical totem taboos given by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 614 I note on the map that place names recur often all over Manggarai, especially not far away. These are clan names, which are given to kampongs founded by split offs from the mother kampong. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 578 632 648 186 The mandur said there is criticism of the Radja today because he is not "one hundred per cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, although somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud of this Minangkabau story while at the same time it may harm them in light of Manggarai nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes[1] says that when the Dutch were trying to select a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not a contented area and that the people there wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may see a possible chance of paying off old scores. This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where self-governing setups led to exploitation of lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may try to raise themselves up to a parity level and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask questions, and they will reply without first going through a translator. However, the reply

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 1B--Analyst]

We
191 is always in Manggarai. I have seen this before. "Mengerti sedikit, tidak bisa tjakap [I understand a little bit, but I can't speak it].

53 We saw a poor show at the pasar malam. It
177 was a sandiwara traveling troupe like the one
831 I saw on the ship. It consisted of torch singers and crooners. The gallery came down with a carioca in western dress. The contact was not close, but closer than they used to make it, and at the end the woman half fell into the man's arms. They shrieked. This very mild sex symbolism in dance was extreme for them. Their dances, as usual, are incredibly dull. The songs repeat themselves over and over again.
526 And they carry on their whip fighting day after day. They even abuse football, and play it from dawn to dusk. This is like the ten games
[171] of baseball a day in Micronesia. They overdo things.

201 As we were sitting in the assistant's house
576 with him and the other guru, a woman came in
123 and swiftly pushed her face into mine, holding
832 my head and rubbing noses. It seemed almost as though she were using her mouth a bit too, and I wondered if this were a combination of nose rub and sniff kiss. She then went quickly to Kattenburg and then to the two guru. Nothing would stop her, even embarrassed protests from the guru. The assistant asked who she was, and the other said she was Marcus's wife (who's that?). We were so embarrassed that we turned at once back to the questions, and we acted as though nothing had happened. We saw her later in the rear of the house, looking queer. Query: Was she crazy, or was she doing some bit of unthinking etiquette? But even if she were crazy, she must have been following a pattern here, or why do it in exactly that way? It would have been better if it had been the other guru's wife, who is a beauty.

Wa

533 In connection with special training for
871 individuals, the only thing they can think of is that the children have flute lessons in school and learn to read notes.

212 In Wailolong fifty years ago only one person was literate.

●191 Everyone here can speak the local language.
212 Of the old folks, perhaps only one per cent can speak Indonesian. The younger people are learning it in school. No one here speaks Dutch. No one here speaks any other language. About fifty per cent of the population here can read and write. At the most perhaps ten persons read regularly or at least look at the mission paper. This is the only "reading matter" except for prayer books.

There is almost no writing done locally. Perhaps about ten people have at some time written or received a letter. One guru can read and write Arabic.

There is no special instruction given in reading and writing. There are no aliens, and hence no foreign languages used in the area.
[207] There is no radio, and perhaps only the guru have ever seen movies.

178 There have been very few changes in the
412 technology here introduced during the last fifty
262 years. They are using shovels a bit, etc., but mainly the same old artifacts. In regard to food, there are a few changes. For example, there are new kinds of vegetables (in the old days they evidently had practically none), new varieties of bananas, etc. Evidently food was simple to the extreme in the old days.

286 The women spin and weave here, and this is perhaps the most important craft (in fact there
323 is no doubt about it). There is no pottery (they buy such items from the few places where pottery is made). Recently, a few people have
000 learned how to cook salt. There are about ten

We

212 one could read or write. In fact, this goes
for all of Manggarai. Everyone here speaks
●191 the local language. About fifty per cent of
the people here speak Malay, and most of those
who are not able to speak it are oldsters. No
one can speak Dutch or English here.

212 Only those who have gone to school can read
204 and write. No one reads Bentara, a mission
797 paper (although the guru does). Two people
read the sheet which the mission puts out for
Manggarai. It is called Palita.

212 The only books here are religious books and
song books (and books in the school?). Note:
I saw many children with their school "tackle"
hanging on a string around their necks. They
wear them on their backs. They are a piece of
chalk stuck in a bamboo, a ruler, and a bamboo
with a wet cloth. These are for writing on
slate.

[651] The children and other literates write in
[217] order to "keep books." Thus there are the "tax
books" showing how much each person must pay in
palm wine, etc., to the tuan tanah. These are
written for him. All sorts of transactions are
"recorded," e.g., prices, borrowing, gifts for
such things as marriage feasts, etc. This is
brand new. There is practically no other form
of writing done here.

185 Everyone is eager to learn here. The only
191 language other than their own which is taught
here is Malay, but in class four they are start-
ing to learn Dutch, taught by the guru who was
in a seminary for two years.

207 There are no radios here. Once a pastor in
546 1941 brought a movie projector here, and many
people saw movies then. That's all.

412 There are many new tools here, for example,
shovels, drills, and axes. They are even able
178 to make some of these now. There is much more
415 use of iron tools and utensils than was formerly
the case.

582 be straight exchange. They must have one inter-
583 mediate move because of the mother's brother's
614 daughter marriage. He sees this clearly, and says that if one could marry a father's sister's daughter they could have a straight exchange. He says that they do this in Tandjung Bunga. Vatter[1] says this is not so. If they do not want to give the tusks or they do not have them, they can work out the bride price in a deal with two other sib groupings so that A will give a girl to B, B a girl to C, and C a girl to A. Thus no tusks are needed, but they act as though the tusks had actually made the rounds. It is all done in their heads. They must plan this, as not every combination will bring the exchange back to the original sib grouping in three moves. Of course, a more complicated deal can be made with many moves leading the fictitious tusks around and a girl back to the group that starts the whole thing.

836 The premarital sex relations with the arrange-
583 ment that leads to marriage which Vatter[1] calls penara is properly called penaga(ng). The guru prefers to call it bride-service, but it is not so according to Vatter[1].

The guru says there are three kinds of marriage here: capture, service (or premarital sex relations leading to marriage), and payment. He calls the last the respectable type. It requires tusks, either real or according to bookkeeping.

192 Vatter[1] makes a bad error on page 83. Kelen
H4 does not mean "heaven," but only foot. The word for heaven, on which he was confused, is klng, with almost no vowels.

782 Prayer is not carried out by the Marang. The
788 word marang means to pray, and this has led to
614 the confusion that the ritual prayers at the animal killing were always done by the Suku Marang. The latter merely hands the betel around. The oldest man who is an expert, from whatever

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

611 I think he[1] also said it is possible to pay part of
614 the bride price and then to give some of the
583 children to the mother's group. This is not so
582 important, however, as the usual marriage is endogamous. They prefer to marry within the sib. They may marry out also. They have the same term for all cousins, and may marry with any cross or parallel cousin. Descent is patrilineal. Female descent is traced too, and thus there may occur cases of double descent with patrilineal emphasis and endogamy and clans. This is remarkable.

784 They also have totemism here with animal de-
824 scent and tree descent. A member may not kill or eat the animal totem and may not cut or burn or use in any way the wood of the tree totem. Two of the latter are ficus and lontar. The
583 amount to be paid as a bride price is a matter
554 of pride. Many kampongs have only one voi,
614 but others have several.

197 The language of Ngada is related to that of
193 Ende and is very close to Nageh. Manggarai speech, however, is quite different. Arndt says there are no affixes in Ngada, but instead they use particles.

614 Correction: Not all voi have women as an-
565 cestors, but most of them do. There are four
582 classes (not three as van Staveren[2] says). These are the nobles (ata gai or gai meze), upper commoners (ata gisa or gai giza), lower commoners (azi ana) and slaves (ata hoö). An upper woman may never marry a lower man, but the reverse is all right. The peo still stand.

124 We talked about the possibility of working in a Ngada kampong, but the Soa area has already been covered, and Arndt has a book nearly ready on the sociology of Ngada. There is practically nothing on Manggarai, so we decided to go to Ruteng first. We left in the afternoon, and after a hard drive, largely in the rain, we

[1] [i.e., Arndt, pastor in Ngada area--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Wac

614 There is no use of a head without feet. At
788 least this is the idea. They are the leg men
565 of the head. The Hurint cuts the head off, and they also cut or finish or decide cases. Thus the double entendre words which seem to prevail in this language come to light. Also the Hurint do the praying, and in the old days the priests were from this suku as well as were the judges. The Marang passed around and still pass around sirih, or perhaps coffee today, at the rites. The Marang also acts as general helper so that if any of the other three have trouble with the beast he rushes in to aid. The function is symbolized not quite so clearly as for the other three, but the social system is symbolized in ritual which in turn reflects a system of rank and function.

632 I heard another thing which should be inter-
614 esting to follow up. The kakang is a Leboba man
583 from one of the Kottang subsibs. His sib (one
576 of the two Belepe Lolong, and must be Lango'
431 Bele' as he has much power) gives women to the guru's sib (Ama Hurint Ola Demo/ng/ Lango' Bele') and must be given fowl by the latter. The latter gets women from the former, and gets fish from the former too. Thus fowl and fish form a gift exchange following the marriage exchange system. Evidently the sib that gets the women gives the fowl, and the one that gives the women also gives the fish. Could this be again the serpent and the dove? The kakang said that if he went to the guru's house and there happened to be some fowl cooking there, he must get some, or it would be a terrible breach of respect and much shame would be felt. I think this is correct, but I must check it later.

194 The peculiar nasal end sound indicated by
[114] the parentheses in my orthography is hard to get and Vatter[1] messes it up. The guru says it is hard even for a man from Larantuka town to say it.

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

311 241 cover for agriculture too, and this causes a great, economic problem.

114 124 159 634 He[1] said that much of Arndt's[2] and other scholars' findings were wrong as they use Christian gurus as assistants, and the latter do not tell them exactly what the old men say. The young assistants "doctor up" the information. They also misunderstand some of the old ideologies. This was one of many implications in his talk that showed he was not uncritical of the Christians. He has been radja longer than any other in Flores, thirty-one years and seven months. In his youth he was a Dutch army man too. He says that there was no road built when he was first made radja but the mission was already there. He also says that he is the most important radja in West Flores, although all of the royal families here are interrelated. He says he represents the older sibling branch, and Nageh and Manggarai radjas are the younger sibling branches. It is true that the Manggarai radjadom dates only from 1929, and before this there were only dalu, three of whom were most powerful.

994 The Radja speaks Malay with remarkable gutteral sounds which Arndt[2] says are characteristic of Ngada folk. They also have at least one implosive, as in bhaga. He has his house in the kampong Radja, not far from the town.

361 797 The town is notably modern in appearance, with the mission influence as usual. In the center there is a large plaza where the football field [485] is located, as usual. The pasanggrahan is a 622 good one, and the mandur looks like a nickel-634 head Indian. He was in the army once too and served in Sumatra, especially in Atjeh. He is evidently a friend of the Radja, as he enters [565] and talks with him freely. The Radja mixes 443 freely with the people here, as we noted at the pasar malam. The latter, to which we went at

[1] [i.e., the Radja of Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

609 belebang. It means "not known," in the sense of being a stranger. In the case of whites, etc., this is very clear. In dealing with other Indonesians, they know the people in their own kampong so well that they can spot a stranger immediately. They can spot this also because of his clothes and hairdo. Thus as we rode along today we were asked to stop by the guru. He said that there was a Tandjung Bunga man whom he had spotted. He was a tall pagan with a long bob and wearing red beads. He was fine looking. He could be identified as a Tandjung Bunga man even in the way he walked. And if he speaks, one can tell immediately. This is especially true here, where the pho-
[194] netics are hard, even for the Larantuka folk. The Radja has a hard time getting the sounds right. I asked whether the pastor was belebang, and they said that they were so used to him that he was not considered such. It is a matter of use and acceptance.

173 There is, of course, a long story connected with the cosmological meaning of the social
621 organization. There seems to be a vague rank-
595 ing according to the relative age of the brothers who founded the kampongs. Leloba was the oldest brother, Wailolong the second oldest, etc., and Watuwiti was the youngest. But this is not strictly the case. Nevertheless, if they have a great rite for the building of a new korke in a kampong when all kampongs gather and animals are cut, the head, feet, cutting and betel passing functions show something in regard to rank. He is uncertain as to the ranking and functions involved, but will try to find out more about this.

This led to a long story without much point to it except that it told about the negri lama and the migrations of the brothers outward. The story starts with the oldest negri lama,

We

763 There was a death in Veol, and from the hill there came the sound of weeping and howling. I asked if someone had died recently, and he said after listening that the person had died this morning. He could tell by listening, so it seems that there are evidently stages of howling. The next day there was no drumming in the kampong, because of the death, and evidently the dead takes precedence over wood.

186 Everywhere in Indonesia now, as this morning from the school, one can hear Indonesia Raja sung. They all know that it was taboo before.

342 I saw the Radja's house in Ruteng today. It is a complex of three round houses, with one big one in the center. Of course, it was made of fine wood, which was about octangular, but the roof was made of grass thatch. It was impressive.

766 The Radja's daughter of about ten years of age died today, and there was a constant coming and going of cars, police jeep and others, bringing the local kraeng to Ruteng. I took one of the kraeng along at noon. I also took 515 a lot of others, and the smell was strong in the car. I think they never bathe. The pretty head guru's wife got sick, and also one child. They vomited because of carsickness.

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In regard to the radja and the land matter,

We

241 five times. Then two men imitate mice and run
782 around, while others pelt them with clods of
231 earth. This part is called mburu pusu. After
624 this weeding can be done.
527 (4) Tege rego, when the crops are ripening. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok five times. (The tuan tanah always leads the procession of the people who have shares in the garden being rited.)

(5) Tjepa, just before the harvest. Each family concerned gives a pig, rice, etc. If the garden is a lingko randang, a buffalo must be sacrificed. The animals are assembled in the kampong, and the crowd, with one of the pigs, goes to the garden. Each one plucks a stalk and a hair. The pig is killed. Then they go back to the kampong and go around the "adat house" five times and then go inside to dance. Then all the other beasts are killed and the
•[195] whipping starts. While harvesting, special words are used for animals and aliens.

776 At all feasts the poti empo are called and
769 the setan are chased. Therefore, the dead are never buried far from the kampong, and perhaps inside the kampong. Thus it is easier to call them. They live at their graves.

124 We talked with the assistant Sunday and then
[524] took him home. (We discovered in Ende later that the bamboo clapping game is also practiced there.) Then we set out for Badjawa, which we reached in the evening. The next morning a lad named Alfons appeared and said that the Radja Kedua had told him to show us the Soa area when we were in Badjawa. He is the former guru agama [religious teacher] and had taught Malay and Ngada to many priests. He is good looking and intelligent and wears leather puttees.

361 Then we went to Soa, but first stopped at a
621 spectacular kampong named Lekedjere, on the side
614 road to Soa. It is pure Ngada, really a double

We I note also that
554 there is a kind of mark of "upperness" in the
[177] wearing of European shirts by the men! This
[291] probably holds for the European dress worn by
some women too.

Roy says that in Larantuka town there is a
●195 high and a low language, but I wonder if this
may not mean that there is merely a polite
idiom. Here in this area they all speak the
same language, but use fancier language in the
[554] ceremonies. The only titles are those of the
listed posts. One must be respectful to the
uppers.

614 The whole rank system depends on genealogi-
565 cal descent. There are no rules in regard to
interclass marriage, and everything depends
upon the suku system.

634 The Radja of Larantuka is a descendant of
565 the Ili, just as the other folk are. He is a
bit mixed up with Timor, via Pategolo. And
the Radja kedua is from Kroko Putang. However,
the entire upper "nobility" is really inte-
grated with the commoners. That is, there is
no heaven descent. They are just like the
other people, except genealogically they are
ranked a bit higher. All power also depends
on descent.

In 1905 the first guru of Leloba, Bala,
793 started his religious work. He had been con-
verted before this at the school in Larantuka.
At that time there were priests in Larantuka.

In 1912 a church was built at the kampong
361 lama of Riang Kamiŭ (this is another example of
how much and how recently these kampongs have
been moved from place to place). In fact,
only in these years, all kampongs except Lewo-
neda were still in the hills. Wailolong was
moved from the hills to the beach in 1913. At
that time a guru was sent to Wailolong, and in
1922 or 1923 Wailolong moved to the present lo-
cation.

We

565 291 177 554 dressed, e.g. the kapitan of Roworeke, he is not dominated by an "assistant." However, he dominates (cautiously as yet) the adat dressed mosa laki. This is interesting.

565 576 The Pongkor kraeng said that manners differ by class, and he may be right. However, I met a rough kraeng in Anam. And I think that he was from Todo too. Todo ones have a reputation of being more refined than those from Pongkor. All this probably does not mean very much.

[195] 576 178 Special words are used as part of the language of ceremonies and rites. However, this is merely a matter of occasion. In the old days real respect was shown for the Bima dignitaries, the kraengs, etc. When one approached a kampong where there was a kraeng, one had to dismount from one's horse and remove one's shoulder cloth down to the hips, where it was wound around, leaving the torso bare.

[689] If one did not show the proper respect formerly, a whole kampong might be made lampang. Thus, enslavement was the great mass punishment. Even today there is still a bit of feeling in regard to the rank of the kraeng, although it is nothing like what it was before.

554 621 614 There are grades of pride on the kampong level, and thus Veol feels a bit higher than its branch kampong Tjantjar. Also, Veol va'u feels a bit better than the incoming va'u Tjepang. But this is not a real formulization.

565 582 There are no approved marriages with mendi. This is still very bad. It is possible to marry with other kinds of "slaves" (e.g., lampang). There are a number of such cases now in Veol. Everyone, up to the radja, may marry everyone else except the mendi. There are plenty of such mixed marriages, and even the radja has a commoner for a wife. Here again one can see the ordinary quality of the radjas

R

764 It is done in one day now, because the body be-
178 gins to smell otherwise.

The physical types in the mountains, the Lio
144 folk (who speak the same dialect as the Ende
361 coastal dwellers but with a different accent,
[197] and they are really only a mountain branch of
the Ende-Lio tribe) are mainly proto-Malay, or
at least that's the way it seems to me. One
can see this especially in the women, but also
in many of the men. It seems that the more
Melanesian and Papuan types are settled along
the coast, which makes me wonder if maybe there
might not have been a reverse movement of the
black people from the Timor area into Flores,
pushing the proto-Malay people back into the
hills. There are plenty of Melanesian types, and
Papuans, and even Australoid types in the hills,
however, just as on the coast. I get the impres-
[181] sion that the mountain people are nicer, better
looking, more polite, and perhaps even a little
cleaner than the coastal dwellers.

I notice that these Roworeke lads, especially
609 the guru, order the Lio folk around. They seem
197 to be regarded as hillbillies. However, they
771 speak the same language, and many mountain kam-
pongs are one hundred per cent Catholic. In fact,
I really wonder if maybe there might not be more
pagans in Roworeke itself than in many if not
most of the mountain kampongs. Certainly there
seem to be more obviously pagans in Roworeke
than I saw offhand in the mountain kampong. I
778 asked if the mountain kampong has a rumah pemali.
They said yes, but that it is quite far off, near
the main road. I didn't have time to see it.
291 Much of the clothing here is in the form of ikat
286 work, and I can see some of this material woven
on the local back bar looms (horizontal).

Much of the cloth is plain, unattractive, dark
material. The ikat work, and also much of the
plainly woven cloth, is dark and is used mainly

R

124 wai, a kampong a kilometer to the north which used to be part of Roworeke. Later still a policeman came from Ende who was there to help collect taxes. The kapitan drifted in and out and played around with the policeman's bike, and asked Kattenburg to get him a watch. He then asked Kattenburg to sell him some U.S. gold pieces. In general, he is a nuisance. If he could settle down he knows a fair amount about the genealogies, etc.

124 We started, as usual, with social organiza-
●197 tion and had a terrible time with it. They are
829 all mixed up, or it is so partially wrecked that there is no order to it. I can't get to it because they don't get much of my Malay. Regarding the latter, they said not even twenty per cent of the people here can speak Malay, because the school has taught Malay only since the 1920's. Before that nobody here could speak Malay. Their Malay is full of queer words. Also, they know very little or nothing about the kampongs even a little way off although they may still be in the same gemeente. They know little about anything except in a very narrow circle.

632 I got the names of the kampongs in the gemeente
621 (kapitanschap) Rewarangga:

My spelling	Kapitan's spelling
1. Roworeke	Rowo Reke
2. Worowai	Woro Wae
3. Manunggo'o	Mano Nggoö
4. Worowaku	Woro Wekoe
5. Arereke	Are Reke
6. Pu'uperi	Poeöe Peri
7. Kekawi'i	Keka Wiï
8. Koavena	Koa Wena
9. Vavoeü	Wawo Eoe
10. Ratebedi	Rate Bedi
11. Kekambero	Keka Mbero
12. Nioreko	Nio Reko

R

551 I asked about personal names and found that the suku name is not used as a personal family name. What they do is the same as the Scandinavians and Arabs and old Jews. They indeed usually employ only their own names preceded by their Christian names, if any. But if asked, they will also give their father's name after their own name. Thus my assistant is Migo. His church name is Adrianus. His father's name was Pega. Usually he calls himself Adrianus Migo, but if pressed he will say Adrianus Migo Pega. The same holds for the kapitan, who is Mani and whose father was Api. The giri tumba is Raki, and his father Dura. Thus in full, Migo is Adrianus (Church) Migo Pega of suku Odja. They
•197 said that no one in the kampong could speak Dutch, and perhaps only a little more than ten per cent could speak Malay. There is one man
[212] (Bapa Ketjil of Aiutu, an old man who chews betel and has almost no teeth) who can write in the Ende script. They call it tulisan lontar. They say that in Ende town alone it is well known, but outside of the town it is rare.

595 The wife of the Controleur says that the
183 Radja of Manggarai is a Catholic, although he has two wives. This is a nice problem. The former Radja of Lio was brought back from exile by the Japanese during the war. Later he was executed by the Dutch because he murdered so many Dutch, Australians, etc. But he also killed many children for the fertility of the rice fields. Nevertheless, he was a Catholic. The Radja of Sikka has had several wives, even at the same time, and many concubines. At one time he had a Mohammedan wife and also a Mohammedan concubine. Each time he confesses and reenters the mother Church, to the rejoicing of the priests.
793 The priests here are evidently worse than death
178 for the old adat, much worse than the Protestants
797 in Ambon, and the people are scared of them, for

632 told me that his mother is from this area, and later I had her kampong pointed out (Lewoleda). It is the twin kampong of Watuwiti. As we passed every kampong the children came out in droves shouting greetings and then running after and hanging on the rear of the jeep, just as Vatter[1] described them almost twenty years ago.
[178] Indeed, many things of his are still the same, but some are different, for example, Catholicism has finally destroyed the nubanara, nama, and the korke of Leloba.

346 797 583 438 At Wailolong we went off on a new side road to Leloba, and the road ended at the kampong, barred by a fence. As we were talking here, a priest, Krol, came up on his motorcycle and invited us to his hut. He is temporarily here because the church and pastorie in Riangkamiß was burned two months ago. The people there caused the fire by burning the hills on the windward side, and the kampong elders voted to give a percentage of the bride prices for quite a long while in order that they might have the new church. This will be paid in elephant tusks,
[435] which the mission will sell for cash to the Mohammedan traders (eight tusks of varying lengths will sell for about fl. 2000.00, and the priest knew the exact price). The Mohammedan traders will then resell the tusks to the people in Larantuka who need them to pay a bride price. They will probably sell them in the Tandjung Bunga (Cape Flores area).

797 197 177 The priest told how the Catholics work here. They try to keep as much of the old culture as possible. For example, he and others are learning all about the Solor language, which is the local language here, so that they can make prayers in it. They also make prayers in the
797 177 533 old style, as though praying to Lerawulan. They use native songs with words in the native language and in the native style, too. He, musical,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

797 177 [533] sang a few, and they are quite good. He says the Gregorian chants are liked by the people here as they are similar to theirs. Perhaps both are primitive. Also they like marches. Then too, said the priest here, on Christmas they retell the old story, saying that the shepherds brought mangos, bananas, and other native fruits to the manger. I think he said he has them bring such fruits to the church manger. They interfere as little as possible with the old practices. An old pageant concerning cosmogony and the descent of man has been kept, but they put in Adam and Eve and Sem, etc., in place of the native figures. As Kattenburg rightly remarked, it is a question as to whether they are adjusting native religion to Catholicism or Catholicism to native religion.

797 177 578 [197] Later, in the Larantuka mission headquarters, the priest said there was much argument among the priests whether this is right. Krol, however, is on the native side. He says, for example, that if they had hymns in Malay the old folk would never come to church. On hearing their own language, however, they come in and sit in the rear. This is an interesting reversal of the methods employed by the Protestants in Ambon, and Krol could see this. Protestantism does not compromise. The hymns are in Malay and are simply Dutch. They will take nothing from the old religion and they refuse to compromise. The priest said that the Catholic method is a matter of tactics, and I thought, "Here is the Jesuit view of an end justifying the means." Anyway, here the old is intermeshed with the new, and is gradually weeded out. In Ambon the two are kept separate, and there is a conflict between the adat and the agama lama, and Protestantism. This is not to say that there is no conflict here, and I think there is more than meets the eye. But the difference in method is notable.

611 I think he[1] said it is possible to pay part of
614 the bride price and then to give some of the
583 children to the mother's group. This is not so
582 important, however, as the usual marriage is endogamous. They prefer to marry within the sib. They may marry out also. They have the same term for all cousins, and may marry with any cross or parallel cousin. Descent is patrilineal. Female descent is traced too, and thus there may occur cases of double descent with patrilineal emphasis and endogamy and clans. This is remarkable.

784 They also have totemism here with animal de-
824 scent and tree descent. A member may not kill or eat the animal totem and may not cut or burn or use in any way the wood of the tree totem.
583 Two of the latter are ficus and lontar. The
554 amount to be paid as a bride price is a matter of pride. Many kampongs have only one voi,
614 but others have several.

197 The language of Ngada is related to that of
193 Ende and is very close to Nageh. Manggarai speech, however, is quite different. Arndt says there are no affixes in Ngada, but instead they use particles.

614 Correction: Not all voi have women as an-
565 cestors, but most of them do. There are four
582 classes (not three as van Staveren[2] says). These are the nobles (ata gai or gai meze), upper commoners (ata gisa or gai giza), lower commoners (azi ana) and slaves (ata hoö). An upper woman may never marry a lower man, but the reverse is all right. The peo still stand.

124 We talked about the possibility of working in a Ngada kampong, but the Soa area has already been covered, and Arndt has a book nearly ready on the sociology of Ngada. There is practically nothing on Manggarai, so we decided to go to Ruteng first. We left in the afternoon, and after a hard drive, largely in the rain, we

1 [i.e., Arndt, pastor in Ngada area--Analyst]
2 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

582 firm in stating that one had ~~to marry~~ within the
565 same class, of which there are three: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata hoö, but I forget the terms for the others.
[587] They say that a lower man may never marry up, but that a higher man may marry down for a
[567] second wife. They are more open here about slavery than I have found elsewhere.

142 The people are quite handsome and many of
144 them are of the proto-Malay type. There are relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay element predominates, and the East Flores Negroid types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars. There is also a great difference in the color of the skin, many people being quite light-skinned
[515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here
[197] say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not the Soa folk.

291 The clothes of the local people are shabby and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are
304 universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears.
[276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments
[301] in their ears today. Only the holes are noted. We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most men have their names or initials as well as figures tattooed on their forearms. This name
[177] tattoo is quite general.) (Perhaps this is the secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy tattoo.")

764 The burials here, I think, and certainly in
565 Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners, but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

632 The districts here are called kepala mereschappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan. This one is evidently Naru.

R

000 children. It is remarkable that there is so
858 much freedom exhibited by the children all over here. They do as they please evidently.

463 Nearly everyone is a farmer here, but to
212 be kepala kampong, kapitan, secretary, or
622 the like, an individual must be literate. There are, however, illiterate kepala kampongs, but they must use a literate mandur to help them with the work. There are no openings for clerical people or the like.

[874] The only seminary here is for priests, and
787 as yet there are no students there from here.
[154] The bisa mari (sorcerers) are not trained. They get their call in dreams. They are about
[756] equally male and female. The dukun also get their call in dreams. However, the ones who
[844] are midwives learn from mothers.

463 There are no specialists at all. The local
438 population must buy even its ironwork elsewhere.
335 They do not even have carpenters here. Anyone can build a house. This place exhibits a very low level in all such things except weaving. They now learn music in school.

853 Many children who are clever and would like to advance in school cannot do this as it costs fl. 10.00 per month for a higher education. There is plenty of heartache here. Perhaps there is not so very much yet, actually.

212 Fifty years ago no one could read or write, not even in the Ende script.

197 One hundred per cent of the people here speak Ende, including the foreigners from Savu and the Chinese. The latter did not speak Ende when they came in, but after a year they could.

Only about one hundred can speak Malay. No one speaks Dutch. The children are starting to learn a bit of Dutch in school now, but this is evidently only in the higher school.

There are no other languages spoken, except, of course, Chinese and Savu. They say that they

R

197 can speak Lio, but Lio people have a hard time to speak Ende, as the latter had difficult phonetics.

212 Today eighty per cent of the population is literate.

203 Very few of the people here read, and the
204 only paper that comes here is the mission "Bentara." It is seen only by the kapitan, the assistant, and the guru. Others ask them what is in the news. If there were more papers, more would read. For the first time, the Information Office (Makassar) monthly "Pandji Negara" came here just now.

The only books here are religious books, and these have to be bought (prayer books). In
217 Ende, the mission has a library and there people can borrow, but no one here does. If they had a library here, plenty would borrow books, because they like stories.

The assistant is sad about the lack of news-
204 papers. They would like the reading material they provide, he thinks.

As a rule, they do not even write letters,
212 because very few of them ever leave. The Ende script is not used. Bapa Ketjil, for an unfathomable reason, got a man from Ende to teach him a little of this lontar script two years ago.

563 The Chinese family here speaks Chinese and
197 Ende. The man of the family also speaks Lio. The Savu learn to speak Ende fast, but they speak Savu at home.

185 The belief today is that everyone must have
212 literate children, but there is not much thought about foreign languages, except that they know that they now must have Malay. There
[207] is no radio here and few have ever heard one.
546 About once a year some of them happen to see a movie in Ndona or Ende, but the great majority of people here have never seen one.

R

829 that the big radja here is in Ende, and that's all.

609 The general attitude toward the Dutch has always been one of fear. This is not a specific fear and is not equivalent to the resentment one sees in Larantuka caused by stern rule and frequent jailing. He says that the real reason is that they do not know what they fear, and they can't even talk with or understand the Dutch. The Dutch speak only Malay, and few of the local people here speak Malay. They just tried to avoid the Dutch, and that was easy. As the status of Malay began to rise, there was a bit of a change among the young people, but there was little thought about or contact with or talk concerning the Dutch at any time.

648 [197]

What I have just said is even more true of the mountain areas. Whenever aliens come into the neighborhood they just run away. Thus when Migo goes there for tax work, he sees only the kepala kampong, unless he lures the adat chiefs with tobacco, and other presents. I asked him why he was afraid. After all, he could speak their language. Then he shifted ground and said nothing specific, and stated that they do not even fear taxes, but they have the attitude that any outsider should be avoided. Also, he says that they are so dirty in the mountains that they are ashamed to meet outsiders. (If this is so, they at least are conscious of dirt.) Their clothes are bad and dirty, and they never bathe. The women and children are especially filthy. He says it is too cold in the mountains to bathe. The water is especially cold, even in midday. This is a queer business.

[515]

Religion does not mix in with politics here. There is no trouble with Mohammedanism either. They don't talk much about such things. Even

771

We. The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof,
are easier to keep clean and are better in
general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the
kampong, and even fewer move out of or into
the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration
from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas
beyond Larantuka.

● 20 The kakang has the only telephone here.
There is no telegraph. There is no mail ser-
vice. There is no postman. The priest has a
battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië.
Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not
Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to
change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few
people have much knowledge about the world.
This is really the lowest place I have been in
yet. Most of the people are strongly attached
to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is
very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong
is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they
had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at
war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an
enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

R

484 are afraid to sleep outside, even today. They
152 fear evil spirits (they say setan) of the out-
186 side. This is a real and vivid fear to them.
[776]

Roworeke does not have a telephone, telegraph
●20 or radio. Mail is brought by people who happen to go to Ende, and letters are mailed by the same means. A letter is first sent by the Post Office to the office of the Radja. It may take a long time to get here.

There is a gong used for signaling (it is located near the kapitan's house) on the occasions of the death of a noble, a tax meeting, and the like. News is spread fast by rumor, and the gossip here is uncanny. Everyone in the area knew when the kapitan went with us to Kilimutu.

There are no "local authorities" on the news front. The only people who would approach this are the two police. News bulletins from the Information Service are practically never delivered here. Such things simply do not get this far. There are no traders who give news.

There are markets and there is a market sys-
443 tem. The district markets are located at:

1. Kilometer 14. An empty place, merely. (Friday)
2. Kilometer 24. The same thing. (Saturday)
3. Kilometer 33. In Lio (Monday)
4. Kilometer 52. In Lio. (Tuesday)
5. Kilometer 66. Wolowaru. Lio. (Wednesday?)

Thus there is a circuit, and the Ende traders (papalele) go by truck, day by day, up to the mountains and then down to the start and then over again. Sunday is evidently out (Christian influence, evidently). These traders make little
[563] money as they are mere tools of the Chinese who
[426] lend to them at high rates or merely pay them salaries, or let them buy and sell on a commission basis.

Wa

648 controleur around 1931, when the radja also was an unfit person.

167 I was surprised when he said that just about all the young men here would like to leave and see the world. But they have almost no chance. If they did have such an opportunity, there would be a great exodus here.

721 The only great fear in the old days was war-
152 fare, and this is an intermittent danger today also. Thus, Leloba was at war with Waibalun last month, and it is feared even to walk near there. He admits that there was some fear of bad spirits formerly, but this was relatively not so bad. Still, my guess is that there are few people who are brave enough to go and sleep in other places.

●20 The kakang has a telephone in his office. The only telegraph here is in Larantuka. There is no postal service. Letters must be gotten at the Larantuka Post Office. There is no radio here, and hardly anyone has ever heard one.

The mandur of the kakang transmits important orders from the administration. Rumor is very important as a means of communication, but there is practically no other means here.

The few who receive or read the mission newspaper are asked about what is in the paper. Bulletins are never posted. They see them only in Larantuka town.

443 There are a few women who come here to buy
438 and sell some items. The small market at Okka crossroad on the beach is held once a week, on Tuesday, in the afternoon and until Wednesday. There used to be another market on the beach at Delang.

However, there is no market system here. Roy says they simply have too little surplus to sell, and nearly nothing to buy with. In Adonara, which is richer, there is a regular pasar ring system.

Wa

536 the rites of the agricultural cycle, etc., are highly dramatic). Weaving is probably the
286 most active art.

There are three kinds of dancing.

The hard work in this area is done from Janu-
221 ary to March. This is the growing season. They
784 work hard and steadily in the gardens and are tired at night and have to sleep early. Also, there is a taboo on making noise during this time. It is the time of "work and quiet." This links with beliefs about rice, corn, etc. souls, which must be handled carefully. But then, in July, August, September comes the big time for feasts, dancing, singing, especially at the time of full moon. Then they have lots of fun. After that the quiet time starts again after a tapering off.

•20 They know just about nothing about foreign sports, etc. My theory is that the lack of movies is the main reason for this. There are also no books, magazines or papers. There is no way of finding out about such things. There
533 is plenty of riddling and song games, like
538 pantun. This is done especially in forms which are sung. The same holds for stories. They are told especially by singing. The stories are sung during the great thanksgiving feasts that come perhaps once every nine or ten years. One story may last a month. Every incident in a past period will be told, with all persons indicated by name, their relationships with other people involved, and everything that happened in every kampong, etc. These are evidently true epics on a small-distance scale. These are "local epics." Such a tale may tell everything that happened over a period of twenty generations. Most tales are told about the ancestors (the sistim again; it permeates everything).

585 I forgot to say that Roy says that marriages
241

We

[493] [492] The fact that there are no buses here is a big hindrance. However, the horses help for short runs. The assistant gives the travel
481 178 times on foot in the old days and now. It shows that they walk much faster now than before. The world is speeding up! It used to take a day to walk to Ruteng; now they do it in three hours!

829 In general there is no fear of the outside.
789 In the old days they feared robbery and murder,
609 as outsiders were fair game for such. Magical danger is only encountered in certain places which are well known.

776 There are many kinds of roro, or spirits,
784 e.g., darat (tree), naga (house and kampong), potiwolo (woods). Although the others may be good or evil, the potiwolo are always wicked. They live in woods. For example, they live in the taboo grove on the way to Ruteng. Darat live there too. The potiwolo sneak up and hit their victims. Thus it is dangerous to go into the woods in such an area, and they never enter such a grove alone. The assistant tells that as a boy with his father he was afraid to enter this wooded area. These potiwolo look like men but have goat bodies. They have two arms but only one leg. They either run on all three, or hop along on the one leg. There are other local spirits, and the places where they live are avoided.

20 Formerly no letters were sent in this area at all, and even today, nearly none is written. There is no telephone here and no telegraph. There is a telephone and there are phonograms in Ruteng. There is no radio here. Letters come to Ruteng and stay there until the post office sees a man who happens to be going the right way. Then he passes the word along. A letter may take three months to be received. Even the phonogram I sent was delayed for two

We

20 weeks before the letter from the pastor about it reached the assistant.

[202] There are no regular messengers, but when, formerly, the dalu were sending orders, a messenger with a kris brought the orders. The kris showed that he had the authority of the dalu. Even today a bearer of news of death carries a spear (yesterday one was going about here with a spear). Formerly, if there was a war, a messenger carried a tomato leaf and firewood. The assistant remembers in 1931 seeing the last one of these messengers, when Pau was all ready to go to war against another kampong. The police heard of this and stopped it. It was a border dispute.

[203] There are no markets and no heralds here. News travels by rumor. As yet there are no local "authorities" on the news front. The bulletins from Makassar are posted in the school at Tjantjar.

484 There are no sailors from this village at all, but plenty of the men go out to trade. However, they do not go far away.

829 In regard to interest in news, the local attention is directed to Veol and Rahong events and somewhat to those in Manggarai. Little is known about the rest of Flores or Indonesia, and nothing about the world. The war opened the doors only a crack, which is really inconsiderable. It is evident that this opening did not hit very hard here. And the effects of the Indonesian revolution have hardly hit here either. It is increasing a bit here now, but the tempo is still quite slow. This is simply a very remote place, and this kampong is especially remote. Just imagine those farther off.

In regard to the rest of Indonesia, some of the people know only various place names. Concerning the rest of the world, many, perhaps

Wa

191 is always in Manggarai. I have seen this before. "Mengerti sedikit, tidak bisa tjakap [I understand a little bit, but I can't speak it].

53 We saw a poor show at the pasar malam. It
177 was a sandiwara traveling troupe like the one
831 I saw on the ship. It consisted of torch singers and crooners. The gallery came down with a carioca in western dress. The contact was not close, but closer than they used to make it, and at the end the woman half fell into the man's arms. They shrieked. This very mild sex symbolism in dance was extreme for them. Their dances, as usual, are incredibly dull. The songs repeat themselves over and over again.
526 And they carry on their whip fighting day after day. They even abuse football, and play it from dawn to dusk. This is like the ten games
[171] of baseball a day in Micronesia. They overdo things.

201 As we were sitting in the assistant's house
576 with him and the other guru, a woman came in
123 and swiftly pushed her face into mine, holding
832 my head and rubbing noses. It seemed almost as though she were using her mouth a bit too, and I wondered if this were a combination of nose rub and sniff kiss. She then went quickly to Kattenburg and then to the two guru. Nothing would stop her, even embarrassed protests from the guru. The assistant asked who she was, and the other said she was Marcus's wife (who's that?). We were so embarrassed that we turned at once back to the questions, and we acted as though nothing had happened. We saw her later in the rear of the house, looking queer. Query: Was she crazy, or was she doing some bit of unthinking etiquette? But even if she were crazy, she must have been following a pattern here, or why do it in exactly that way? It would have been better if it had been the other guru's wife, who is a beauty.

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Wor

829 a small scale.

Everyone here knows the places in and the arrangement of the kampong and the district and the Larantuka town road. Perhaps only ten people know about the setup as far as Maumere, and probably only the guru is clear about the rest of Flores. Perhaps only two people know about the general arrangement of the geography of Indonesia. And except for a few place names and countries, no one knows about world geography.

One boy who is in the fifth grade knew the population of Indonesia, and he also knew the population of the United States! He was absolutely correct. Other people could not give this information, and as for other countries even he had no idea.

As usual we got a terrific reaction when we told them how few people there were in Holland. They muttered for several minutes. They said [197] that two men in Wailolong and one in Leloba [204] receive the mission paper. Perhaps ten other people borrow and read it.

484 The very few people who have visited towns 521 outside of Flores are loquacious in telling ●203 about their experiences, mostly limited to kampong life. Others listen to this, but there is evidently very little reaction.

178 There has been just about no change in the 632 political structure in the last fifty years 651 here. The kakang and all others were here long ago. The kakang has shifted from one kampong to another and that's about all. The traditional system of government has seen little change. Taxation started forty years ago. Now they pay a tax of fl. 1.00 for each animal killed for food, and fl. 10.00 for each animal killed for sale. (This just about stops any chance of a meat-selling market or animal industry.)

000 Today there are more meetings and greater

War

829 they only saw them run away when the Japanese
[648] came in. He then said something which was quite interesting: that it is not hard for even the illiterates here to understand the government of any land in the world, as they have had so much experience with a system of government here. All they have to do is imagine the alien organization in terms of their own political organization.

875 As for information spread about in regard to
● 203 politics and current events, Roy says that the guru do a lot of this. The people ask them questions, and they are really big men.

521 The people here do not talk much about poli-
829 tics. Even when they had the big day of celebrating independence and the flag was flown, after the main information about the Round Table Conference was out, the people began to talk about their gardens, etc. They know about Sukarno, because his picture is everywhere [the Hitler theme?]. The thing which really settled
[798] the rumor that the red and white flag is that of Islam was Sukarno's speech that all religions were free. Priests must have publicized this.

829 The local people know that Java is the center
203 of all Indonesia, but there is little talk about
521 this yet. Roy sees the importance in this of the complete absence of movies, radio, and the relative absence of papers. If the people had these, they would talk more (as do the backward Buginese who see movies of other lands and are curious about them).

794 Roy says that Catholicism does not mix itself
665 up with politics here at all. When elections are held, the priest says in church that they must be sure to choose the right man. At least, he insists that the church is not involved in politics. I tried to press Roy by telling him how the church tried to get another radja for Manggarai, because the present one, although

794 Catholic, has two wives, but he was adamant.
665 As for Mohammedanism, he says that they are dormant politically, or at least they have been until recently. Now that Dr. Sutomo is here he is becoming a kind of Mohammedan leader. However, the Mohammedans are few and they are important only in Kampong Baru. There was a
798 rumor here on the Japanese entrance that the
● 203 Japanese were Mohammedans. It went further to the effect that all Christians and pagans were to be killed. The theme was that you had better get your songko boys. There was a new version, when the red and white flag went up. It went that this was really the flag of Islam and that the Christians and pagans would have no voice in the government. He thinks that perhaps this rumor was started by the Mohammedans. It was here that he joyfully parroted several times my word desas-desus [whispering, rumors]. He learns new words fast.

The situation here is the reverse of the
178 usual thing. The Catholics are the radicals,
797 in the sense that they are against the old
565 things which are pagan, and the pagans are the
177 conservatives in the sense that they want to
769 keep the old ways. This will change later, surely.

This led to a long talk about the entry of Catholicism here. Roy admits that he may be the most powerful factor in the fast and one hundred per cent conversion here. He said that the main reason was that he gave good lessons (ketranggan [interpretation, clarification, proof]) and the second reason was that he happens to be a real noble. The latter meant not only that he had a good name and respected rank, but that he was in close touch with and had real privileges in the pagan ancestral stuff. Indeed, his own rank depends on the ancestor cult. If he was willing to take a chance with the new

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000 that is all.

166 609 567 614 769 There are no rites for ordinary folk who just enter the kampong. In the old days, however, when new slaves came in they had to have rites in order to tell the ancestors that they were new members of the clan. This pretty well clinches the slave entering va'u matter. They just do. This is why the former slaves are members of the clans. Only those on the inside know who is who. The longer the time gets from slavery days the more it is not brought up.

563 443 793 The only Europeans here are the pastors. The traders are Chinese and Arabs and natives. The business of the occasional Chinese pedlar with his coolie is quite usual here. They stay usually for only a few hours.

The pastors tell stories to the local people about Europe, etc. The Chinese who are regular [203] pedlars have been in Manggarai for a long time, and they spread some news.

484 In these local kampongs everyone has been to another kampong. The women go outside their own kampong less often and do not go so far [438] away as the men. Men go out to trade horses, buy tobacco, etc. During the Japanese occupation they ranged far in order to buy cloth, etc. However, all of this was within Manggarai. All have been to Ruteng.

All have been outside Rahong, as they have been to Ruteng. At least fifty per cent of the local population have never seen the sea. One person has gone to Ende, and two have gone [167] to Kupang as soldiers. One went to Makassar to work. The Japanese took several to Riung to work, but most of the people have never left Manggarai. No one from here has ever left Indonesia. In all Manggarai, the assistant thinks only one person has ever left Flores. He is a pastor, I think.

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20 weeks before the letter from the pastor about it reached the assistant.

[202] There are no regular messengers, but when, formerly, the dalu were sending orders, a messenger with a kris brought the orders. The kris showed that he had the authority of the dalu. Even today a bearer of news of death carries a spear (yesterday one was going about here with a spear). Formerly, if there was a war, a messenger carried a tomato leaf and firewood. The assistant remembers in 1931 seeing the last one of these messengers, when Pau was all ready to go to war against another kampong. The police heard of this and stopped it. It was a border dispute.

[203] There are no markets and no heralds here. News travels by rumor. As yet there are no local "authorities" on the news front. The bulletins from Makassar are posted in the school at Tjantjar.

484 There are no sailors from this village at all, but plenty of the men go out to trade. However, they do not go far away.

829 In regard to interest in news, the local attention is directed to Veol and Rahong events and somewhat to those in Manggarai. Little is known about the rest of Flores or Indonesia, and nothing about the world. The war opened the doors only a crack, which is really inconsiderable. It is evident that this opening did not hit very hard here. And the effects of the Indonesian revolution have hardly hit here either. It is increasing a bit here now, but the tempo is still quite slow. This is simply a very remote place, and this kampong is especially remote. Just imagine those farther off.

In regard to the rest of Indonesia, some of the people know only various place names. Concerning the rest of the world, many, perhaps

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829 a small scale.

Everyone here knows the places in and the arrangement of the kampong and the district and the Larantuka town road. Perhaps only ten people know about the setup as far as Maumere, and probably only the guru is clear about the rest of Flores. Perhaps only two people know about the general arrangement of the geography of Indonesia. And except for a few place names and countries, no one knows about world geography.

One boy who is in the fifth grade knew the population of Indonesia, and he also knew the population of the United States! He was absolutely correct. Other people could not give this information, and as for other countries even he had no idea.

As usual we got a terrific reaction when we told them how few people there were in Holland. They muttered for several minutes. They said [197] that two men in Wailolong and one in Leloba [204] receive the mission paper. Perhaps ten other people borrow and read it.

484 The very few people who have visited towns 521 outside of Flores are loquacious in telling 203 about their experiences, mostly limited to kampong life. Others listen to this, but there is evidently very little reaction.

178 There has been just about no change in the 632 political structure in the last fifty years 651 here. The kakang and all others were here long ago. The kakang has shifted from one kampong to another and that's about all. The traditional system of government has seen little change. Taxation started forty years ago. Now they pay a tax of fl. 1.00 for each animal killed for food, and fl. 10.00 for each animal killed for sale. (This just about stops any chance of a meat-selling market or animal industry.)

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178 to make some of these now. There is much more
415 use of iron tools and utensils than was formerly
the case.

411 I also noted many spear bearers. The one I talked with in Tana Ai said that his spear (with a regular head) had been bought from a traveling seller who had brought it from Adonara. Over the line in Lewotobi, I asked a man with a spear, whose head had only one barb, what kind of spear he was carrying. He said that it was unique to Lewotobi, and later I saw others like it. I guess they make them themselves.

Then I went on to Larantuka, where the
443 pasanggrahan disintegrates more all the time.
515 This time the place was full of medicine
514 sellers who follow fairs about and do tricks on bicycles. They sang Mohammedan chants endlessly, washed clothes and urinated in the bathroom, and sat around in the way. I had already run into a similarly unsanitary Arab couple in the Ende pasanggrahan. The medicine people were from Celebes. Now this place is really going native. The toilets are falling into ruin. I noted on my way that the tele-
● 206 graph wire was down at kilometer 44, and I told the next road foreman. Four days later I found the wire still down. The bridges will
491 never be rebuilt, it seems. The road simply uses fords, that's all.

797 I hear from Arriens that letters are coming
648 to the Flores Council asking how long the Dutch
178 are going to remain in their posts. The whole place is on the way down. I hear that Radja Sikka, has appointed Pastor Raats, a Dutchman, as a special adviser. Thus the mission alone will remain of the West here. The new superstition is substituted for the old.

797 I get more and more depressed by Larantuka with its constant Catholic processions. On the way in at a suburb, a long procession with crosses, chanting, etc., came winding out of a church (I wonder if it was the old time one at

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000 they might ask for one of those too.

207 At the pasanggrahan there is a radio, telegraph man, a Dutchman, married to a Roti girl. His Roti assistant is there too. He supervises and fixes the radio and telegraph installations in this area. He gets fl. 280.00 a month. He says that in Savu, which is primitive, and to a lesser degree in Roti, there is much fear of magic in radio. They suspect that it is necessary to put a kidnaped child's head under a new radio pole, and they have even looked under the poles. He showed a group of school children how he took apart a radio set, to show them that there was no spirit inside. This notion in regard to child and head sacrifice is all over here, and underlines the way the Radja of Lio started again to sacrifice children and scatter their bodies in the fields for fertility during the war when the Japanese were here. He was executed in Kupang by the Dutch after the war, because he had also killed Dutch and Australians. This sort of thing is everywhere here, just under the surface.

000 Arriens said that in Alor there is plenty of suwanggi murder. He is inclined to go easy with such cases, as they are sure they did right. One man lost a child after an old women had come to ask for food two nights in a row and he had refused. His right arm got paralyzed too, and he was sure that she was a suwanggi. He took a parang in the left hand and swept off her head, despite her protests. In court he told the story and still could not use his right arm. Arriens gave him six years, but the Kupang court raised it to fourteen, as there were too many such murders. Arriens also said that he went to Wolowaru when they were putting in a new radja, and asked all the mosa laki to come and tell their wishes secretly. They did well,

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533 In connection with special training for
871 individuals, the only thing they can think of is that the children have flute lessons in school and learn to read notes.

212 In Wailolong fifty years ago only one person was literate.

191 Everyone here can speak the local language.
212 Of the old folks, perhaps only one per cent can speak Indonesian. The younger people are learning it in school. No one here speaks Dutch. No one here speaks any other language. About fifty per cent of the population here can read and write. At the most perhaps ten persons read regularly or at least look at the mission paper. This is the only "reading matter" except for prayer books.

There is almost no writing done locally. Perhaps about ten people have at some time written or received a letter. One guru can read and write Arabic.

There is no special instruction given in reading and writing. There are no aliens, and hence no foreign languages used in the area.
[207] There is no radio, and perhaps only the guru have ever seen movies.

178 There have been very few changes in the
412 technology here introduced during the last fifty
262 years. They are using shovels a bit, etc., but mainly the same old artifacts. In regard to food, there are a few changes. For example, there are new kinds of vegetables (in the old days they evidently had practically none), new varieties of bananas, etc. Evidently food was simple to the extreme in the old days.

286 The women spin and weave here, and this is perhaps the most important craft (in fact there
323 is no doubt about it). There is no pottery (they buy such items from the few places where pottery is made). Recently, a few people have
200 learned how to cook salt. There are about ten

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415 use of iron tools and utensils than was formerly
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208 effort to get the opinions of the people. This
634 is especially so since this Radja came in about
178 eleven years ago. Formerly, the radja merely
663 ordered things to be done and paid no heed to
648 the local requirements, etc. Also, the radja gets around to more areas now. (We noted that the Radja is making a good-will tour, and probably all of them are scared of another Java.) He said that there is a much closer arrangement between the radja and the people now. Formerly the Dutch and the radjas worked together very closely, and anyone who spoke up was simply jailed. I can see this is as in Ende, and the Dutch here until the end used the jail as the solution for everything. They wouldn't listen to anything else. If the radja and Dutch work together the result is tyranny, and it is real here.

There is more justice here now, they say. They say this began about eleven years ago with the present Radja. But this may be out of respect, and they admit that the real change has taken place here since the war. The war really liberated Indonesia. There is no more use of brute force. People can speak up now.

789 We had a long talk about magical power. They
769 say that the power of the chiefs, from the radja
622 to the adat kepala kampong to the kepala suku to
[153] the kelake, is all a matter of fear of ancestral punishment. If they do not obey, they
[152] become sick and have misfortunes. The magical power comes mainly from the ancestral spirits, but it is funneled through the magic stones of authority too. The curse power of an adat chief is very great. The power of the purely administrative chiefs, for example, the kepala kampong, who does not deal with adat, and the kalang, is that of the police, etc. This is actually not so because all of the chiefs are of the proper succession. If they ever tried to put one in

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
614 living on the level of the road and the other
621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo.
[211] At the road border of the kampong a bit in from the road, standing against the skyline, is a row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe heads. They are thin and tall. They are set on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
[417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical of all kampongs in this region, so that the kampong itself is located down in a stone wall enclosure.

346 Below the first row of stone pillars there
769 is another with just as many stones. It is also set on a mound. Just below this stands the
531 umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on one side there is a living tree with Y-branches at the fork. Stones are heaped around the ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet high, and consists of a single pillar with thatched cap. The pillar is made of hebuh wood and is carved in fancy designs which are hard to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were made of white shell). Looking under the cap I could see that the pillar forks were in the shape of a U, and so it is really about the same as the Nagoh peo, but less clearly Y-shaped and covered with a cap.

342 To either side of the plaza, which was of
361 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small and had rather low roofs. These houses are set on piles. On one side was the house of the
624 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
769 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
346 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
565 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
554 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in
574

R Generally, I think that
632 the government has not put adat chiefs (for
622 example, ata nggaëh nua) into administrative
624 posts. This also holds for the mosa laki. I
693 can think of the following possible reasons:
631 (1) adat chiefs are largely illiterate and cannot do administrative work therefore; (2) adat chiefs are largely pagan, and the mission, therefore, probably does not like them (indeed, one of the main ends of the mission is to do away with that devil, the tuan tanah; they usually say they want to do this because he stands in the way of progress and land reform, but this is a rationalization; it is like killing the Toradja death feasts because of immorality, when the real reason is that they constitute the main bulwark of pagan survival); (3) adat chiefs formerly and potentially even today are probably the centers of possible revolt against alien laws and government, and thus it is better not to let them have too much power. So they let them handle harmless adat cases. This is indirect rule on the adat level, taking all important functions away from them. Nevertheless, I note that the ad-
[565] ministrative appointees (who may be "elected" in a way) are always or nearly always of the adat chiefly families. Thus, here the kepala kampong is the younger brother of the ata nggaëh nua, and the kapitan is a noble of the adat lineage. They are literate and Christian (or Mohammedan) nobles of the old adat nobility.

Ngada and Nageh: The Ngada Y- or rather
231 U-topped upright, is used to run a buffalo rope
417 through. One end of the rope is attached to the neck of the buffalo and then passed through the U, and the other end is fastened to the stone post. Thus it is held taut when the buffalo is killed.

764 Ngada "resting places" along the road are
●211 rectangular stone heap mounds, flat on top,

764 with upright stone. They are built by indi-
211 viduals to commemorate their own name. There
[554] is great vanity here in keeping one's name alive after death. Thus the ngadu builder gets his name on the ngadu too. There are no offerings, however, at these rest places.

231 The Nageh in Soa kill animals with spears
411 as they are released (probably a hunting survival). Perhaps this is related to Toradja spearing?

556 Larantuka: We left Ende on Friday, January
237 6, and after ten and a half hours we got to
177 Larantuka. There we met a young Chinese trader
438 who was born in Lomblem and whose father has a toko there. They are now in Surabaja, but he comes through Flores and the islands to buy stuff each year. He is now buying kemiri nuts. He told me a lot about Lomblem. He said that there are thousands of tusks in Lomblem alone. And he said that Maumere, which is relatively rich in various products, is cornering a large part of the tusks of Flores. In other places, for example, in Larantuka, there are fewer tusks now, and people are beginning to pay money instead. The Maumere folk, he said, think nothing of money. The real wealth and goal of all striving is tied up in the tusks. He said that the Chinese brought the tusks in originally and told the radjas here that they were the teeth of the naga (which was important locally before that). The radjas paid dearly for them, and soon all the folk here wanted them. Hence, thousands were imported by the Chinese. It may have been the same situation as that which obtains with the mokko in the Alor area. They too may well be from China.

511 This Chinese said that in Lomblem the folk
461 want very little. They work a little, just
185 enough to get the corn going, and then drink
273 enough gin to go to sleep. When drunk they

Wa

578 children). There are no Ili Djadi descendants
621 in Riang Kamië at all. The folk are mostly
614 descendants of Kroko Putang, although there are
173 some from Sina Djawa. Among the kampongs which
united to form Riang Kamië were Lamalewa, Beluwela, and Lamaliang. There are now fifteen suku in Riang Kamië. The old kampongs are still used for the sections (as is so often the case in Indonesia).

●[211] The Kroko Putang origin (Tenemau) is symbolized by the wooden prau model in the korke of Riang Kamië.

621 The Sina Djawa folk were liked by the Ili
614 Djadi people, however, because when they entered
173 they brought iron, flint and steel and other
177 "high" things. Many suku were taken into the
773 kampongs from the Sina Djawa. They brought
with them good weapons. Riang Kamië is the largest kampong here. Its population is about
[161] one thousand three hundred (Wailolong and Leloba have about seven hundred each). There is a lot of material on the legendary relationships between the ancestors as seen now in the kampongs. Thus, the two original Ili Djadi were a brother and sister, covered with hair. They came out of the mountain and a Padji girl on the shore saw a fire on the mountain. They were then discovered, and the Padji girl, Hadumboleng (a different person from the Ama Hadumboleng in the suku list), married Lenurat. Thus the Ili Djadi are Padji on the mother's side. The girl, however, sister of Lenurat, married a Timor man, Pategolo. The Radja of Larantuka is descended from the latter union. Thus Timor is involved in the male origin and Ili Djadi in the female origin. Also, the kampongs which are descended from the Pategolo-Watuwele (this was the name of Lenurat's sister) union are on the beach side of the mountain, and they are Waibalun, Balela, and Lokea. The last is the Radja's kampong.

[151 cont.]

R-L 212 one of the three. The Redjang who, as is known, inhabit the northern part of Palembang, use bamboo laths as writing material, on which they make the letters with a rentjong, a kind of dagger, from which the writing gets its name, satra rentjong. Satra, a word that occurs in Kawi and is used in Balinese in the form sastra, is the Sanskrit cāstra = writing, book. In the archipelago this satra or sastra is synonymous with tulisan, "something which has been written," thus not only writing, but also script. Satra rentjong, therefore, could be translated as dagger-script and understood like our term, pencil-script.

Besides the actual Redjang, this script is also used in the lowlands of Palembang, in the Rawas division, in Pasemah, and in the Jambi Highlands, particularly in Korintji, although modified somewhat there. We have mentioned the Lampong alphabetic writing, used, as the name indicates, in the Lampong districts. It is very similar to the rentjong writing and is scratched on bamboo or written on paper. The writing of the Batak differs B 212 in many respects from the alphabets of southern Sumatra; the 787 former is more rounded, the latter more angular. The writing materials of the Batak are again bamboo tubes and tree bark soaked in rice water (2). The divining tablets are written

2. Van der Tuuk, Bataksch woordenboek, see alim.

principally on tree bark, which is folded together [152] to make S a book and then bears the name pustaka or lopyan.

F M The Dajak, as has been said, have no alphabetic writing; it is otherwise, however, on south Celebes. The Makassarese 212 and Buginese there each write with their own alphabetic writing, but one is essentially like the other. Besides a few minor deviations, the former has four more letters than the latter, namely, the compound nka, mpa, nra, and nc. The lontar palm leaf formerly served generally as writing material; hence, writing is called lontarǎ. In a modified form the Buginese

Makassar 066
Flores 0F9
Sumbawa 0F18
Philippines 0A1
Javanese 0E5

S F MK 212 [152 cont.]
alphabetic is found on Bima, eastern Sumbawa, and on western and southern Flores, brought by Buginese colonists.

Finally, there are some tribes in the Philippines who have alphabetic writing, the Bisaya, Tagalog, etc., but whose script has almost entirely been replaced by Latin characters (1).

P 212

1. Holle, Tabel van Oud en Nieuw Indische Alphabetten [Table of Ancient and Modern Malayan Alphabets], p. 39 ff.

J I 212 114

These are the alphabets existing today. Alphabetic writing, however, has not always been used in the present form. The script formerly used, especially on Java, differs considerably from that used today. This old script has become known from the many inscriptions on stone and metal that are found everywhere on Java, Sumatra, and even on Borneo. The text of these inscriptions is Old Javanese or Kawi, then more or less Sanskrit. Raffles gave his attention to the inscriptions and depicted some of them in his great work on Java. Their accuracy leaves much to be desired, however, and the explanations of them given by scholars who, lacking sufficient knowledge of the language, had to rely on information from so-called Javanese experts have little value. In 1843 the Society for Arts and Sciences [Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen] of Batavia planned to assemble for faithful copying in a Corpus inscriptionum Javanorum" all the available inscriptions on Java, but this plan fell through. [153] Fortunately, there was a young German, Friedrich, who was taken with this idea. After having applied himself to the study of the Sanskrit languages at Bonn and Berlin, he signed up as a soldier in the colonial army as the only way open to him to get into Java and to satisfy his desire to undertake scientific investigations. His knowledge soon became known and appreciated in the Indies, and he was appointed assistant librarian of the above-mentioned society, in which capacity he gloriously accomplished various scientific

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551 I asked about personal names and found that the suku name is not used as a personal family name. What they do is the same as the Scandinavians and Arabs and old Jews. They indeed usually employ only their own names preceded by their Christian names, if any. But if asked, they will also give their father's name after their own name. Thus my assistant is Migo. His church name is Adrianus. His father's name was Pega. Usually he calls himself Adrianus Migo, but if pressed he will say Adrianus Migo Pega. The same holds for the kapitan, who is Mani and whose father was Api. The giri tumba is Raki, and his father Dura. Thus in full, Migo is Adrianus (Church) Migo Pega of suku Odja. They
197 said that no one in the kampong could speak Dutch, and perhaps only a little more than ten per cent could speak Malay. There is one man
●[212] (Bapa Ketjil of Aiutu, an old man who chews betel and has almost no teeth) who can write in the Ende script. They call it tulisan lontar. They say that in Ende town alone it is well known, but outside of the town it is rare.

595 The wife of the Controleur says that the
183 Radja of Manggarai is a Catholic, although he has two wives. This is a nice problem. The former Radja of Lio was brought back from exile by the Japanese during the war. Later he was executed by the Dutch because he murdered so many Dutch, Australians, etc. But he also killed many children for the fertility of the rice fields. Nevertheless, he was a Catholic. The Radja of Sikka has had several wives, even at the same time, and many concubines. At one time he had a Mohammedan wife and also a Mohammedan concubine. Each time he confesses and reenters the mother Church, to the rejoicing of the priests.
793 The priests here are evidently worse than death
178 for the old adat, much worse than the Protestants
797 in Ambon, and the people are scared of them, for

We
000 trols this atomism.

124 The next day we went to the kampong, stopping
●212 at Mudakaputu, and Watuwiti, and other places on
115 the way. These all seemed less good than Wailolong. For example, Riangkamiö had only two suku; others had none or only one korke, etc. At Leloba, the guru had another guru with him, and said that we must use him as he was not so good at writing. Then I asked about whether or not it might not be a good idea to use an assistant who lives in Wailolong, but they said nobody there can write well because most of them have attended only three grades of schooling. Then we went to the district chief, the kakang, who was formerly in Boschwesen, and who is a man with good authority. He said he would order the Wailolong folk to help and would put at my disposal a lad from Wailolong. Also, he said he would order them to let us use one of the rumah pemuda, or boys' houses, in Wailolong. We talked at length about the situation and it seems that there are really no people in Wailolong who are able to write well.

773 We talked about the way the old stories are
178 dying out and the young people won't listen any
872 more. The guru Roy and a few old men only are the ones who know very much. The guru is the best, and he knows all of the ancestors back for nineteen generations. He also complained about how the schools do not have books about Indonesia and the local affairs, but rather about Europe, which the children cannot understand.

632 We had taken in the jeep a lot of kepala suku
622 and kepala kampong of Wailolong to the kakang
693 where they were to have a case hearing. It is
614 evidently a case concerned with marriage. The kepala suku are clearly old style fellows. Several
[30] of the old men had long hair and necklaces and one had a tattoo on his chest. The kakang gave a
614 speech ordering them to help us. Then we went to

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622 the Bapa ketjil. I might never have found this
693 out if I hadn't seen him dressed in adat cos-
624 tume coming into an adat meeting for a case
hearing. His younger brother is the admini-
[565] strative kepala kampong. (The kapitan says
[212] that if the kepala kampong did not come from
nobility the people would not follow him, and
so I can see that they choose a man of the
adat kepala kampong or ata nggaëh nua family
for the administrative kepala kampong and in
addition one who can read and write. Then
they can keep the old man in the adat post.)
Maybe there are cases of one man being both.
624 Thus in the kampong there are really five adat
622 officers: the ata nggaëh nua, the mosa laki
632 mere, the giri tumba, the ndeto au, and the
693 sikesani. The administrative ones are the
kepala kampong and the oro kuni. The same
pattern holds for the district. The kapitan
is the administrative man, and then the mosa
laki mere besar acts as adat chief. This
might be the same man, I suppose. Then they
have the other big mosa laki.

The adat case came up at noon, and coming
to it were the Big Four (here the Kampong Four
too), the kepala kampong, the ata nggaëh nua,
and the kapitan. The chairman and judge, the
mosa laki mere, as well as others (e.g., the
kapitan), could ask questions and keep things
in line. The kepala kampong must be present
too (evidently both kinds of kepala kampong).
This case was one concerned with marriage. I
must ask later what it was.

Kattenburg got some material on administra-
tion. Theoretically, the adat chiefs are
supposed to be used for administrative posts
by the government. But they are rarely so
used evidently, and this causes the dual sys-
tem: adat and administration. They may coin-
cide at any point. Generally, I think that

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665 The thought of a political career is absolutely absent. No one has it, not even the guru.

204 The one local paper, the mission bi-weekly
203 "Bentara" (herald), is received by only one
●212 guru in Leloba and two guru in Wailolong. It is read by perhaps ten other individuals in each place. It is very important, as it is the only paper here. The people are now in the habit of asking the guru what is in the paper. Thus the word of mouth is the main vehicle, but the feeble paper is an important item. The only books here are school books and religious books. Adults read only the latter, and not for fun. However, they love stories, and he is sure that a library would be deluged with readers. Literate adults over thirty or forty are rare. Younger people are mostly literate. There is
[207] no radio here at all.

582 There have been no changes in the marriage
593 system to speak of in the last half century.
858 Roy says there have been few changes in the
888 family either. I tried to ask if the children are less respectful or obedient now, but he said no. I tried to get this by the religious conflict, but he is adamant that it never split up families. Even here there was never a loss of respect for the elders, even though they were pagans and the children were Christians. And the elders, although their hearts were sick, never tried to force their children to follow them. They were just not violent. There was never a case of disowning. He said a parent would be ashamed forever if he had done so, and indeed it was quite unthinkable. They love children so much that, though they might try to talk with them, if a child remained firm always a child would get its will. The parents would be ashamed of any open or loud conflict. They might have troubled hearts, but that's all. Although they might try reasoning with them, they would go no further.

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524 465 like the marinyo of Ambon. I asked what the secretary got, and he said cigarette money only. The pay is evidently very little.

583 614 611 784 Correction: Although he says there is no case here now, he has found out that if the bride price is not paid, the children are of the suku of the mother. And the bride price must be paid at marriage. There is no post-marriage payment in order to get the children back. Thus there is real ambil anak here. The man remains a member of his own sib, and the wife a member of hers. Thus she assumes the "married woman" totem taboos of her own sib, not those of her husband's sib, as is the more usual thing.

346 778 614 I asked about the rumah berhala of Wolopeo. This group has a real house, and in it there are four ana deo, two in bad repair. There is one for each of the four suku. There are no other suku in the kampong. There are also plenty of belongings in the house. It is rather large, about twelve meters on a side. There are baskets and other objects therein. This old kampong is only one kilometer off the road in the hills at kilometer 17. I may go there one day. The four suku are Mbonggi (the kepala kampong is from this), Djo'bi, Soa, and Woro. The oldest suku is Mbonggi. There is [769] also a grave-bone shrine here, of the suku Djo'bi.

771 769 The folk here are now mostly Catholic, but they do have an annual ancestor rite, and the Catholics attend too. The kampong Ratebedi, far off in the hills, has fewer Catholics, as is the case with the far off Bu'ube'i. The distant ones remain pagan longer.

872 178 ● 212 000 Fifty years ago there was no school. It came in 1921. No one went to school before this. They were totally illiterate (this shows how recently the schools came in here). They were

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791 178 all pagans then,[1] and all parents of the present adults of about thirty or older were pagan. My assistant's father was.

872 [177] The lower school here consists of three grades. It is a mission school although the government evidently makes a contribution to it. In Ndona (seven kilometers by road, four kilometers across the hills, and the children walk there) there are eight grades. Until the present there is only one from here who has gone as far as class seven, and ten in class six. The school in Ndona is the highest level school around here (and perhaps in all Flores) except for the seminary. The eighth grade qualifies one for the job of guru.

There are two children here who go to school in Ende where there is a connecting or intermediate school and a middle school, I think.

[171] There are few Mohammedans here, and no Koran school. They must go to Ende for this.

871 185 178 Everyone here is very much in favor of education. Formerly, there was a bit of trouble with the oldsters who saw no sense (and I suspect did not like the mission tie-up) in such things. But now everyone wants his children to go to school. They are anxious to have both their girls and boys go to school, although they are perhaps a bit more interested in education for their boys. If a girl is clever, however, they want her to advance too.

888 ● 212 The children do show a bit of a superiority feeling toward the illiterate oldsters, but there is almost always a great show of respect. And the illiterate old folk are not ashamed. They are only farmers, anyway, they say.

798 872 178 When Catholicism came in first, there was much trouble, and the elders scolded hard. After the school came in, in 1921, there was no more trouble. They say and insist that the pagan elders make no trouble at all for the Catholic children

[1] [i.e., fifty years ago --Analyst]

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000 children. It is remarkable that there is so
858 much freedom exhibited by the children all over here. They do as they please evidently.

463 Nearly everyone is a farmer here, but to
212 be kepala kampong, kapitan, secretary, or
622 the like, an individual must be literate. There are, however, illiterate kepala kampongs, but they must use a literate mandur to help them with the work. There are no openings for clerical people or the like.

[874] The only seminary here is for priests, and
787 as yet there are no students there from here.
[154] The bisa mari (sorcerers) are not trained.
They get their call in dreams. They are about
[156] equally male and female. The dukun also get
[844] their call in dreams. However, the ones who are midwives learn from mothers.

463 There are no specialists at all. The local
438 population must buy even its ironwork elsewhere.
335 They do not even have carpenters here. Anyone can build a house. This place exhibits a very low level in all such things except weaving. They now learn music in school.

853 Many children who are clever and would like to advance in school cannot do this as it costs fl. 10.00 per month for a higher education. There is plenty of heartache here. Perhaps there is not so very much yet, actually.

212 Fifty years ago no one could read or write, not even in the Ende script.

197 One hundred per cent of the people here speak Ende, including the foreigners from Savu and the Chinese. The latter did not speak Ende when they came in, but after a year they could.

Only about one hundred can speak Malay. No one speaks Dutch. The children are starting to learn a bit of Dutch in school now, but this is evidently only in the higher school.

There are no other languages spoken, except of course, Chinese and Savu. They say that they

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197 can speak Lio, but Lio people have a hard time to speak Ende, as the latter had difficult phonetics.

●212 Today eighty per cent of the population is literate.

203 Very few of the people here read, and the
204 only paper that comes here is the mission "Bentara." It is seen only by the kapitan, the assistant, and the guru. Others ask them what is in the news. If there were more papers, more would read. For the first time, the Information Office (Makassar) monthly "Pandji Negara" came here just now.

The only books here are religious books, and these have to be bought (prayer books). In
217 Ende, the mission has a library and there people can borrow, but no one here does. If they had a library here, plenty would borrow books, because they like stories.

The assistant is sad about the lack of news-
204 papers. They would like the reading material they provide, he thinks.

As a rule, they do not even write letters,
212 because very few of them ever leave. The Ende script is not used. Bapa Ketjil, for an unfathomable reason, got a man from Ende to teach him a little of this lontar script two years ago.

563 The Chinese family here speaks Chinese and
197 Ende. The man of the family also speaks Lio. The Savu learn to speak Ende fast, but they speak Savu at home.

185 The belief today is that everyone must have
212 literate children, but there is not much thought about foreign languages, except that they know that they now must have Malay. There
[207] is no radio here and few have ever heard one.
546 About once a year some of them happen to see a movie in Ndona or Ende, but the great majority of people here have never seen one.

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533 In connection with special training for
871 individuals, the only thing they can think of is that the children have flute lessons in school and learn to read notes.

● 212 In Wailolong fifty years ago only one person was literate.

Everyone here can speak the local language.
191 Of the old folks, perhaps only one per cent
212 can speak Indonesian. The younger people are learning it in school. No one here speaks Dutch. No one here speaks any other language. About fifty per cent of the population here can read and write. At the most perhaps ten persons read regularly or at least look at the mission paper. This is the only "reading matter" except for prayer books.

There is almost no writing done locally. Perhaps about ten people have at some time written or received a letter. One guru can read and write Arabic.

There is no special instruction given in reading and writing. There are no aliens, and hence no foreign languages used in the area.
[207] There is no radio, and perhaps only the guru have ever seen movies.

178 There have been very few changes in the
412 technology here introduced during the last fifty
262 years. They are using shovels a bit, etc., but mainly the same old artifacts. In regard to food, there are a few changes. For example, there are new kinds of vegetables (in the old days they evidently had practically none), new varieties of bananas, etc. Evidently food was simple to the extreme in the old days.

286 The women spin and weave here, and this is perhaps the most important craft (in fact there
323 is no doubt about it). There is no pottery (they buy such items from the few places where pottery is made). Recently, a few people have
000 learned how to cook salt. There are about ten

651 Arriens said that he had heard this from the Radja as a big source of trouble now. I can imagine it. Their big trouble on this simple level, with the government, was only taxes (and for a few, jail). Thus, when freedom comes in, it means freedom from the Dutch burden, taxes. [622] Anyway, I noted that the kapitan, as usual [554] when in trouble, had called the giri tumba and the big ata ngga'eh nua (Bapa Ketjil) to come to his house in full adat dress. This underlines again the point that real prestige is in these old adat chiefs. They are the ones to call upon when a real decision has to be made. And there sat the malcontents, about to face the adat chiefs.

114 In Ndona, as I waited for the assistant to get the dukun from the hills, I sat in the jeep and read Bruine's[1] report on Lio, which was very 123 appropriate. As church got out, there gathered about at least twenty men and boys, and the latter hung over me while I was reading or at least trying to read the book. They were astonished, and read aloud, when they saw words [212] like "mosa laki Ndona." And some of them could [515] read the Dutch. Overall was the smell of sweat and onions.

181 The last trick of the assistant was to ask 123 for my fountain pen so that he could look at it and think of me. These folk are easily the most greedy yet. I doubt that one could appeal to mere good spirit here.

114 I think I have finally located the Rea which Elbert and Körner[2] always refer to as Rea Ndona. 103 I think they mean the Ende coastal area. I know where Ndona is, but I now see in a map in the Bruine[1] report that Tanah Rea is the former name of the area in which Nangapanda is on the south coast. It stretched to the north coast of Flores.

000 Back in these hills, which I wish I could explore, there may well have been endocannibalism!

[1] [Probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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871 old people have been heard to say that they
185 wished they were young again so that they could go to school. "We didn't have these advantages in my day."

871 There is no trouble between the educated and
● 212 the uneducated. Until recently there was no
[578] conflict between the illiterate older people and the schooled young. Of course, they have only three grades anyway, but in all events they haven't had the problem of the stuck up children at all. There is no disobedience. There are still a few dalu and kepala kampongs who are illiterate, but this is becoming less and less so all the time. And they have assistants who help them.

The young do not teach the old here. The literacy campaign of the East Indonesian government failed here as everywhere. It started and then stopped. (Why learn to read when there is nothing to read? Why learn to write when no one writes? This is my interpretation.)

[787] The schools are run by the mission, but the
[658] government pays all of the expenses except for what the mission wants to give, for example, books. This is a system found all over Flores, I think. Mission schools are paid for by the government. The whole administration is carried out by the mission.

874 There is not a single person from here who
797 has gone to seminary. After the six grades the gurus go to OVO (Opleidingsschool voor Volksonderwijzers), a two year course at the mission in Ruteng. There is also a trade school at the Ruteng mission. The trade school gurus must go to a two year course in Ende Ambachtsschool, in the mission there, after they have finished six grades. There is no other available special education.

614 The assistant worked until midnight getting information for the outline in Veol and Ndung,

We

614 and these are the keys to the stuff: wodja bakok are the same as lampang. The meaning is "white rice." Lampang means "stocks" wherein new slaves are put to keep them from running away. The totems newly inserted are:

[784]

lavo	mouse
kaba	buffalo
paku	a leafy vegetable
betu	a kind of mouse
pake	frog
peti	a kind of bird

614 764 784 756 178 Naked burial is called gilo. Note that this used to be a totem of the Pau va'u, and it was given up via a big feast in 1932. At the same time, the buffalo taboo of Pau (Pau therefore does have a food taboo, or rather it did), was given up too via the same feast. In regard to the naked burial, the people decided it was too much trouble, and I suppose they felt they might as well get rid of the buffalo taboo at the same time. To do this kind of thing a va'u must consult a mbako to see if it is all right. If so, they have the feast called kaba oke tjek'i ("buffalo removes the taboo").

nggevo red bean (different from the lusa)

531 622 I asked if it was right that the radja has no horns on his house as he is not a tuan tanah. They said yes. He has no relation with the land. But nowadays there is plenty of illegal use of the horns by non-tuan tanah.

782 It is true that an offering is always made at the vatu Veol before starting garden work. This is as Coolhaas says.

829 No one is able to draw a map of Flores and Indonesia and the world.

212 Fifty years ago (and even forty years ago) no

[See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analysis]

We

212 one could read or write. In fact, this goes
for all of Manggarai. Everyone here speaks
191 the local language. About fifty per cent of
the people here speak Malay, and most of those
who are not able to speak it are oldsters. No
one can speak Dutch or English here.

Only those who have gone to school can read
212 and write. No one reads Bentara, a mission
204 paper (although the guru does). Two people
797 read the sheet which the mission puts out for
Manggarai. It is called Palita.

The only books here are religious books and
212 song books (and books in the school?). Note:
I saw many children with their school "tackle"
hanging on a string around their necks. They
wear them on their backs. They are a piece of
chalk stuck in a bamboo, a ruler, and a bamboo
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The children and other literates write in
[651] order to "keep books." Thus there are the "tax
[217] books" showing how much each person must pay in
palm wine, etc., to the tuan tanah. These are
written for him. All sorts of transactions are
"recorded," e.g., prices, borrowing, gifts for
such things as marriage feasts, etc. This is
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546 1941 brought a movie projector here, and many
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412 There are many new tools here, for example,
shovels, drills, and axes. They are even able
178 to make some of these now. There is much more
415 use of iron tools and utensils than was formerly
the case.

5: Kennedy--412 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

Wa

624	Djurutulis (scribe)	475
614	Mandur	382
	Guru sekolah (school teacher)	94
	Mandur sekolah	313
	Molang	616
	Marang besar (prayer leader)	616
	Marang besar	626
	Radja tua (Lewodoreng) of Riang Epu Kohule	672

624 162 871 771 212

Examining the ranks by age, education, and religion, we find the following (and not all information is in yet; see letter to him):

(1) Of the 5 kelake suku, 1 is in his 30's, 3 are in their 50's, and 1 is in his 60's;
1 has finished 3 grades of school, 4 are illiterate;
1 is Catholic and 4 are pagan.

(2) Of the 13 kelake ama, 1 is in his 30's, and 4 are in their 40's, 5 are in their 50's, and 3 are in their 60's;
2 have finished 3 grades of schooling, 11 are illiterate;
2 are Catholic and 11 are pagan.

(3) Of the 3 kepala kampongs, 1 is in his 30's, 1 is in his 40's, and 1 is in his 50's;
2 have finished 3 grades of schooling, and 1 is illiterate;
all 3 are Catholic.

(4) The djurutulis is 36;
he has finished 3 grades of schooling;
and he is Catholic.

(5) The mandur is 40, illiterate, and Catholic.

(6) The guru sekolah is 30; he finished 8 grades

Wa

162 of schooling; and he is a Catholic.
624
871 (7) The mandur sekolah is 37; he finished 3 grades,
771 and he is Catholic.
212

(8) Molang is 48; he is illiterate, and pagan.

(9) Of the 2 marang besar, both are in their 40's;
1 has finished 3 grades, the other is illiterate;
1 is Catholic (!!), the other is pagan.

(10) The Radja tua of the Riang is 40, illiterate, and pagan.

(11) Of the 7 ne'a luka, 1 is in his 40's, 4 are in their 50's, 2 are in their 70's;
1 has finished 3 grades of schooling, 6 are illiterate;
1 is Catholic, 6 are pagan.

(12) Of the 5 tuno wudjo, their ages are 3, 4, 5, 6, 54; all are illiterate;
4 are Catholic (small childre); 1 is pagan.

Note the large percentage of offices still held by pagans. This is far out of proportion to the actual numbers involved in the local population.

R

ROWOREKE

621 Sections are:
162

I.	Ae Uta	VII.	Nua Mere
II.	Ae Bou	VIII.	Bita
III.	Puu Djambu	IX.	Ae Mura
IV.	Kopo Edo	X.	Wolo Mere
V.	Pau Dari	XI.	Tana Ri
VI.	Rowo Reke Asal	XII.	Ndetu

5: Kennedy--430 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

We

Officers: Veol

	No.	Clan	Age	Religion	Education
162 Tuan tanah	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
624 Tuan panga lambar	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
614 Tuan panga Rinteng	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
771 Tuan panga Rundu	62	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
●212 Tuan mbaru 1	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 2	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 3	127	Papang	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 4	122	Leko	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 5	80	Veol	35	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 6	99	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Kepala kampong	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate

Officers: Ndung

Tuan tanah	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan panga Rosong	168	Veol	30	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan panga Nggurus	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 7	304	Tjarep	30	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 8	324	Senda	20?	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 9	347	Leko	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 10	214	Veol	25	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 11	186	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 12	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 13	285	Leko	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 14	260	Manong	45	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 15	151	Veol	60	Christian	Illiterate
Kepala kampong		(Lives in Meler)			
Tuan panga Rosong (helper)	151	Veol	60	Christian	Illiterate

5: Kennedy--431 E-5 (1949-1950) 1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

We

614 Size of Pangas: Veol: 25, 30, 37--62
592 Ndung: 36, 44-80

The houses are usually mixed as far as clans are concerned.

Polygyny: Veol (3 cases)

595
771 (Numbers refer to ages)
614
212 Case No. 1 50: 46, 45, 30, 25, 20, 20.
The 5th is Catholic, the others are pagan.
2 are of the same clan, the others from different clans.
1 is sekontun, 1 mangko pitu, 1 lampang, 1 dalu, and 2 gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 7 50: 46, 30
The 2d is a Catholic, the first pagan.
They are from different clans.
1 is mangko pitu, 1 dalu.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 12 45: 40, 40.
Both are pagan.
They come from different clans.
One is dalu, 1 gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Polygyny: Ndung (4 cases)

Case No. 27 50: 47, 30.
Both are pagan.
They are from different clans.
Both are gelarang.
All are illiterate.

5: Kennedy--432 E-5 (1949-1950) 1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

We

595 Case No. 207 40: 37, 30, 25.
771 The 2d is a Catholic, the others
614 are pagan.
212 All three are from different clans.
All are gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 235 30: 27, 30, 30.
The 1st is Catholic, the others pagan.
All three clans are different.
1 is mangko pitu, the others are gelarang.
The husband has finished three grades; the wives are illiterate.

[587] (Note: The 2d wife lives in another house with her children. Because the children are of the same clan as her present husband, and she is a widow, this is perhaps a case of levirate.)

Case No. 307 30: 25, 25.
Both wives and husband are Christian.
Both clans are different.
Both are gelarang.
The husband has finished 3 grades, the wives are illiterate.

621 R
578 nature of these people. He said there are many
632 boundary disputes and have been many in the past.
144 Now I see the truth of the racial mixture zone here. All types are represented.

614 I get the impression that the suku were originally localized largely if not entirely. This is still so. Thus one part will be all or nearly all Odja, another similarly Wanda, another Tibo, etc.

591 I met a lad in Roworeke proper who is from a kampong which is rather far off. They said he had married a woman of Roworeke, and I thought perhaps this might be a case of ambil anak. This is not the case, however, and he had merely come there for a day, because his wife has land here. They live in his kampong. Residence is patrilocal usually. Kattenburg remarked that in
178 material culture and in level of living the young
578 people are not much different from the old. They
561 do wear different clothes, however, and as he says, in general outlook, religion, knowledge of and adherence to old thoughts and ways and religion, they differ. There must be an intergenerational conflict here, especially as they are so disputatious anyway. I must check on this.

344 The next day we[1] set out early and got them to
●217 let us work in the office. This is an amazing
124 place, with cocoanut stalk walls and a dirt floor. In one room (they are all empty of furniture), scattered on the floor, are the "files" of the kapitanschap. Some of them are in paper boxes and others are just on the dirt. They call the kapitanschap the "gemeente." We sat on the front "porch" on chairs that almost collapsed and at a table that leaned loosely at an alarming angle and slowly leaned more and more until it seemed impossible that it would keep from collapsing.
124 With us was the giri tumba of Rewarangga and later the kepala kampong (ata nggaeh nua) of Woro-

[1] [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg --Analyst]

R

197 can speak Lio, but Lio people have a hard time to speak Ende, as the latter had difficult phonetics.

212 Today eighty per cent of the population is literate.

203 Very few of the people here read, and the
204 only paper that comes here is the mission "Bentara." It is seen only by the kapitan, the assistant, and the guru. Others ask them what is in the news. If there were more papers, more would read. For the first time, the Information Office (Makassar) monthly "Pandji Negara" came here just now.

The only books here are religious books, and these have to be bought (prayer books). In
217 Ende, the mission has a library and there people can borrow, but no one here does. If they had a library here, plenty would borrow books, because they like stories.

204 The assistant is sad about the lack of newspapers. They would like the reading material they provide, he thinks.

212 As a rule, they do not even write letters, because very few of them ever leave. The Ende script is not used. Bapa Ketjil, for an unfathomable reason, got a man from Ende to teach him a little of this lontar script two years ago.

563 The Chinese family here speaks Chinese and
197 Ende. The man of the family also speaks Lio. The Savu learn to speak Ende fast, but they speak Savu at home.

185 The belief today is that everyone must have
212 literate children, but there is not much thought about foreign languages, except that they know that they now must have Malay. There
[207] is no radio here and few have ever heard one.
546 About once a year some of them happen to see a movie in Ndona or Ende, but the great majority of people here have never seen one.

We

565 men. He will fill these in. So far as I can see, all the "locals" of Weol are noted as "bangsawan." I must discuss this. The same thing happened in Roworeke. Evidently there is no real nobility in these places, only the eldest-son lineage, which takes the high of-
[114] fice. Maybe Linton[1] is right in his hunch regarding the basis of Malayo-Polynesian social organization, that is, primogeniture. This checks with all the talk about the kuasa tinggi [high power] of the older branch, the kaka and
614 adi stuff, etc. As for totems, the key for
784 Weol (he uses the local totem names) is:

rutung	porcupine
kenti	a leafy vegetable
kula	a kind of big mouse
atju	dog
lusa	red bean
giro	a kind of firewood (no burning totem).

All of these are merely the main totems, but there are others. Thus Weol clan has the lusa, but also the thin bamboo taboo.

591 4. I must ask whether the men who have come
583 to live matrilocally did so because they didn't pay the bride price. He says that this is mostly the case, but not always. He says that he will have to ask this carefully, as he can't ask men directly because they are ashamed if they have not paid the bride price. He must ask others, "Why does so and so live here with his wife?" Then the dirt will come out. These men are Nos. 40, 110, 116, 122, 123, 127, and 132. All of this led to a discussion of the situation.

● 217 The pagans do not have any registry of marriages. The Catholics do not have to register marriages with the government (thus no marriage

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

217 statistics are available for all of the people), but the pastor puts names down in the church book. There is not even a registry of births and deaths (as I think there is in Larantuka and Ende), but each year for taxes a census is taken, by asking how many children there are in a house, etc. I see that one could easily have a continuous census in most parts of Indonesia, as the units are so small, and the hierarchy of administration is so close knit. The kepala
[622] kampong knows everything in his kampong, and the kepala kampongs could report to the kepala district, and so on up.

583 I noticed a case of a little girl of seven living in a house with her father's sister, who has a son. I asked, could this be a case of having already paid the price for this little girl? That is, has he already "taken possession of the goods"? He said that he didn't know, but said that this happens here (i.e., an early payment of the bride price for a little girl). This happens even when the girl is as young as five years. I must check on this case.

178 I talked with van Bekkum[1] about Kattenburg's
342 notion that in Manggarai, economy has advanced, but adat holds, whereas in other parts, economy has not changed but adat has changed. He thinks this is not a bad idea. And then he gave cases of how houses are rapidly becoming changed to the new type, and the old round ones are almost dying out. Also the way wet rice fields are
[241] spreading is most rapid, as is the spread of the use of the buffalo in agriculture. Note how, even in the new rectangular houses, if there is a rite held, the tuan tanah sits in the high spot, and although there is no more a center post, they put a stick up where it should be. (I can't help but think that the lodok must be linked with the center post of the old round houses, and I wonder if perhaps the wedges of

[1] [i.e. pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

We

212 one could read or write. In fact, this goes
for all of Manggarai. Everyone here speaks
191 the local language. About fifty per cent of
the people here speak Malay, and most of those
who are not able to speak it are oldsters. No
one can speak Dutch or English here.

212 Only those who have gone to school can read
204 and write. No one reads Bentara, a mission
797 paper (although the guru does). Two people
read the sheet which the mission puts out for
Manggarai. It is called Palita.

212 The only books here are religious books and
song books (and books in the school?). Note:
I saw many children with their school "tackle"
hanging on a string around their necks. They
wear them on their backs. They are a piece of
chalk stuck in a bamboo, a ruler, and a bamboo
with a wet cloth. These are for writing on
slate.

[651] The children and other literates write in
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books" showing how much each person must pay in
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178 to make some of these now. There is much more
415 use of iron tools and utensils than was formerly
the case.

Wa

536 the rites of the agricultural cycle, etc., are highly dramatic). Weaving is probably the
286 most active art.

There are three kinds of dancing.

•221 The hard work in this area is done from January to March. This is the growing season. They
784 work hard and steadily in the gardens and are tired at night and have to sleep early. Also, there is a taboo on making noise during this time. It is the time of "work and quiet." This links with beliefs about rice, corn, etc. souls, which must be handled carefully. But then, in July, August, September comes the big time for feasts, dancing, singing, especially at the time of full moon. Then they have lots of fun. After that the quiet time starts again after a tapering off.

They know just about nothing about foreign
20 sports, etc. My theory is that the lack of movies is the main reason for this. There are also no books, magazines or papers. There is no way of finding out about such things. There
533 is plenty of riddling and song games, like
538 pantun. This is done especially in forms which are sung. The same holds for stories. They are told especially by singing. The stories are sung during the great thanksgiving feasts that come perhaps once every nine or ten years. One story may last a month. Every incident in a past period will be told, with all persons indicated by name, their relationships with other people involved, and everything that happened in every kampong, etc. These are evidently true epics on a small-distance scale. These are "local epics." Such a tale may tell everything that happened over a period of twenty generations. Most tales are told about the ancestors (the sistim again; it permeates everything).

585 I forgot to say that Roy says that marriages
241

Wa

585 come mainly in the "free months" after harvest,
●[221] that is, July, August, September. (Note here
796 that the tuno wudjo fasting period comes in,
261 which he said lasts for about six months. It
just jibes with the quiet time.)[1]

Head-hunting was done formerly for a feast
721 for a new korke (they can't do it for the new
346 church; too bad!). I have already mentioned
178 how they would give the new posts of a korke
782 some food if the posts did not fit into the
rafter holes. This showed that they were hungry. Formerly the food given was human heads. They were hung in the korke. (I suspect there was more of this than Roy[2] says, but he is honest, and perhaps this simply was not done during his time.)

[241] I asked about the blood and the heads needed for making the land fertile and the crops plentiful, etc. He was very vague about this, and my guess is that it is not native in this area. Still, I note the tuno wudjo myth. But this may indeed be a Lio importation. Anyway, they know the connection between blood, human sacrifice, and "fat land." There must be a link here.

226 He says there is no cannibalism here. He
727 says Seegeler[3] was wrong to suspect that they ate parts of the human beings killed in human sacrifice. In fact, he says they didn't even have the human sacrifice. But then he hedged a bit when I reminded him how the Keweluk had forbidden the killing of the Padji women. Then he corrected my previous version of this tale and said that when they had these wars, they didn't, as I thought, kill half the defeated at once and bring the other half back to the kampong and there kill them. He said that actually what they did was to kill only one person and bring the head back. Thus, in the Padji case, they killed one woman and brought her head back. It

[1] [i.e., January-June; see category 116, p. 276, #2 --Analyst]
[2] [the assistant]
[3] [a former Controleur --Analyst]

We

000 "standing." There are plenty of songs. Singing
533 is the greatest art, and I was impressed extremely with the school performance. A priest who was musical said that they are excellent and strange. The new songs like krontjong, omba' putih-putih,[1] etc., are sung only in the towns. Here only a few know them, but nearly all the songs which the majority of the people know are old Manggarai ones. Cornelius[2] said that there are about ten kinds of rhythms in
[562] drum and gong playing. Some are for both sexes, others are for men or for women only.

● 221 May, June and July are relatively free of
527 work. Otherwise there is little free time. Feasts are the fun times here, and they are largely not at set times.

[526] Soccer is loved and so are horse races.
541 These are not native. They are held either in
525 town or along the road here. This is true especially at harvest time. There is betting.
[177] Cock fighting has come in a little from the outside.

538 There are plenty of stories. They tell tales while they work in the gardens and especially while they bind corn in the houses. Also, the old people tell stories in the evenings. They tell tales when they are just sitting around and drinking, too.

There are many kinds of stories. A number of them are sung, but many are not. They are never very long, and none lasts for several days as in Ende and Larantuka.

533 There are about ten kinds of songs.

527 For the Catholics, Sundays are free, and the pagans have largely taken this practice over. They are glad to have the day off. Otherwise, the only free days are feast days.

[868] With the dances and singing and story telling
538 there is no regular instruction. There is a decline in interest in the old tales especially,

[1] [i.e., a song title, "White Waves" -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e., the assistant -- Analyst]

We

326 do not know how to do it.

178 Formerly there was no gold or silver work here. Today there is some. However, it was in Todo-Pongkor for a long time. Only a few people have learned this trade recently. The [656] Dutch forbade any metal work in any kampongs because it resulted in metal theft (what fools!).

262 There have been very few changes if any in the local diet. There is a little flour, tinned milk, etc. today. However, these things exist in very small amounts. The local people eat almost entirely their own food. The staple foods here are corn and rice, of about equal importance. In most of Manggarai, corn is more important (remember that the pastor said there was more rice now, but as a result of the wet irrigated rice fields there are more mosquitoes and more malaria). Meals are [264] served three times a day. The people eat vegetables but almost no fruit. Meat is generally reserved for feasts, and this applies even for fowl. They may cut a fowl if there is a guest, but pigs and the like are reserved for feasts. There is no longer much hunting [224] at all. There is some bird snaring. A lot of [223] dry fish from the coast is eaten. This they have to buy. There are almost no river fish. The use of milk is new. Cheese and butter are said to make people sick. However, they eat all kinds of animals if they can get them, including cats, pythons, dogs, horses, etc.

The situation regarding food is much better today than it was. There are now many gardens, whereas formerly there were few. Today they [438] must buy salt, tobacco, fish, betel ingredi- [435] ents, and in particular, cloth. (This is dear; an ordinary sarong costs fl. 60.00 now.)

241 Irrigated rice fields and terracing tech-
178 niques came in only twenty years ago. Farming tools have been introduced. The buffalo and

R

796 done in an excited pagan style, although on the
535 occasion of a Christian festival. We saw
144 clearly the difference between East and West Flores as far as racial composition is concerned. As you pass into Lio hills the proto-Malay becomes much more marked, though the Negroid element is still there. Some of the women are remarkably white. Such women are seldom or never seen in East Flores.

797 About the Malay here: When they want to say someone is converted, in Larantuka, they say that he "ikut Rom" [follows Rome]. The titles
554 are interesting: the territorial priest of
793 Flores is Tuan Regionale; then there are the Tuan Boswesen, Tuan Landbouw, Njonja HPB, Njonja AR (Assistant Resident), Njonja and Tuan Bestuur (Bestuurshoofd), and for a nun
[792] they do not use Njonja, but Tuan Zuster.

647 Note: The Controleur here is C. B. Arriens.

Although there is a general similarity in
342 house style all over East and Central Flores, there are differences. The tremendous high roofs are typical of Lio and Ende. The flat and large four-sloped ridges are found in Larantuka, and in between, in Sikka and Tana Ai, there is an intermediate form, with the four-slope ridge a bit on the rounded off side, and the whole thing appears to be smaller.

411 In East Flores especially the bow is still
224 used. We met a large band on Christmas not far
126 from Larantuka with bows and spears. They were coming up from a kampong with a large church. I asked if they were going to war or to hunt, and they said they were going to hunt deer. I took a photograph of them. They are always glad to be photographed. I can hardly take photographs, however, because they all rush in to be included, especially the children.

291 The style of clothing changes from place to
184 place, though here again there is a general

769 or ngadu. These and the bhaga, which I could
346 not see clearly but which are evidently merely minature rectangular houses for female ancestors, are notable features in just about all of the Ngada kampongs. Arndt[1] says the bhaga are empty, but I wonder. These two sorts of structures are erected by the prosperous folk to show respect and honor to their dead ancestors. Each one is given the name of the ancestor. Evidently, a person may build one for himself.

They are always built in pairs, one male and one female.

159 The very fat Radja of Ngada came to the
634 pasanggrahan in a uniform with shoulder epau-
● 224 lets, four stripes, and above this a cluster
[292] looking like a sunburst. The uniform was white and not unlike that of a KPM captain. He can't write, and is still a pagan, but he says that his children are Christian. He is very jolly and although tolerant I can see that he thinks little of the missions. He also criticized the forced labor which the Dutch demanded for road work when he was young. He said that anyone who wouldn't follow orders, including the radjas, was jailed or deposed. He is the man who joked about the Dutch and the "modern" Florenese. He never does much in administration,
[595] but likes to hunt and has many wives. He told us that he has many children and grandchildren. He gets in trouble with the government for burning the vegetation in deer hunts. He said it is necessary to kill deer as otherwise they would hurt the gardens. This land has practi-
311 cally no trees on it, but consists mostly of
[137] rolling naked hills as a result of overburning.
[133] Maybe the priest was right who said that he
[224] thought they were a hunting folk before and in those days they burned off the whole area in
[241] deer drives. Now they burn off the vegetable

[1] [See pp. 366-69 of Arndt as cited in bibliography, Cat. 113 -- Analyst]

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 237 ●224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him 776 784 about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh 124 tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must 824 have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read 769 that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo [789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
961 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
515 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
574 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

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262 eaten, and this is done only during feasts. Little meat is
There are some eggs. They do not eat much
fish, because they must purchase them. They
do buy some food from the local store (never
any canned food, because this is too expensive),
for example, rice and salt. They do not grow
[249] any tobacco.

434 To get the small amount of money they need
to buy in the toko, they sell coconuts and
anything else they may have, which is usually
quite little. Fl. 5.00 in cash is a lot of
money for a man here.

264 The people here eat three times a day, a
little in the morning, and equally heavy noon
and evening meals.

262 They like dog meat and also horse meat, but
574 these, like pig and goat, are only eaten at
the time of a feast. They say that the main
feasts are funeral ones. They also say that
the people here have no decided preference
and will gladly eat any kind of meat. They
[266] say they have no memory of cannibalism except
for the eating of the hearts of enemies for
224 bravery in warfare. They rarely hunt. If they
262 do they use a bow and are lucky to get monkeys
624 or pigs. There are no deer here. There is a
clear case for meat hunger here, and the only
material gain of being a mosa laki is that you
[465] are always given a piece of meat when an animal
[171] is killed. This is like the Toradja pattern,
and shows how much of a luxury meat really is.
It is the "government man's salary."

436 Formerly there was no money and there were
178 no toko. Of course there may have been a few
443 gold pieces, but they were really sacred ob-
jects. Today they have little cash.

243 The irrigated rice fields started three
177 years ago and were instigated by Hadji Akbar
788 of Watu Roga. He went to Mecca and saw the
many sawah in Bima, Java, and elsewhere. When

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326 do not know how to do it.
178 Formerly there was no gold or silver work here. Today there is some. However, it was in Todo-Pongkor for a long time. Only a few people have learned this trade recently. The
[656] Dutch forbade any metal work in any kampongs because it resulted in metal theft (what fools!).
262 There have been very few changes if any in the local diet. There is a little flour, tinned milk, etc. today. However, these things exist in very small amounts. The local people eat almost entirely their own food. The staple foods here are corn and rice, of about equal importance. In most of Manggarai, corn is more important (remember that the pastor said there was more rice now, but as a result of the wet irrigated rice fields there are more mosquitoes and more malaria). Meals are
[264] served three times a day. The people eat vegetables but almost no fruit. Meat is generally reserved for feasts, and this applies even for fowl. They may cut a fowl if there is a guest, but pigs and the like are reserved for feasts. There is no longer much hunting
[224] at all. There is some bird snaring. A lot of
[223] dry fish from the coast is eaten. This they have to buy. There are almost no river fish. The use of milk is new. Cheese and butter are said to make people sick. However, they eat all kinds of animals if they can get them, including cats, pythons, dogs, horses, etc.

The situation regarding food is much better today than it was. There are now many gardens, whereas formerly there were few. Today they
[438] must buy salt, tobacco, fish, betel ingredi-
[435] ents, and in particular, cloth. (This is dear; an ordinary sarong costs fl. 60.00 now.)
241 Irrigated rice fields and terracing tech-
178 niques came in only twenty years ago. Farming tools have been introduced. The buffalo and

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585 come mainly in the "free months" after harvest,
[221] that is, July, August, September. (Note here
786 that the tuno wudjo fasting period comes in,
261 which he said lasts for about six[1] months. It
just jibes with the quiet time.)

721 Head-hunting was done formerly for a feast
346 for a new korke (they can't do it for the new
178 church; too bad!). I have already mentioned
782 how they would give the new posts of a korke
some food if the posts did not fit into the
rafter holes. This showed that they were hungry. Formerly the food given was human heads. They were hung in the korke. (I suspect there was more of this than Roy[2] says, but he is honest, and perhaps this simply was not done during his time.)

[241] I asked about the blood and the heads needed for making the land fertile and the crops plentiful, etc. He was very vague about this, and my guess is that it is not native in this area. Still, I note the tuno wudjo myth. But this may indeed be a Lio importation. Anyway, they know the connection between blood, human sacrifice, and "fat land." There must be a link here.

● 226 He says there is no cannibalism here. He
727 says Seegeler[3] was wrong to suspect that they ate parts of the human beings killed in human sacrifice. In fact, he says they didn't even have the human sacrifice. But then he hedged a bit when I reminded him how the Keweluk had forbidden the killing of the Padji women. Then he corrected my previous version of this tale and said that when they had these wars, they didn't, as I thought, kill half the defeated at once and bring the other half back to the kampong and there kill them. He said that actually what they did was to kill only one person and bring the head back. Thus, in the Padji case, they killed one woman and brought her head back. It

1 [i.e., January-June; see category 116, p. 276, #2 --Analyst]
2 [the assistant] 3 [a former Controleur --Analyst]

[414 cont.]

important festivals and the ancestors.

Finally, we wish to mention, as examples of the orderly village arrangement in the more easterly areas of the archipelago, the villages of the Ngada (central Flores), which are notable for their regularity. The houses stand in strict alignment around a square; on sloping terrain, the square has several terraces which are carefully tended. Pigs are kept out by means of a bamboo fence along the front of the houses. Clumps of bamboo are found around the village, while the rice and maize granaries are built outside the villages. Furthermore, in every village there are one or more copies of the nadoe and the baka, dedicated to, or the symbol of, respectively, the ancestral father and the ancestral mother of a noi, or family [familie] unit.

The nadoe is a heavy wooden pole, often artistically worked, ending in a fork at the top, with a circular excavation between the prongs, and covered with a cone-shaped alang roof. The baka is a little house, commonly made of finely worked planks and like the ordinary house in form, but usually without the front veranda. The villages here, too, cover only a small area, since practically nothing is planted inside the village.

The third type of village in the archipelago is completely different and is found, as a rule, in the more highly developed areas where wars are far in the past, and hence the village no longer needs to be a complex of dwellings huddled together as closely as possible and surrounded by walls and barricades. An outstanding example of this type of village is the Javanese dèsa. Every house is surrounded by a yard, which in many cases is quite large, where all kinds of fruit trees and other crops are planted, so that such a "village cluster," as Veth calls it, [415] rises out of the sawah sea like a kind of island. Even though the number of inhabitants may be small, such a Javanese dèsa covers quite a large area.

Similar villages are found on Bali and Lombok, in central Sumatra, among the Minahasa (northeastern Celebes), and, more recently, under the influence of the Government and the

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773 from van Suchtelen,[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst] but in general the same ele-
769 ments were present. However, he said, for example, that the girl was not really in the form of a lontar leaf but rather that she came wrapped in a leaf. He also said that Toni, one of the sisters, had no children; and Soru, the other, after having a child in Sikka who produced the ancestors of the radjas there, came to Ende and had children there who became the ancestors of the Ende radjas. Her Sikka husband was killed in Timor, and his name, Djau, was given to her Ende son. Thus from the start Ende and Sikka radjas have a common female ancestor. I can see that the myths here have many versions. The Java-Madjapahit stuff is definitely there. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja was quite enthusiastic in telling about these myths, and it always seemed that his ancestors figured largely.

778 I asked if they have a negri lama here, and
361 they at once pointed to the high hills behind both kampongs and said that they are located there. And on them, as in Ambon, are the batu pemali! The Dutch forced them to move to the lowlands as they did in Ambon. Evidently they go to these places from time to time, and I must find out if feasts are linked with them. They
[578] said there is no real open conflict between the new and the old religions.

535 They said that there are still plenty of the old dances and old adat costumes here. They will put on this ceremonial dress for photographing later.

764 I asked about funerals and they said that the
565 nobles used to be cocooned on a tree branch (not on the trunk, as Körner[2] says for Rea Ndona) until
• [231] they rotted. Then there was a great feast with the killing of many buffalo, and the bones and skulls of the deceased were taken and cleaned and put in a chest which was then put in the slab-
[177] covered cist tombs. The Dutch forbade the tree burial as unhygienic.

[1] [See p. 21 of Körner & p. 189 of Elbert as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

[2] [See p. 21 of Körner & p. 189 of Elbert as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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291 286 for sarongs and slendangs [shawls worn over the head or the chest]. I see plenty of tooth fil-
304 276 ing here. And nearly all the women, young and old, have the awful looking betel teeth. The older men have the same betel teeth. The younger men seem to chew betel less, and I can see that their teeth are evened but are not filed down.

304 178 I saw a tattoo on the back of a woman and was told that it is fairly common all over here. (I later noticed a young girl in Roworeke with an initial tattooed on her arm.) This tattooing, however, is no longer significant here. The design I saw looked like a kind of anchor design

291 Many of the women here, mainly the old but several of the young, go about with bare breasts. When working this seems to be quite common.

252 412 462 I saw several women pounding corn. They use a small round tree trunk mortar, and for a pestle a mere pole. The corn is small and brownish. They call it djagung Solor or mata kuching, and it does look like small cats' eyes [the meaning of the latter term, in Indonesian].

● 231 This area is full of goats. There are also many pigs and a fair number of buffaloes, but I saw no cattle. There are many small horses here too. High in the mountains I saw an amazing band of fine looking horses who had gone wild after escaping. They can never be recaptured. I was told that there are deer, wild pigs, and wild buffaloes here.

776 At the lakes I asked if it might not be a fine place for nitu and suwanggi, and they looked sharply. They reverted to this cautiously and asked me if I could see the spirits. They are going to be cagey about pagan ideas, but when they are caught off-guard they agree that there are probably spirits in this mysterious place.

361 The plazas are of pounded earth, bare, with houses scattered about and the most conspicuous things being the stone graves.

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000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass
thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in
area where there is a large bench for sleeping.
There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the
roof and often in front too. Here sit the women
while they work. If there are two families to a
house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
●231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
787 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel
as in other kampongs. The church to which every-
one here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamiß, but
since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are stan-
dard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are
nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have
brown hair or hair which is partly brown.
[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk
along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-
bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue
and black mostly. The designs are even poorer
than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used
for men and for women. They say that a cloth
takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many
304 men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
few old people, it seems especially the women,
have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

Wae
614 chiefs and also clear up the exact differences
622 between the kepala suku and the kepala kampong, if any.

622 The next day I got an explanation of the
624 officers. The three kepala kampong (called
614 Kottang, Kelen and Hurint) are the administra-
574 tive officers. They are chosen by their respec-
796 tive suku. They have no ritual function as such,
231 unless they happen also to be either kepala suku of their suku or the kelake of their ama. The radja tuan and the kelake are also chosen by their respective suku and ama, but from the noble lineage within the suku. They must come from the "big house" (Lango' Bele'). Each suku has one such big house, and so does each ama. I have seen them in Leloba. I found out, however, that the head and feet are not actually held by the kepala suku Kottang and Kelen, but rather by some man, evidently it matters not who, from their suku. Also, the kepala suku Hurint himself does not actually cut (though evidently he may do so if he wants to), but usually delegates the job to one of his fellow suku members.

It happens then, in Wailolong, that there are five radja tuan and three kepala kampong. Then there are the kelake.

If they hold a suku feast, i.e., a feast on the land of the suku itself and which concerns only the suku, it runs something like this in each of the suku:

Ama Datong	Head:	Man from Ama Radja.
	Feet:	Man from Ama Belolong.
	Cut:	Man called in from Ama Hurint, but may not be from Nipatale.
Leworitá	Head:	Man from IIa.
	Feet:	Man from IIb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

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622 624 614 796 574 231

Ama Hurint	Head:	Man called from Ia or Ib.
	Feet:	Man called from IIa or IIb.
	Cut:	Man from Hurint, except Nipatale.
Lewato	Head:	Man from IVa.
	Feet:	Man from IVb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.
Lewodoreng	Head:	Man from Va.
	Feet:	Man from Vb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

If a kampong feast is held for all of the people, the setup is as follows:

Head:	Man from Ama Radja (Ia).
Feet:	Man from Subamaki(ng) (IIa).
Cut:	Man from III, except Nipatale.

614 567 423 582 [796] [753]

The Nipatale groups--in Wailolong they are IIIa2 and IVa2; in Leloba IV-1b--are former slaves, bought respectively by the Ama Hadumbole(ng) Waru'i(ng), and Lewamaki(ng) amas. They have no ritual standing and they may never hold or cut. They just look on. Also, they have no land of their own, but use the land of their masters (i.e., the ama who bought their ancestors). They must give the first fruits of their gardens to these masters, and if they do not they get sick. He says that they were bought from Adonara not long ago, perhaps about four generations. They are not really free yet. They must obey the orders of their masters. In ordinary life, however, this is a matter of adat and respect (hormat), and they are not ashamed. It is really a matter of (a) owning no land of their own; (b)

Weo

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[798] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here, and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

771 the young folk are Christian. Most of the old
[624] people are largely pagan however. There are
no other obvious signs of pagan religion in
the lower kampong. The same goes for Weol.
342 Here there are more round houses, but the new
ones are all rectangular. At the entrance of
778 the kampong there is a mound which I must ask
about. It looks as though it might have been
a cult hill. Then there is the holy tree and
the stones around it. The photo of the stone
figure, Ine Amba, which Vroklage gives as from
Weol, is really from a kampong which can be seen
across the rice fields.

621 There are many old people here, including two
[624] remarkable old men, one of whom is one of the
two tuan tanah in the kampong. This is a double
kampong, with two main parts, and it has there-
fore two tuan tanah. The children here are
[515] dirty and so are the adults, for the most part.
[231] There are pigs all over. However, the houses
[361] are better spaced than, for example, in Laran-
tuka kampongs. The people here have poor clothes,
[291] and many, especially the women, were seen with
304 filed teeth and some of them with teeth beauti-
fully blackened. We noticed no tattooing nor
cutting.

243 Looking off from the high kampong one can see
the wet rice fields below. These are in wedge
shapes with a common center. There are many
adjacent, star-shaped arrangements. This is
unique in Indonesia. The priest says this is
because it is easier to fence them in this fashion,
but I suspect there is some cosmological signifi-
cance, perhaps reflected in the circular houses
too. The houses have all sorts of decorations
342 on top of them. The round ones seem to have an
531 upright wooden thing on them. The rectangular
ones have at the ridge ends a stylized pair of
wooden horns, often with a bird in the middle,
and some with two birds, one at each horn tip.
[See pp. 390-91 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography
cat. 113--Analyst]

W4

592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more
243 people in many of the houses. The complex ar-
rangement of rice fields stretches out far be-
low and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but per-
haps this is done merely by flooding. I must
ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly
situated on rises and they are small, for ex-
ample, Weol has only about thirty houses in it.
The priest says that there are many of the
stones in kampong Ruteng located about $1\frac{1}{2}$ km.
outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to-
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each
day, and the guru will bring the table and
chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel.
The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary,
which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about
fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
177 houses were introduced here by a priest. The
guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the
55 folk here, including the priests. Bathing is
not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the rela-
tionship between partners is distant enough.
Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans,
called panga, and one may marry within these in
the same way, according to the guru. I must find
out more about this and also get the kin system.
We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in
the center of the town where they were playing
football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

000 only technical changes have occurred here.

592 I noted that as we were walking out of Weol, and I asked the priest how many families there were per house, he asked a man and the fellow said there were five in one of the big round houses nearby. Another man rebuked him and said no, there were only three in it. The priest said this is because the government has the law that only three families may live in a house, for health reasons. However, the folk secretly manage to have more. The first man was giving the folk away.

541 697 I forgot to say that at the whip fights (main tjatjih)[1] there was a band of extra gay fellows who did a lot of the sideline chanting and chorusing. They had red and white banners and at one time when we were taking photographs they came dancing en masse and singing across the field like a slow moving army. At 5 P.M. they raised the banners, singing lustily, and marched off. I asked who they were, and the Radja said that they were the prisoners of the jail, who had been given the day free, and that they were now marching back to jail!

463 462 231 The assistant says that all or nearly all men in Weol are farmers. Some, but very few, have specialist skills, but even those farm too. Not one woman has any other job than that of helping in the fields and making mats or weaving in her spare time. Nearly every man has a few to many horses, and some have other animals.

354 A bad feature of the old houses is the smoke from the fire which coats everything with soot and makes for additional darkness, but on the good side is the warmth which comes with the smoke.

769 <u>Theory on reading Coolhaas</u>:[2] The Ngada nadu 718 which is for the male ancestors is a small 342 replica of the conical houses of Manggarai. The 173 small bhaga houses of the female houses are

614 [1] [See pp. 91-92, cat. 116 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the relationships linking the individuals in this area became more and more distant. Thus they gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed, since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols, showing the effect of having worked with van Bekkum.[1] The priests try to discourage mother's brother's daughter marriages, but they always give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get the idea that the priests here are less firm regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka. This is probably because it is a relatively new field, and the Catholics go slowly and gradually in destroying what is old. The dodge they use here is special dispensation. This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
● 231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price, is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with his wife's family until the bride price is paid. This may take ten years or he may never pay the bride price, but the children belong to his va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
177

[1] [pastor at Ruteng; see also bibliography, cat. 113 - Analyst]

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776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 Kraeng here is the original title for high
554 nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

796 At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is
614 done by families or pangas. Each man in the
782 group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck
231 with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunt-
[887] ing.) Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say
535 here) is done at many feasts. Each house has
574 some costumes, and the men may use them. They
555 say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 In the afternoon we went to see some fine
527 dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part
526 of the week long independence festival. The
533 lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and sing-
[276] ing. Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertain-
[887] ment was complicated and good. Most drummers
200 and gong players seem to be old women. These

We

534 drums and gongs were brought here from several
535 kampongs. They are the real tuan tanah articles.
[624] At one time three little girls danced with
their eyes downcast and with very little move-
ment of the feet. They wore slendang and nice
dresses. The oldest man, looking like a nickel
[292] head Indian, had on an amazing costume with
rich embroidery, and a silver fringe under his
chin like a beard. For a head decoration he
had a gilded horse. He also carried two kris,
and each of the other men had one.

526 Now, at 6 P.M., after all day of it, taking
turns, the men are still whipping. This is a
tireless business.

609 We get the impression of real remoteness
178 here. These men are from the kampong nearby,
and in this large bowl of distant mountains they
are in their old dress doing the weird old
practices and it has little to do with modern
freedom and independence. When we go to such
a place they look more at us than at the per-
formers. We steal the show. But this is so
all over Indonesia for whites. And they stare
at us endlessly.

304 The tuan tanah of Weol has an elaborate set
of patterns tattooed on his arms.

291 The Manggarai men often wear plaited, flat,
songko-like headgear.

~~231~~ The horses here are important. Men and women
492 ride them, but mainly the former. The whole
[133] open land looks like the wild West. The priests
use only horses here. They are small and spir-
ited and bells are usually placed around their
necks.

614 The next day we went again to Weol and asked
[624] if the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong were
really brothers. If so, how could they belong
to different panga. I found out that they are
not brothers but merely distantly related.

The three panga names in Weol are the names

We
614 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and
778 broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive. It is located a little to the side of the path and in a rather inconspicuous place.

[773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about this: it is a woman turned to stone with her child because she bathed naked) is located four kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong Bangkavelo.

231 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,[1]
241 they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the
782 garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connec-
114 tion with agricultural rites. They do this in the kampong. In the garden itself they kill only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent, Coolhaas is right.

565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The term kraeng is used for all three levels of nobles.

114 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 336,[1]
632 the people here still give tribute to the dalu
651 when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls,
466 etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now
624 wants a new house he may no longer expect free
476 labor. Now he must pay for such service. If, however, there is need of a new tuan tanah house, labor is given without pay. And if there is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps, although other kampongs may assist in some way or other.

567 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi).
Their descendants are still known. It is also
565 true that new slaves were put in stocks (lam-
114 pang) until it was certain that they would not run away. It is also correct that slaves who had been in a family for a long time might even marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

582 rule. There is also a taboo on father's sister's daughter marriage.

(Lalong kampong is not far to the northeast from Weol.)

582 583 There may be a system here, but they are sure that it is not a mere three move thing like what we found in Larantuka. In fact, I asked about this, and they said that it was impossible (that is, for example, Weol women to Tjepang, Tjepang women to Lalong, and Lalong women back to Weol; this is impossible, i.e. the last move). In fact, there does seem to be a system, as he said even four moves is not possible, but five moves may be. Also, when I described the Larantuka figuring on how to get around the bride price by arranging a series of marriages, he said this type of talk is done here but that the price must always be delivered even though the books might balance in the long run. In Larantuka they can wait, but here they must make actual payment (though theoretically the same horses and buffaloes might some day come back to the original giver).

583 It is true that the bride price must be in horses, buffaloes, and money. The return gift is in women's ware, that is, pigs, cloth, and ornaments. In value, the women's ware return gifts are far less than the former. Coolhaas[1] [114] was wrong to assume that perhaps fowls were included in the return gift.

562 181 The assistant saw the point of a male-female dualism in the whole society, but he is not sure that it is entirely so. He agreed that it is a good hunch.

231 585 At the marriage feast they kill animals. Usually about ten pigs are killed and the normal custom does not include other animals.

114 585 565 The wedding rites described by Coolhaas (page 351)[1] are all right, but the amounts quoted are for the upper classes. The lowers have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

We

776 In regard to Manggarai religion: The poti-
782 potiwolo live in trees; the giants have one leg and one eye; if a tree is cut down an offering is given to them.

The ine weu are dwarfs with long breasts. They strangle men with the latter. They live in forests.

The darat are in the forests too. They assume the shape of relatives and lure children so that they can kidnap them. If a child disappears, the people go out with drums and gongs to scare the darat into yielding. The poti empo are ghosts of the dead. Offerings are made to them in all rites. These ghosts hang around their graves and the kampongs. Wakar are higher spirits. Of these the good spirits are wakar dia, bad spirits are wakar daat.

The name of the high god is Mori Kraeng.

241 There are two kinds of gardens: lingko
776 randang and lingko umah. The former are under
782 the aegis of ghosts of the dead tuan tanah.
●231 The latter are under the aegis of ordinary poti. Each gelarang must have at least one of the former (lingko randang). For the lingko randang there are more and greater prayers. And at ceremonial rites for that type of garden buffa-
[526] loes must be killed and the whip fighting must be done at its harvest festivals.

241 The agricultural feasts are:
782 (1) Leas ose, when the garden is divided. A
624 pig is sacrificed.
231 (2) Bentio ratji, when the land is ready.
527 Pigs and fowls are sacrificed. The people go around the lodok five times, led by the tuan tanah, in order to chase the setan. Planting is done two days after the feast. Then, for two and a half months nothing is done in the garden, not even weeding.

(3) Kalok, to drive away the mice. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok

We

241 five times. Then two men imitate mice and run
782 around, while others pelt them with clods of
231 earth. This part is called mburu pusu. After
624 this weeding can be done.
527 (4) Tege rego, when the crops are ripening. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok five times. (The tuan tanah always leads the procession of the people who have shares in the garden being rited.)

(5) Tjepa, just before the harvest. Each family concerned gives a pig, rice, etc. If the garden is a lingko randang, a buffalo must be sacrificed. The animals are assembled in the kampong, and the crowd, with one of the pigs, goes to the garden. Each one plucks a stalk and a hair. The pig is killed. Then they go back to the kampong and go around the "adat house" five times and then go inside to dance. Then all the other beasts are killed and the
[195] whipping starts. While harvesting, special words are used for animals and aliens.

776 At all feasts the poti empo are called and
769 the setan are chased. Therefore, the dead are never buried far from the kampong, and perhaps inside the kampong. Thus it is easier to call them. They live at their graves.

124 We talked with the assistant Sunday and then
[524] took him home. (We discovered in Ende later that the bamboo clapping game is also practiced there.) Then we set out for Badjawa, which we reached in the evening. The next morning a lad named Alfons appeared and said that the Radja Kedua had told him to show us the Soa area when we were in Badjawa. He is the former guru agama [religious teacher] and had taught Malay and Ngada to many priests. He is good looking and intelligent and wears leather puttees.

361 Then we went to Soa, but first stopped at a
621 spectacular kampong named Lekedjere, on the side
614 road to Soa. It is pure Ngada, really a double

624
565 order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase
554 his fame. However, a common man cannot do this.
769 Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions.
346 Also, buffalo sacrifices are needed for putting
574 a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger"
[782] mori ndaru who lives on the other side of the
plaza. This has some relation to the elder and
younger brother stuff mentioned in the manu-
script report on Soa by a priest. Mommersteeg[1]
342 has lent me this report. The mori ndaru house
624 has a wood post in front, on either side be-
532 side the steps. They are rather thin and low
and are carved in a human form. This is known
as the ata deo, or rather these are the ata
deo.

342 Also, beside the door of the house and on the
531 porch are two richly carved wooden rectangles
measuring about 3x2 feet. This looks like the
[171] Balinese stuff and consists mainly of scrolls
so far as I could see.

237 Not only on the houses of the mori ndaru
342 but also on others, we noted many lower jaws of
531 pigs, wild pigs with tusks, deer horns, and
buffalo horns. These are partly ranged along a
rack under the roof eaves and partly, especially
true of the buffalo horns, stuck in beside the
wall of the porch. We later found out that the
ata deo may be used by others than the mori
ndaru, but evidently the carved wood slabs are
only for him. I saw some especially elaborate
lower jaw carvings on a barn in Brova.

346 In the lower kampong, Lodo, which has a low
231 stone wall between it and Naru, there is the
[624] house of the mori ndaru (thus each suku, voi,
has a mori ndaru, and there may be more than
one per kampong) and the rest of the things
just mentioned. The ndaru there, however, has
a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had
been no renewal they said that they would do so,
but they would have to get the buffalo first.

[1] [pastor at Soa -- Analyst]

574 He furnished us with fair food, rice and chicken, and coffee, and then fixed up the beds without mosquito nets in one room. The son of
872 the mandur of the pasanggrahan of Badjawa was with us, on his way to school in Ende, and he had a little packet of clothes, a canteen and a ukulele. The latter was in sad condition.
484 He slept on the floor on a mat. The next morning we just about made it across the river with our goods lifted by the men in order to lighten the jeep. This was a hard experience, and we decided to make the western run only once
132 more, at the end. This rainy season is too hard here and it is dangerous because there is always a risk of delay from floods or landslides. Ende seemed luxurious after this run to the west.

The assistant was in Ende for a tax meeting
124 of kapitan, and after noon I took him and the kapitan and the latter's servant to Roworeke. They had to work on taxation in the afternoon, so I decided to start in tomorrow morning. Roworeke, as usual, is always troublesome. The jeep was overcrowded with many riders. I took them out, and came back with a load.

Incidental notes on Flores: We saw the use
482 of a tumpline in Sikka. This is true also for Nageh and Ngada. They use this for carrying loads especially in Sikka and also for betel ingredients in Ngada. They use small plaited bags.

Girls in Ngada and Nageh have half-shaved
302 tonsures. This is not true of all, but certainly of many of the girls. There are variations in style, including topknots. I note the latter on boys too.

721 A Ngada man denied head-hunting at any time
346 and said that there is no head under the new
● 231 ndaru, but rather a red dog, a pig, and a cock, all buried alive. But ENI says that there was
[554] head-hunting and that Ngada heroes had goatskin bands under their knees formerly.

R Generally, I think that
632 the government has not put adat chiefs (for
622 example, ata nggaëh nua) into administrative
624 posts. This also holds for the mosa laki. I
693 can think of the following possible reasons:
631 (1) adat chiefs are largely illiterate and cannot do administrative work therefore; (2) adat chiefs are largely pagan, and the mission, therefore, probably does not like them (indeed, one of the main ends of the mission is to do away with that devil, the tuan tanah; they usually say they want to do this because he stands in the way of progress and land reform, but this is a rationalization; it is like killing the Toradja death feasts because of immorality, when the real reason is that they constitute the main bulwark of pagan survival); (3) adat chiefs formerly and potentially even today are probably the centers of possible revolt against alien laws and government, and thus it is better not to let them have too much power. So they let them handle harmless adat cases. This is indirect rule on the adat level, taking all important functions away from them. Nevertheless, I note that the ad-
[565] ministrative appointees (who may be "elected" in a way) are always or nearly always of the adat chiefly families. Thus, here the kepala kampong is the younger brother of the ata nggaëh nua, and the kapitan is a noble of the adat lineage. They are literate and Christian (or Mohammedan) nobles of the old adat nobility.

Ngada and Nageh: The Ngada Y- or rather
231 U-topped upright, is used to run a buffalo rope
417 through. One end of the rope is attached to the neck of the buffalo and then passed through the U, and the other end is fastened to the stone post. Thus it is held taut when the buffalo is killed.

764 Ngada "resting places" along the road are
211 rectangular stone heap mounds, flat on top,

764 with upright stone. They are built by indi-
211 viduals to commemorate their own name. There
[554] is great vanity here in keeping one's name
alive after death. Thus the ngadu builder
gets his name on the ngadu too. There are no
offerings, however, at these rest places.

231 The Nageh in Soa kill animals with spears
411 as they are released (probably a hunting sur-
vival). Perhaps this is related to Toradja
spearing?

Larantuka: We left Ende on Friday, January
556 6, and after ten and a half hours we got to
237 Larantuka. There we met a young Chinese trader
177 who was born in Lomblem and whose father has a
438 toko there. They are now in Surabaja, but he
comes through Flores and the islands to buy
stuff each year. He is now buying kemiri nuts.
He told me a lot about Lomblem. He said that
there are thousands of tusks in Lomblem alone.
And he said that Maumere, which is relatively
rich in various products, is cornering a large
part of the tusks of Flores. In other places,
for example, in Larantuka, there are fewer
tusks now, and people are beginning to pay
money instead. The Maumere folk, he said,
think nothing of money. The real wealth and
goal of all striving is tied up in the tusks.
He said that the Chinese brought the tusks in
originally and told the radjas here that they
were the teeth of the naga (which was important
locally before that). The radjas paid dearly
for them, and soon all the folk here wanted
them. Hence, thousands were imported by the
Chinese. It may have been the same situation
as that which obtains with the mokko in the
Alor area. They too may well be from China.

511 This Chinese said that in Lomblem the folk
461 want very little. They work a little, just
185 enough to get the corn going, and then drink
273 enough gin to go to sleep. When drunk they

511 sing a little and then go to sleep. The only
461 time they work hard, and this consists of
185 bringing in coconuts and other stuff to the
[273] Chinese, is when they want to get clothes for
feasts and when they have to pay taxes. Their
only thorn is taxation. Without taxes they
would be completely happy. I heard later, in
237 regard to the tusks, that there are very few
438 in Wailolong, perhaps only ten. However, they
556 circulate and keep the system going. The as-
sistant said that many have been sold because
the people need money so badly. Many were sold
to the people in Tandjung Bunga.

We

614 When we went to Wailolong we met the assis-
241 tant on the section of Wailolong which is on
796 the side road near Leloba. He was there getting
●231 census material. We went off there and at-
tended a rite of the Leworita suku, or rather
one of the ama of the suku. It was the rite
for the beginning of the agricultural season.
The big kampong rite was held first, and here
it was held on Christmas. Then, each suku has
a similar rite, and then again each ama. They
are just now getting around to the ama rites.
[343] In this section there are two kebang (lumbung
or barns) adat, i.e. suku or ama barns. The
big kepala barn is that of the Number One suku
(here Ama Dotang [usually Ama Kottang] which is
near the main korke). The two suku represented
here are Lewodoreng and Leworita. This rite
was held under the adat barn of Leworita (where
jaws of sacrificed pigs hang), but the land is
owned by Lewodoreng. This is why the men who
played the roles of Kottang and Kelen (head
and feet) were not from Leworita but from
Lewodoreng.

The old pagans (some were not so old) did
the rites, but the Christians stood all around,
and they ate what they could get later, probably.
A small pig was brought in and then the prepa-

Wae
614 ration began. At the head of the group sat the
241 kelake of the Leworita ama doing the rite. On
796 one side sat two old men, one from Leworita and
●231 the other from Hurint, who prayed. They were
merely the oldest and cleverest ones there.
[301] They were real pagans, with bobbed hair, red
necklaces of beads, and silver earrings. One
had a tattoo (relatively young fellow). One
[769] prayed steadily, giving generations of Leworita
and calling all these ancestors in turn, and at
each generation the other chimed in with a
chant. The rhythm was fine. On the other side
sat the three; the man from Lewodoreng Waru'ing
holding the head of the pig (as this ama has
the Kottang function in this suku); the man
from Engamaking holding the feet (as this ama
has the Kelen function in this suku); and the
man from Hurint, who cut, as usual.

178 To the side from these sat two old women
562 who were the tuno wudjo, one from Leworita and
796 one from Lewodoreng (they needed two because
887 the former was giving the rite, but it was on
241 the latter's ground). In the old days it was
614 always a young girl virgin who acted as tuno
wudjo, but there are no more in these groups
who are still pagan, so they have to use old
women. I can see the same thing on the schedule:
in Wailolong there are some tuno wudjo who are
very young (e.g., three or four years old) as
they are not yet Christians, but others are very
old pagan women. Thus, the pagans are making
the best of it, but what can they do when the
old women are dead? The answer is found in
Leloba, where they no longer are able to have
rites. They have given up the suku and ama
rites, but still have the kampong agricultural
ceremonies. First, however, a mass is held in
[769] the chapel, and then they say prayers, but are
allowed to recite the names of the ancestors.
They no longer use the tuno wudjo, however.

797 178 ever, he says that this was not caused by misfortunes. I asked about the Catholics trying to kill all of the old culture, and he said that they use no force. I gave the case of [346] the church and the taboo on the expense of rebuilding a korke, and how the Catholics allowed for the great cost of a new church in Riang Kamië. He saw my point, but then when I asked about the sale of tusks in order to pay for the church, he said that this was a suggestion of the Riang Kamië folk themselves (no urging by the priest?) and that this was to be done only by a few families or groups which set the disastrous fire.

583 452 This led us on to a talk about the tusks. He says that they do not need many to keep the marriage system going. Thus both in Wailolong and Leloba they have about twenty-five left today. This is enough. But they must have at least five, as this is the minimum price for a girl. As long as they have the price for one girl they can keep the system going on a credit scheme. This is amazing. It is necessary, and absolutely so, to keep five.

I told about Roworeke, which has lost all their tusks, and he said haggardly that this might possibly happen here, but he didn't want to think of the results. The minimum number of five holds for this part of the district, but in the Riang Kamië sector it is only three, so they could keep the system going with a minimum of three. The reason Roy is so firm on this matter concerning the tusks is that he insists that one cannot get married without tusks, or at least credit for tusks. There is nothing else that can be used for the bride price. Thus there are no animals, gold, money, or anything else used.

684 • 231 Error: I said before that the animals killed in the incest cases were part of the bride price.

Wa.

684 This was not so. They were merely a kind of fine
●231 for committing the wrong, and the animals were all those of the groom. Both parties give animals at the wedding feast.

665 There are no political parties here, not even
181 internal factions. At any given time they may have a kind of loose lineup on an issue, but this is purely ephemeral. There is not even enough issue feeling to have meetings on any subject. Roy keeps saying that the folk here are stupid, and when it comes to politics they are youngsters. This is an illustration of the prevailing habit in East Indonesia of running themselves down. This may be a form of politeness or modesty or a real feeling of self-disparagement learned through many years of subjection to the radjas and to the Dutch.

462 No posts are held by women. This adat. Women
562 are household managers, and work on clothing, food cooking, and the arranging of marriages (or at least advising the men on how to arrange good marriages). They also hold the positions in ritual of nu'a luka and tuno wudjo. If there is a discussion taking place in a house, for example, a group of lads sitting about and talking on political topics (at this level), etc., the women of the house may join in a bit. This is all. However, I don't get the impression that women are suppressed here at all.

186 In the old days, the local people were very proud of Larantuka, and they remember now that Larantuka alone, in all Flores, remained independent when the rest was under Bima. Larantuka was free, and as Roy says, "It bordered on Bima." As for feelings in regard to other radjadoms in Flores, there seems to be no rivalry or enmity. They have not come up enough to do as the people in Ambon do, and say that Flores is the "forgotten island." They do not yet know enough to complain about their share in the Indonesian government.

R

527 A small feast is given at the birth of a
852 child.

304 There is no supercision, except for Mohammedan circumcision, and this is done only in a few cases. (Evidently, in Indonesia, where supercision was in before, they may continue it under Mohammedanism, for example, in Makassar. But where there was no cutting before, they take on Mohammedan circumcision only.)

They say that they never had any cutting here. However, they say that they know of at least two kampongs in Lio where cutting did take place.

622 The mosa laki are of course religious as well
793 as adat chiefs. The Catholic priest has a house here, but does not reside there. He makes periodic visits. There are two religious teachers.

771 I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements.

798 I wonder if the new bureaucracy, and also the Mohammedan majority, may cause trouble for the Catholic-oriented education of Flores. So far there has been no trouble.

798 There is very little discussion of religion here. They seem to let it slide by, and I get the idea that there is no great trouble in regard to paganism because (1) they never had any real resistance here, and (2) the pagans are too dumb, and so are the Christians, and (3) the Catholics do not evidently attack directly.

782 There was no trouble here in regard to the
797 acceptance of Mohammedanism from the standpoint
●[231] of sacrifice, because they have plenty of non-taboo animals, for example, the buffalo, cattle, and goats. Therefore, it is not necessary to have a pig for pagan rites, and even the Mohammedans would get their share at a feast. This is different from Larantuka, where a Mohammedan would go hungry at the largely pork provided feasts. And also, in Larantuka, the all-essen-

Wee

527 the gardens are all set and growing. The date
574 is uncertain. Each panga must contribute one
241 pig. At the New Year ceremony they dance,
sing, pray, etc. And from what I saw in Anam,
[273] they drink plenty. The main feast is held in
the central kampong of the va'u, but there is
no set order as to where the successive feasts
are held in order.

(2) There are many garden rites: for a new
lodok, for a new clearing, for planting, for
the first weeding, if there are many mice, and
for harvest. The last mentioned is the big-
gest. Note that the ceremony for the mice is
not the regular pantomime one described by
[114] Coolhaas.[1] This is not held here, but only in
East Manggarai.

There is no rice mother here.

231 For the garden rites they usually sacrifice
527 pigs and fowls. A buffalo is sacrificed at
782 the rite for the new lodok, but it is killed
241 in the kampong at the tjompang (the animal is
tied to the tree, and thus there is a clear re-
lation between this and the peo of Nageh and
the ngadu of Ngada; and note that both of these
are forked as though they were cut-off trees;
I saw this clearly in Anam, where a tjompang
tree had had branches cut and it looked like a
rudimentary peo! and note that the buffalo is
tied here at the tree as at the peo or at the
ngadu). Usually, only one buffalo is killed,
and the buffalo is only for a new, main, round
garden, i.e., a lingko randang.

242 This raised an interesting point that with
311 the need for rotation of gardens a new lingko
randang must be planted every two years, because
the soil becomes exhausted and must then lie
fallow. At this time beasts graze there and
fatten the land with manure. But here in Veol
land is now lacking, and they must use the lingko
randang and other lingko constantly, which is

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We
242 exhausting the soil. Someday someone is going
311 to have to move away!

Then we talked of fertilizer. They have
241 heard of using manure here, and I told how the
242 Japanese and Chinese forage for manure, following animals around, and using human wastes too. He said, however, that they have heard of this and that the idea is revolting to them. They wouldn't do it. This is curious. They call manure pupuk! (Note the Batak significance.) However, animals graze on fallow fields, so there is some profit from manure anyway.

241 A buffalo is sacrificed at the tjompang for
●231 harvest too.

782 I am not clear as to whether it is necessary
527 to sacrifice a buffalo for every new round garden and lodok or only for the main one. I think the latter. Anyway, they do not sacrifice a buffalo every year for the garden, but only when a new one is opened and a lodok is set up. The following year or years no buffalo is sacrificed, because the same lodok remains.

Thus, I suppose that with the present constant use of the garden, there are few if any buffalo sacrificed for lodok. Also, the buffalo sacrifice accompanies only the first harvest from a new garden. There is no buffalo sacrifice in succeeding years for the harvest from the same field.

At the garden rites they pray, sing and dance.
[535] There is a harvest parade around the lodok and around the main post in the tuan tanah house, led by the tuan tanah. Note also that the sanda dance (as at the New Year feast in Anam) is done in the house, and this round dance goes around the main post. These are not only stone people but also circular people.

782 (3) New kampong. A buffalo is sacrificed at
231 the new tjompang.

527 (4) A new big house. Only pigs are sacrificed.
342

527 We
782 Drums, etc. are set up.
231 (5) A new ordinary house. There is a small
[342] feast, and pigs are killed.

(6) If there is an epidemic, a big feast is
[731] held, like the tjutji kampong of Ambon. The
[783] mbako decides when it is needed. It is called
[756] kaba erba golo, which means "buffalo (kaba) makes young or renews (erba) the kampong (golo)." Thus the word for young seems to have the sense of making young or cleaning or renewing. There is a buffalo sacrificed, I suppose at the tjompang.

[697] (7) When a man returns from jail. A buffalo is sacrificed.

[585] (8) A wedding. For such rites only pigs are sacrificed. Buffaloes which are killed at this time are for food only, not for ritual use.

[764] (9) Funerals. If such a rite is for an up-
[565] per, a buffalo is sacrificed; if a funeral is for a lower, only a pig is sacrificed.

(10) Birth. A bigger ceremony is held for
[844] a first child, and all the kampong folk attend. Later children are given smaller rites, and only the family attend. Pigs or fowls are sacrificed. Such ceremonies are held five to ten days after birth. There is no special touching the ground rite. However, at this time the baby's hair is cut and a name is given.

844 This led to a discussion of birth. In each
[756] kampong the mbako are also midwives, i.e., at least some of them. A male mbako may be a midwife, and Cornelius says that some are very clever at this. Evidently all mbako are medicine givers and sorcerers and soothsayers, etc., but not all of them are midwives.

843 There are no food taboos for pregnant women, but there are restrictions. If a pregnant woman goes out at night, she must carry a knife (like Ambon). An expectant father may not make bamboo water holders. Neither parent may work at the graves or go to funerals

We

538 but many are still remembered. I get the idea that the decline here is not so great as in many other areas.

484 There is practically no desire here yet to go to places which are "happier."

721 There was no head-hunting here at any time,
266 nor was there any cannibalism, although they did drink blood for revenge pleasure in war. There was no human sacrifice and no torture.

681 The death punishment was given for murder, a slave having sex relations with a kraeng woman, primary incest (but more distant incest was punished by a purifying rite only). The way the death punishment was carried out here and in Pongkor was to throw the victim down into a river from a high point.

411 Note: To kill a beast the people here use
231 a spear or a long knife. It is nearly always the latter.

778 The tjompang tree may be only either waringin
824 or dadap.

515 I see plenty of lice-plucking here. The pretty wife of the head guru I saw plucking the head of another woman. And I see this all over. And here, judging by the smell, they seldom bathe. I see no bathing places. Toilets are evidently holes in the ground enclosed by a screen. I don't remember seeing lice-plucking in Makassar or Buginese areas, but perhaps they do it too. I also do not remember seeing it in Ambon. The Toradja certainly do it. Note that the Endenese and people in Larantuka bathe. The Toradja don't. I think it is probably mountain people (especially the dirty Ngada) who do not bathe and also who have more lice. In this regard, note the Manggarai Ngada, Toradja, and Batak. The Minangkabau, although living in the mountains, bathe (a sign of former coastal life?).

124 Thus ended the Manggarai work, and the as-

R

632 most extinct, with only about twenty members.
614 The kapitan is elected by the orang besar of the eighteen kampongs in the kapitanschap.
634 The Radja of Ende is also elected, in this case by the orang besar of the whole state. This means that he is elected evidently by the kapitan. I must inquire further about this matter.
632 The present kapitan is a nephew of the former
578 kapitan. He was chosen because the son of the former kapitan was not satisfactory. I noted that as I asked about this there seemed to be some embarrassment and I wonder if perhaps there was not a little fuss attached to the selection of a new kapitan even in the past. This seems to bear out the evidence for a feud pattern of which I see so much at first glance in Flores. Anyway, both the radja and the kapitan are elected with a tendency to heredity in the male line. They are elected by the officers of the sections of their domain. It is similar to the electors of Goa.
583 They say that the bride price is necessary
614 for marriage, and that the price is really high.
476 They say that some people go bankrupt in order to pay the bride price. Nevertheless, everyone
●237 in the suku helps the man pay his bride price and in turn all helpers are later helped. This bride price is a clan affair. Formerly the price had to
[436] be paid in elephant tusks and in gold pieces called wea. Now most of the tusks are gone be-
[727] cause they have been sold or stolen (during the Japanese time). There are still quite a few of the gold pieces left, however. There were hundreds of thousands of tusks in Flores before. Sikka used only very long ones, but in this area they evidently used both long and short tusks. They are remarkable and I must learn more about them.
614 Marriage is exogamous as far as suku are con-
582 cerned and residence is patrilocal. They did
[591]

578 wars. There is no more head-hunting (but the
721 priest in the mission thinks it still goes on secretly, especially for the main post of a new korke).

53 The arts here are poor in all ways.

583 The bride price must be paid, but ambil anak
611 can occur. In the latter case a daughter or
●237 daughters are given to the family in place of the
[556] price. This is especially true for the poor. Elephant tusks are needed for things such as the bride price, but this is evidently mainly for the uppers. And Krol said that nowadays, when the tusks have become rare, they often merely make the transfer in their heads, talking all night, and never actually transferring the real tusks from one family to another. It is a kind of clearing-house procedure. The tusks may be "transferred" up to twenty times in their heads, and they balance out in the end. Thus there is no real cost. It is a matter of delayed payment and really works out to a system of woman exchange between families. The tusk transfer is fictional. Thus A will "pay" tusks to B for a girl, and B will "pay" these to C for a girl, and C will "pay" them to A for a girl, and so on. The tusks, however, may even be non-existent in a particular case, and since they balance out in the end, no one really pays.

764 I was told that they used to put the bodies of
766 the war dead (I think) in trees before burial. Newborn children were buried in the kampong in front of the house. Cemeteries here were evidently placed outside the kampong.

124 We will return to Leloba tomorrow and try to
621 get the assistant matter straightened out. It
578 is notable that the guru said he is more comfortable working in an outside kampong. If the kakang gives the order the people must cooperate. This shows that the kampongs here are fiercely separatistic and only the upper government controls this atomism.

000 of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

582 583 237 614 621 The next day I questioned the guru about this, and after a long talk about kinship, which revealed that the mother's brother's daughter type of marriage is a regular type of thing, he came out with the classic statement that usually the tusks come back to the original payer in three moves. Thus, ideally this is a three-class, mother's brother's daughter, rotating system. However, the route of the tusks may be longer, involving up to twenty moves before they return to the original giver. But they try to make the circle as fast as possible, doing it in three moves if they can. Naturally, this is not always possible. We examined some cases of possible long routes, and he said it might be true that it would take up to twenty moves before the tusks returned. They try never to let the tusks go outside the kampong, and this may be why probably there is not much extrakampong marriage. But even if they did, they could close the circle by careful planning. He said, just as Wouden[1] might, that the mother's brother's daughter marriage and the bride price and the sib system are all part of a complete system. We will have more of this later.

114 Today, Friday, December 23, we started in on the Vatter[2] book which the mission lent to me. It is amazingly correct.

Among the corrections, etc., are the following: [304] tattooing against illness is not done in Leloba; [775] a tattoo mark is needed to be recognized on entering the deadland; [301] feather decorations are used only festively; [302] the special woman's horsetail coiffure is not used here any longer; [755] cotton is not placed in the ears for illness (55)[2]; [614] one of the sibs from Sina Djawa is Lewonuhah; [784] the term suku wung is used here (74)[2] wung having the sense of taboo.

[1] [See pp.19-21, 85-88 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

Wa.

778 must give them respect and why the folk are scared
789 not to obey them. (Thus it is like the aradjang
171 in South Celebes.)

789 The guru really got going on magic power. He
721 said that they call on magic power especially
778 when they are going to war (and right now too).
769 If, for example, Wailolong were going to war tomorrow with Riang Kamiß as they did only some fifteen years ago, the respective radja tuan, kelake, and maybe even the molang would get to work the night before doing the magic stuff. Among the other things they would call on the ancestors for magic power and also go through the betel rubbing on face, bodies, etc. They would also kill animals and use gin, because blood and alcohol have power. Then, on the next morning, they would be full of magical power and would go to war. All the men would come to the "big houses" to be "treated."

778 These "big houses" of the suku and ama also
614 have sacred objects, including tusks, plates,
237 etc.

422 These tusks, all of them, are ama property.
583 If any member gains possession of one, he places it in the big house of his ama. Any man in need of some tusks for a bride price may take them. If the tusks of the ama are exhausted, he may draw on the tusks of the suku. Thus Kassi, who Vatter said had no tusks of his own, could not use any tusks because his ama no longer had any. He happened to be a member of the Hurint suku, and the guru, the kepala suku, gave him some finally from the suku store and thus he was able to get married.

583 The minimum price for any girl is five units
237 of tusks (I think this is a matter of length, that is, the small and large are reckoned up). One may pay more without limitation. It is not a matter of beauty.

584 Child betrothal is common here, but this is
184

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All
727 of them were sold or taken during the Japanese
436 time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese
563 time too, but new ones are being made by
326 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from
metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked
up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and
families. They had been in the mountains making wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They
use the natives' gold. Much silver is now
mixed in with the gold. They both had complete
[142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large,
and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they
611 use money and animals for the bride price, but
591 they may also work it off, although it is not
237 really a case of ambil anak because the children follow the father's suku anyway. The girl
must stay with the parents until the bride
price is paid. Also, residence remains matrilocal until the bride price is paid. Thus we
have an illustration of this in the case of a
Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several
children, because the bride price has not yet
been paid. The children belong to his suku,
however. Thus there is bride service, matrilocal residence, but the descent remains patrilineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally,
has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to
get the assistant to say that they still had
tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the
624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before
632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evidently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the
local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases
[691] are concerned only with land and marriage questions.

5: Kennedy--119 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

524 In the afternoon on the alun-alun in Ruteng we saw a bamboo-clapping game. Two parallel bamboos were placed on the ground, and squatting behind them, facing each other, were two pairs of women. Each pair held two bamboos in their hands. These bamboos were placed athwart the lying bamboos. In unison they banged the bamboos three times against the sticks which were lying down, and on the fourth beat clapped them together, sliding them across on the sticks. Then the girl tried to hopscotch between the moving bamboos so that her ankles would not get caught on the clapping together of the long horizontal bamboos. The clapping went faster and faster--one, two, three, four --until she got caught. A man tried it too, and then some others. This is unique [actually [171] rather widespread in southeast Asia, for example, in Hainan, Philippines, Indo-China]. The mandur said they usually do this in moonlight with long rows of clappers, and with several pairs, male and female, doing the hopscotch stuff. They also have this in Larantuka and Ende.

824 Teno does not mean tanah, the latter being the same in Manggarai. Teno means the kind of wood used for the lodok post. Hence, tu'a teno.

342 531 ● 237 [171] On the house ridge of the tuan tanah of Ndung between the wooden buffalo horns is a human head of wood. Could this be related to the Toradja use of human heads berween horns, and also connected with the horn headdresses of the dancers and whippers here? The horns are used only on the houses of the tuan tanah. On other houses different decorations are used. The horns indicate that there is a drum located in the house on which they are placed.

114 Notes from Mennes (Koloniaal Tijdschrift, XX, 1931; (1), 384-390): h

h [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

624
565 order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase
554 his fame. However, a common man cannot do this.
769 Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions.
346 Also, buffalo sacrifices are needed for putting
574 a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger"
[782] mori ndaru who lives on the other side of the plaza. This has some relation to the elder and younger brother stuff mentioned in the manuscript report on Soa by a priest. Mommersteeg[1] has lent me this report. The mori ndaru house
342 has a wood post in front, on either side be-
624 side the steps. They are rather thin and low
532 and are carved in a human form. This is known as the ata deo, or rather these are the ata deo.

342 Also, beside the door of the house and on the
531 porch are two richly carved wooden rectangles measuring about 3x2 feet. This looks like the
[171] Balinese stuff and consists mainly of scrolls so far as I could see.

●237 Not only on the houses of the mori ndaru
342 but also on others, we noted many lower jaws of
531 pigs, wild pigs with tusks, deer horns, and buffalo horns. These are partly ranged along a rack under the roof eaves and partly, especially true of the buffalo horns, stuck in beside the wall of the porch. We later found out that the ata deo may be used by others than the mori ndaru, but evidently the carved wood slabs are only for him. I saw some especially elaborate lower jaw carvings on a barn in Brova.

346 In the lower kampong, Lodo, which has a low
231 stone wall between it and Naru, there is the
[624] house of the mori ndaru (thus each suku, voi, has a mori ndaru, and there may be more than one per kampong) and the rest of the things just mentioned. The ndaru there, however, has a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had been no renewal they said that they would do so, but they would have to get the buffalo first.

[1] [pastor at Soa --Analyst]

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 ●237 224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him 776 784 about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh 124 tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must 824 have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read 769 that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo [789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
361 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
515 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
514 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

R

000 since then there have been no wars.

614 The great suku feasts are a kind of re-
574 fresher of the gemeente bond, as all the suku
692 of the area come and feast and pledge friend-
624 ship. Thus, if Odja has a suku feast for repairing the grave-bones shrine, the other five big suku (and also others who are invited) attend. (The five are Rewarangga, Nggonggora'ba, Reandona, Wanda, and Gusa-Tibo). Thus the suku feasts are gemeente affairs as well as of a genealogical group. The mosa laki mere must be present at all such feasts, even though it is not of his own suku. Incidentally, he is the same man as the kolu, mentioned by Suchtelen[1] as the "tuan tanah." This kolu word is evidently used especially in his function as an agricultural priest. Thus he is an adat judge and agricultural priest at the same time. The mosa laki mere involved is the mosa laki mere of the kampong involved; thus here he is the big one, as the kampong mosa laki mere of Worowai-Roworeke is also the mosa laki mere of the gemeente.

[237] He gets the lower jaws of all the sacrificed
[342] animals. Nowadays he throws them away after
[178] eating, but formerly all bones from such occasions were kept and were put on the houses. Thus there is a clear relation involved between the jaws on the Ngada houses of the tuan tanah there and such occasions (and distantly to the Mentawei and Punan animal jaws). Note that he gets the lower jaws.

538 As for legends and stories of the past, at
533 first they said that they have none, or rather
[124] that they had forgotten what they might have had. I prodded on and told them about the Balai Pustaka man getting stories of Indonesia for schools. They loosened up a bit, and it seems that they do have plenty. I instructed the assistant to get a few as samples. They said

[1] [See p.70 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat.113 - Analyst]

764 with upright stone. They are built by indi-
211 viduals to commemorate their own name. There
[554] is great vanity here in keeping one's name
alive after death. Thus the ngadu builder
gets his name on the ngadu too. There are no
offerings, however, at these rest places.

The Nageh in Soa kill animals with spears
231 as they are released (probably a hunting sur-
411 vival). Perhaps this is related to Toradja
spearing?

Larantuka: We left Ende on Friday, January
556 6, and after ten and a half hours we got to
237 Larantuka. There we met a young Chinese trader
177 who was born in Lomblem and whose father has a
438 toko there. They are now in Surabaja, but he
comes through Flores and the islands to buy
stuff each year. He is now buying kemiri nuts.
He told me a lot about Lomblem. He said that
there are thousands of tusks in Lomblem alone.
And he said that Maumere, which is relatively
rich in various products, is cornering a large
part of the tusks of Flores. In other places,
for example, in Larantuka, there are fewer
tusks now, and people are beginning to pay
money instead. The Maumere folk, he said,
think nothing of money. The real wealth and
goal of all striving is tied up in the tusks.
He said that the Chinese brought the tusks in
originally and told the radjas here that they
were the teeth of the naga (which was important
locally before that). The radjas paid dearly
for them, and soon all the folk here wanted
them. Hence, thousands were imported by the
Chinese. It may have been the same situation
as that which obtains with the mokko in the
Alor area. They too may well be from China.

This Chinese said that in Lomblem the folk
511 want very little. They work a little, just
461 enough to get the corn going, and then drink
185 enough gin to go to sleep. When drunk they
273

511 sing a little and then go to sleep. The only
461 time they work hard, and this consists of
185 bringing in coconuts and other stuff to the
[273] Chinese, is when they want to get clothes for
feasts and when they have to pay taxes. Their
only thorn is taxation. Without taxes they
would be completely happy. I heard later, in
237 regard to the tusks, that there are very few
438 in Wailolong, perhaps only ten. However, they
556 circulate and keep the system going. The as-
sistant said that many have been sold because
the people need money so badly. Many were sold
to the people in Tandjung Bunga.

Wa. When we went to Wailolong we met the assis-
614 tant on the section of Wailolong which is on
241 the side road near Leloba. He was there getting
796 census material. We went off there and at-
231 tended a rite of the Leworita suku, or rather
one of the ama of the suku. It was the rite
for the beginning of the agricultural season.
The big kampong rite was held first, and here
it was held on Christmas. Then, each suku has
a similar rite, and then again each ama. They
are just now getting around to the ama rites.
[343] In this section there are two kebang (lumbung
or barns) adat, i.e. suku or ama barns. The
big kepala barn is that of the Number One suku
(here Ama Dotang [usually Ama Kottang] which is
near the main korke). The two suku represented
here are Lewodoreng and Leworita. This rite
was held under the adat barn of Leworita (where
jaws of sacrificed pigs hang), but the land is
owned by Lewodoreng. This is why the men who
played the roles of Kottang and Kelen (head
and feet) were not from Leworita but from
Lewodoreng.

The old pagans (some were not so old) did
the rites, but the Christians stood all around,
and they ate what they could get later, probably.
A small pig was brought in and then the prepa-

Wa.
778 notable little stone with lots of agricultural
789 power. The objects which are possessed by the
614 suku and ama have no magic power; they are
823 only a form of wealth.

The eight kampongs of the Mudakaputu ge-
621 meente are:
832

1. Leloba
2. Wailolong
3. Lewohala
4. Lewoneda
5. Mudakaputu
6. Watuwiti
7. Riang Kamiß
8. Riang Kanali

237 Economic note: The tusks are like the stone
583 money of Yap. They are the basis for the local
436 economy, but have little intrinsic value. The
452 non-existent tusks of Larantuka are even better, and the folklore concerning them is fantastic. They are reckoned with and theoretically exchanged when they don't even exist. They keep the marriage system going. They are parallel to pure paper credit--something like international balances.

621 The first six kampongs are the old time kam-
173 pongs. They were founded by the five sons of Lenurat or their descendants, who came out of Ili Mandiri. Thus the situation runs something like this:

Sons: (1) Belawaburak founded Leloba. (2) Keweluk founded Wailolong. (3) Kewaka founded Lewohala and Lewoneda. (4) Bampowa founded Mudakaputu. (5) Mado founded Watuwiti.

Daughters: (6) Emma married a man of Tandjung Bunga (and the folk there call the people of the Blakang Gunung region "blake," i.e., mother's brother). (7) Hingi married a man of Adonara (perhaps the people there would also

I 241 243 [412] [372 cont.] she presses each stalk against the blade of the knife and collects them in her left hand.

When a piece of land is more or less exhausted after being worked for three or four years, it is abandoned, sometimes for good, and a new piece of land elsewhere is cleared in the same way.

S B [241 412] When land is cultivated after being abandoned for a time, it does not require so much work before planting. The only agricultural implement used in this form of farming is the hoe, in Malayan tjangkoel, in Javanese patjoel. It is generally known by this last name ("patjol").

Where the condition of the land permits, it is worked in a peculiar way. The top layer of soil is turned up by means of large, pointed sticks. A whole row of people, each with a stick in his hand and each at the same time, drives the stick into the earth. All the sticks are then pulled around and the top layer of earth is turned over. This method of working the land is used by the Karo-Batak, on Sumba, and elsewhere. Outside the archipelago it is used on the D'Entrecasteaux Islands southeast of British New Guinea.

F 241 [476] [373] A peculiar form of this primitive agriculture is found on western Flores (Manggarai). Each year the toean tanah (see p. 407) selects a piece of land to be prepared for the ladang, and it is cleared by all the inhabitants of the kampong, who work together from one center, and then divided, like a spiderweb, into plots for cultivation. The spiderweb form is accentuated by the big felled trees that are placed ray-like from a center, while concentric circles of the same trees cut through the rays at definite intervals. According to Meerburg, one of the plots thus fenced off remains at the disposal of its rightful claimant for three years (1).

F [423]

1. Meerburg, "Proeve eener beschrijving van land en volk van Midden-Manggarai [Description of the land and people of Central Manggarai]," Tijdschrift van het Batavian

F 241 [423]

[373 cont.]

Genootschap, Vol. 34 (1891), and H. B. Stapel, "Het Manggaraische Volk," ibid., Vol. 56 (1914), p. 419.

T 243

Although from the technical point of view ladang cultivation is a very simple form of agriculture, the value attached to rice as a food is so great that even this primitive form of agriculture is surrounded by a cycle of religious customs and ceremonies. A description of some of them is given by Kruyt in his account of rice cultivation among the Toradja (2).

2. De Baré'é-sprekende Toradja's, II, pp. 229 ff.

T [174]

Among the Parigi-Kaili group, rice cultivation in wet fields has been practiced for a long time, probably introduced by the Buginese; the Poso-Todjo group, on the other hand, formerly had only dry fields, but since 1907, by Government order, wet fields have been used wherever possible.

Rice cultivation is of such great importance to the Toradja that, according to Kruyt, all their thoughts are concentrated on their rice fields.

As was mentioned in the chapter, "Time Reckoning," the time to begin rice cultivation is indicated by the position of a certain constellation.

T [793]

In everything concerning the cultivation of rice, the tadoelako have a special role. Not only are they the leaders in the field work, knowing more than the others about it, but, what is far more important, they are conversant with the spirits and the ceremonies that have to be observed in connection with rice cultivation. Three kinds of rice fields are distinguished: kawo, the newly cleared forest land; [374] bondé, the fields planted for the second time; and nawoe, a portion of the rice field dedicated to the gods, where all the prescribed ceremonies are faithfully observed. A piece of land with a species of Ficus (F. erecta Thumb) on it is chosen for this; if there is none, a tree

T [782 796]

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789 father told him to shut up. This was another
776 of his familiars. He also had a seven-headed
178 snake as a familiar. I asked what ever happened
[825] to these familiars, and he said that they do not appear any longer because the people do not feel the need for them. But if one called them, they could come to the old guru. That is, the familiars are inherited from father to his successor son. This is amazing, and shows clearly that the old guru, at least, and indeed the young one and the kepala kampong, still take seriously much of the old belief despite Christianity. I eased
[123] into this by talking like a kafir myself, as usual, and they came along to a stage of talking in a way that would horrify the priests. At one point the guru stopped and said, "My, we're talking like Kafirs [unbelievers, infidels]." There is plenty left here of the old paganism, and I can see why the priest said it would be easy for them to slide back into their former habits.

241 People must keep quiet when the crops are
824 growing as they would scare away the food spirit in the plants otherwise. When there is a harvest there are feasts and many gatherings. This may be the reason for the harvest feast pattern.

361 Wailolong was originally located in the hills. Then they moved down to the coast where there is a crossroads at Okka. After that they moved only about thirty years ago to their present location. The first move was the result of the government pressure to make them come down out of the hills. The second move was halfway back to the hills. Leloba has moved only once, that being the original move down from the higher hills. Wailolong and indeed other kampongs here have grown fast in recent years because of cleaner conditions, better medicine, etc. They know this well. Wailolong has grown apace and keeps grow-
000 ing. The houses in the oldest negri lama were

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693 632 624 [622] tions. Murder, theft, etc., come to the kepala kampong or kapitan. Such cases are not within the adat sphere. These officials do not interfere with each other's spheres.

632 624 622 The situation in regard to the offices is as follows: The Big Four of the gemeente who are also the Little Four of Roworeke (combined with Worowai) are respectively from Rewarangga, Odja, Rewarangga, and Rewarangga. All except the giri tumba are from Worowai, and here there is a rumah berhala. Only an Odja or a Rewarangga man (and he must be a resident of Roworeke) may be elected kapitan or kepala kampong of Roworeke. In each of the other kampongs there are families in which the Little Fours are hereditary posts. This position is inherited from father to eldest son.

[796] There are no set ritual functions associated with these offices, but the mosa laki mere of the Big Four (I think) must always be there for a big ceremony, and he must receive the lower jaws of the animals slaughtered. I note that an alternative term for the four mosa laki is tuan tanah.

771 796 Some of the people here are Catholics, and I asked if they still did the ritual and prayed when they held a big ceremony. He say yes, and that Catholicism makes no difference in this matter. He was firm in stating that there are Catholic things and adat things. They are separate. The two main feasts of the year are 796 ● 241 those held at planting and at harvest time, 574 527 when the crops are brought in ritually to the kampong. At these feasts the mosa are the leaders and the big leader is the local mosa laki mere. There is animal slaughter, dancing, singing, and praying. They wear festive clothes. [614] And there is also a big suku feast when the [342] bone house of a suku is rebuilt. Thousands at- 000 tend. Smaller private rites are held for such

769 or ngadu. These and the bhaga, which I could
346 not see clearly but which are evidently merely minature rectangular houses for female ancestors, are notable features in just about all of the Ngada kampongs. Arndt[1] says the bhaga are empty, but I wonder. These two sorts of structures are erected by the prosperous folk to show respect and honor to their dead ancestors. Each one is given the name of the ancestor. Evidently, a person may build one for himself.

They are always built in pairs, one male and one female.

159 The very fat Radja of Ngada came to the
634 pasanggrahan in a uniform with shoulder epau-
224 lets, four stripes, and above this a cluster
[292] looking like a sunburst. The uniform was white and not unlike that of a KPM captain. He can't write, and is still a pagan, but he says that his children are Christian. He is very jolly and although tolerant I can see that he thinks little of the missions. He also criticized the forced labor which the Dutch demanded for road work when he was young. He said that anyone who wouldn't follow orders, including the radjas, was jailed or deposed. He is the man who joked about the Dutch and the "modern" Florenese. He never does much in administration,
[595] but likes to hunt and has many wives. He told us that he has many children and grandchildren. He gets in trouble with the government for burning the vegetation in deer hunts. He said it is necessary to kill deer as otherwise they would hurt the gardens. This land has practi-
311 cally no trees on it, but consists mostly of
[137] [133] rolling naked hills as a result of overburning.
[224] Maybe the priest was right who said that he thought they were a hunting folk before and in those days they burned off the whole area in
[241] deer drives. Now they burn off the vegetable

[1] [See pp 366-69 of Arndt as cited in bibliography, Cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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241 cover for agriculture too, and this causes a great[1] economic problem.

114 He said that much of Arndt's[2] and other scho-
124 lars' findings were wrong as they use Christian
159 gurus as assistants, and the latter do not tell
634 them exactly what the old men say. The young assistants "doctor up" the information. They also misunderstand some of the old ideologies. This was one of many implications in his talk that showed he was not uncritical of the Christians. He has been radja longer than any other in Flores, thirty-one years and seven months. In his youth he was a Dutch army man too. He says that there was no road built when he was first made radja but the mission was already there. He also says that he is the most important radja in West Flores, although all of the royal families here are interrelated. He says he represents the older sibling branch, and Nageh and Manggarai radjas are the younger sibling branches. It is true that the Manggarai radjadom dates only from 1929, and before this there were only dalu, three of whom were most powerful.

194 The Radja speaks Malay with remarkable gutteral sounds which Arndt[2] says are characteristic of Ngada folk. They also have at least one implosive, as in bhaga. He has his house in the kampong Radja, not far from the town.

361 The town is notably modern in appearance, with
797 the mission influence as usual. In the center there is a large plaza where the football field
[485] is located, as usual. The pasanggrahan is a
622 good one, and the mandur looks like a nickel-
634 head Indian. He was in the army once too and served in Sumatra, especially in Atjeh. He is evidently a friend of the Radja, as he enters
[565] and talks with him freely. The Radja mixes
443 freely with the people here, as we noted at the pasar malam. The latter, to which we went at

1 [i.e., the Radja of Ngada--Analyst]
2 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[799] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here, and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

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614 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and
778 broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive. It is located a little to the side of the path and in a rather inconspicuous place.

[773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about this: it is a woman turned to stone with her child because she bathed naked) is located four kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong Bangkavelo.

231 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,[1]
241 they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the
782 garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connec-
114 tion with agricultural rites. They do this in the kampong. In the garden itself they kill only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent, Coolhaas is right.

565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The term kraeng is used for all three levels of nobles.

114 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 336,[1]
632 the people here still give tribute to the dalu
651 when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls,
466 etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now
624 wants a new house he may no longer expect free
476 labor. Now he must pay for such service. If, however, there is need of a new tuan tanah house, labor is given without pay. And if there is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps, although other kampongs may assist in some way or other.

567 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi).
565 Their descendants are still known. It is also
114 true that new slaves were put in stocks (lampang) until it was certain that they would not run away. It is also correct that slaves who had been in a family for a long time might even marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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776 In regard to Manggarai religion: The poti-
782 potiwolo live in trees; the giants have one leg and one eye; if a tree is cut down an offering is given to them.

The ine weu are dwarfs with long breasts. They strangle men with the latter. They live in forests.

The darat are in the forests too. They assume the shape of relatives and lure children so that they can kidnap them. If a child disappears, the people go out with drums and gongs to scare the darat into yielding. The poti empo are ghosts of the dead. Offerings are made to them in all rites. These ghosts hang around their graves and the kampongs. Wakar are higher spirits. Of these the good spirits are wakar dia, bad spirits are wakar daat.

The name of the high god is Mori Kraeng.

241 There are two kinds of gardens: lingko
776 randang and lingko umah. The former are under
782 the aegis of ghosts of the dead tuan tanah.
231 The latter are under the aegis of ordinary poti. Each gelarang must have at least one of the former (lingko randang). For the lingko randang there are more and greater prayers. And at ceremonial rites for that type of garden buffa-
[526] loes must be killed and the whip fighting must be done at its harvest festivals.

241 The agricultural feasts are:
782 (1) Leas ose, when the garden is divided. A
624 pig is sacrificed.
231 (2) Bentio ratji, when the land is ready.
527 Pigs and fowls are sacrificed. The people go around the lodok five times, led by the tuan tanah, in order to chase the setan. Planting is done two days after the feast. Then, for two and a half months nothing is done in the garden, not even weeding.

(3) Kalok, to drive away the mice. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok

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241 five times. Then two men imitate mice and run
782 around, while others pelt them with clods of
231 earth. This part is called mburu pusu. After
624 this weeding can be done.

527 (4) Tege rego, when the crops are ripening. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok five times. (The tuan tanah always leads the procession of the people who have shares in the garden being rited.)

(5) Tjepa, just before the harvest. Each family concerned gives a pig, rice, etc. If the garden is a lingko randang, a buffalo must be sacrificed. The animals are assembled in the kampong, and the crowd, with one of the pigs, goes to the garden. Each one plucks a stalk and a hair. The pig is killed. Then they go back to the kampong and go around the "adat house" five times and then go inside to dance. Then all the other beasts are killed and the
[195] whipping starts. While harvesting, special words are used for animals and aliens.

776 At all feasts the poti empo are called and
769 the setan are chased. Therefore, the dead are never buried far from the kampong, and perhaps inside the kampong. Thus it is easier to call them. They live at their graves.

124 We talked with the assistant Sunday and then
[524] took him home. (We discovered in Ende later that the bamboo clapping game is also practiced there.) Then we set out for Badjawa, which we reached in the evening. The next morning a lad named Alfons appeared and said that the Radja Kedua had told him to show us the Soa area when we were in Badjawa. He is the former guru agama [religious teacher] and had taught Malay and Ngada to many priests. He is good looking and intelligent and wears leather puttees.

361 Then we went to Soa, but first stopped at a
621 spectacular kampong named Lekedjere, on the side
614 road to Soa. It is pure Ngada, really a double

511 sing a little and then go to sleep. The only
461 time they work hard, and this consists of
185 bringing in coconuts and other stuff to the
[273] Chinese, is when they want to get clothes for
feasts and when they have to pay taxes. Their
only thorn is taxation. Without taxes they
would be completely happy. I heard later, in
237 regard to the tusks, that there are very few
438 in Wailolong, perhaps only ten. However, they
556 circulate and keep the system going. The as-
sistant said that many have been sold because
the people need money so badly. Many were sold
to the people in Tandjung Bunga.

Wa. When we went to Wailolong we met the assis-
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241 tant on the section of Wailolong which is on
796 the side road near Leloba. He was there getting
231 census material. We went off there and at-
tended a rite of the Leworita suku, or rather
one of the ama of the suku. It was the rite
for the beginning of the agricultural season.
The big kampong rite was held first, and here
it was held on Christmas. Then, each suku has
a similar rite, and then again each ama. They
are just now getting around to the ama rites.
[343] In this section there are two kebang (lumbung
or barns) adat, i.e. suku or ama barns. The
big kepala barn is that of the Number One suku
(here Ama Dotang [usually Ama Kottang] which is
near the main korke). The two suku represented
here are Lewodoreng and Leworita. This rite
was held under the adat barn of Leworita (where
jaws of sacrificed pigs hang), but the land is
owned by Lewodoreng. This is why the men who
played the roles of Kottang and Kelen (head
and feet) were not from Leworita but from
Lewodoreng.

The old pagans (some were not so old) did
the rites, but the Christians stood all around,
and they ate what they could get later, probably.
A small pig was brought in and then the prepa-

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614 ration began. At the head of the group sat the
241 kelake of the Leworita ama doing the rite. On
796 one side sat two old men, one from Leworita and
231 the other from Hurint, who prayed. They were
merely the oldest and cleverest ones there.
[301] They were real pagans, with bobbed hair, red
necklaces of beads, and silver earrings. One
had a tattoo (relatively young fellow). One
[769] prayed steadily, giving generations of Leworita
and calling all these ancestors in turn, and at
each generation the other chimed in with a
chant. The rhythm was fine. On the other side
sat the three; the man from Lewodoreng Waru'ing
holding the head of the pig (as this ama has
the Kottang function in this suku); the man
from Engamaking holding the feet (as this ama
has the Kelen function in this suku); and the
man from Hurint, who cut, as usual.

178 To the side from these sat two old women
562 who were the tuno wudjo, one from Leworita and
796 one from Lewodoreng (they needed two because
887 the former was giving the rite, but it was on
241 the latter's ground). In the old days it was
614 always a young girl virgin who acted as tuno
wudjo, but there are no more in these groups
who are still pagan, so they have to use old
women. I can see the same thing on the schedule:
in Wailolong there are some tuno wudjo who are
very young (e.g., three or four years old) as
they are not yet Christians, but others are very
old pagan women. Thus, the pagans are making
the best of it, but what can they do when the
old women are dead? The answer is found in
Leloba, where they no longer are able to have
rites. They have given up the suku and ama
rites, but still have the kampong agricultural
ceremonies. First, however, a mass is held in
the chapel, and then they say prayers, but are
[769] allowed to recite the names of the ancestors.
They no longer use the tuno wudjo, however.

178 After the ancestors are called, the pig is cut,
562 first sawed through the neck until the windpipe
796 is cut, and then with one blow the head is cut
●241 off. The assistant said that if it is a big
887 pig, a strong blow is required to knock the
769 head off with a single sweep.
614 Note that the two old men who prayed were from Leworita and Hurint. Evidently this makes no difference, but they do choose old people who know prayers (however, they have one from the suku giving the rite, as he must recite the names of their ancestors).

[276] Then betel was prepared and passed around. As the pig bled, blood splashed on the tusk which was lying on the ground beside one of the posts. This is a ritual tusk and is not very large. It is owned by the ama and is not used for bride prices. The second part of the rite--to give the food to the ground and posts --came next. The tuno wudjo and other old women took the rice and heaped it on a plate like a hillock. The men cut out the liver of the pig and chopped it up. The mixture was put on the ground, or rather a bit of it was, and also smeared on the four posts of the barn. Gin was
[273] meanwhile passed around (we got some), and it was also poured on the ground and sprinkled around under the barn. We left after this as the rite was over, but they went on to cook and eat the pork with the rice. This is a relatively small rite, although it was a part of the entire planting ritual complex.

614 One can say that each grouping (or, as the
241 assistant says, each barn) must have agricul-
796 tural rites. Thus, the system runs down from
343 the big kampong-barn-suku Kottang rite, with all the suku there and all the tuno wudjo (of all suku and ama); to the suku rites at each suku barn, and all suku and tuno wudjo at these too, in all five rites; and finally to the ama-

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614 barn rites, with only the ama tuno wudjo and
796 members present. All of this is done in order
241 to make the rice in the fields perfect. The
343 other great ritual complex of an agricultural nature is at harvest time, and they may have a third type if there is an especially good harvest (like the thanksgiving feasts of the Toradja).

778 I asked about the saoniwang, the magic stones
789 which are in front of the houses of all suku
342 and ama chiefs. Some have disappeared in Le-
614 loba and have not been replaced, but most of
823 them are still there. For example, the guru has the mother stone before his house, and one child stone, but other child stones are used for foundations of houses. They are inserted with many other stones in the masonry, but he pointed to the specific ones. These saoniwang, like the nubanara, which are placed in front of the korke, are the big ones in the heap, the mother, and the little ones, her children. They hold the magic power of the chiefs, and without them there is no power. Nevertheless, in Leloba, even when the chief has no more stones, he still holds some power, as if they were still there. The guru has three for his house, for war power, marriage power, and power among suku, respectively. One of these is in the hills behind. This, he says, has tremendous power. He says such things seriously.

[773] These stones suddenly appeared long ago. They came down from heaven after, or rather with a heavy rain. Thus they are like the descendance stones of, for example, Goa. Sao means anchor and so does niwang. Thus the meaning is that the power and with it the group or man holding it are firmly and inextrically tied to this land. However, all sorts of stones are believed to have power. Many of them are very little. Thus the kakang has a

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123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

We discussed a certain rank which appears in
614 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
343 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
562 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala
243 suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

We also noted a possible error in Vatter.[1]
[114] He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
614 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
796 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
831 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
784 gins, but now with so few young girls still
241 pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[857] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost
[887] babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic
[797] note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

1 [See bibliography, at 113 -- Analyst]

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831 goat; and buffalo?). During other months they
614 may eat such food. This figures out to be
241 roughly about one half of the year. Some of
786 the ama have no nu'a luka, for example, Ama
784 Rere. Indeed, Roy says they must not be too strict about this system because there are plenty of holes in the ideal scheme. As we
115 were finishing up the work he got a note tell-
124 ing him to meet the Radja at the kakang's house for a conference. Evidently he is becoming a big man here. We are perhaps partly responsible.

He is making a map, and his daughter, who goes to the nun's school in Larantuka, is doing the drawing.

The next morning, Sunday, we went back, and
632 arrived while church services were being held.
796 They expected the Radja to visit today, so they had removed a section of the fence to let his car in. He never showed up, which was a disappointment to them, as they were all waiting
[621] around. The name of the section of Wailolong where we saw the rite yesterday is Apukule(ng).

We asked about the bonds of friendship and
578 enemy relations here. It is clear that seven
721 of the kampongs are always friendly, and are never at war with one another. The eighth, Riang Kamië, has been the traditional enemy of each of them in turn. They are all descendants of Lenurat, whereas the folk of Rian Kamië are descended mainly from Kroko Putang folk, mixed in with some Sina Djawa. Most enmity against Riang Kamië has been, as usual, by kampongs bordering Riang Kamië. Always, border wars are the most frequent here. Thus, Leloba, Wailolong, and Lewohala are involved. The traditional enemy kampong is Lewowitin. The others are brothers, just as in fact or legend their founders were.

The main causes of wars were, in order:

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578 land disputes, head-hunting, and women. Or
721 perhaps the latter two should be reversed. Another cause was molesting a child if done by a neighboring kampong. There were also radja wars, in which the people served, but this was involved in high politics. Finally, there were also the early wars against the aborigines, the Padji folk.

721 The reasons for head-hunting were linked
346 with the new korke (this is still a reason for
796 the largest feast, when all kampongs come to-
782 gether. Nowadays, the feast for the new church takes over this function). When a new korke is built, if the six posts do not fit into the rafter posts, it is a sign that the posts are not happy because they are in need of food, so they are pledged food. Formerly the people then went out and got a head and hung it in the korke. Then everything was all right. Note that nowadays at such rites they give food to the posts. For example, yesterday they smeared rice on the four barn posts. The korke must have six posts.

346 The korke was the center of the war cult and
769 the ghost cult (ancestor cult). The barns were
343 the center of the agricultural cult. The little
241 kebang (barn) of the suku and the ama is called sebua.[1]

582 Relations between villages are kept up by
621 marriages. In fact, they are almost the sole
602 reason for such relations. This shows that genealogical relationship is nearly everything here. It shows also why descent is the basis for the whole organization of power, etc., and why marriage rules are so complex and strongly held to. There have even been marriage relations with Riang Kamiё, although they have not been too pronounced.

476 Another reason for relations with other com-
582 munities is work. That is, there is mutual aid
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[1] [See cat. 116, p. 202 -- Analyst]

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000 up together again.

Some of the suku are large, some are small,
614 and some have died out. They have the same
171 idea in this regard as I noted on Ambon: that
789 a group which dies out may well have disappeared because of a wrong committed in the old days. It is as though there were a curse on them. Roy mentioned a case of an ama (I think) which did a lot of killing. Now it is extinct. Another group used too much magic, and it too died out. (Magic keeps cropping up. They have taken on my term kekuatan adjaib with a vengeance. I often wonder if they are kidding
[123] me, seeing that I like the pagan stuff.)

Roy says that the roles of the sexes has
562 not changed at all. However, when there was
178 much warfare formerly, the women were important
708 in helping the men by bringing in supplies, encouraging them, and in making magic against the enemy behind the lines. (Supply, psychological warfare, morale division, and "research.")

One firm rule which is changing today, however,
178 is that in the old days the women never did work
462 in the field, except for helping in planting and
241 in the harvest. This is still so in a large degree, and it is true enough that the women are seen around the kampong all day while the men are off in the fields. However, nowadays more women go out and help with agricultural work. This is a slow trend. In the old days men would be ashamed to have women doing agricultural work. This was not their role (and there is a very sharp sex division of labor here).

Indeed, women have no work, properly speaking, except house work. They do very little agricultural work, even today. The planting stuff they do is clearly ritually linked, at least in part, and the harvest is evidently always an exception.

562 Roy says that the women have equal status,

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178 In terms of technology and occupation, there
463 have been very few changes. They still farm
in the old way, and there have been no new jobs
342 created. There are today such houses as the
178 kapitan's, with a bit of cement work. This is
354 new. And every house has a pelita [a kind of
lamp] for which they buy kerosene. Few of
them have any real lamps like the kapitan's.
The assistant has one, but it is typically out
291 of order. Shirts here are new, but they are
178 rare and cost much. Shoes are new here and
[413] are very rare. Pens, etc., are extremely rare.
The women no longer wear the homespun blouses.
They wear homespun sarongs like the men do,
but buy kebaya of thinner cloth today.

286 They cannot make thin cloth with their
looms, and this is a great handicap. What
they make is too heavy. This is mainly a mat-
ter of thread. They can't spin thread any
thinner than they do and have it strong enough
so that it will not break in the loom. Thus,
if they could get trade thread, they might be
able to weave thinner cloth (?).

[346] The only tin roofs are on the grave-bone
shrines of Odja and Wanda.

Every woman spins thread and weaves. There
are no specialists, however, who sell cloth.
This is done only rarely.

463 There are no smiths or specialists of any
326 kind. There were about twenty men who worked
563 at making pots here, and this started evidently
about two years ago. It was a Chinese company
(evidently tied in with the Radja some way),
and these lads worked in their spare time. As
there are no orders now, they are working
there no longer. It is not a native craft.

• 241 The most important local agricultural crop
and food source is maize, by far. Then come
rice, vegetables, and yams. There is no sago;
000 they have never heard of it. Little meat is

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There are about ten
326 smiths (are they full time? I doubt it).

As before, rice and corn are the staple
●241 177 crops. There has been practically no change except for the introduction of new kinds of bananas, peanuts, and a few vegetables, in
[433] the diet. The local community is still almost one hundred per cent self sufficient.
283 They even make their own thread from their own cotton, although they may buy some thread today.

178 There has been practically no change at all since Vatter's book was written. In Wailolong they still have a tuno wudjo.

[352] Fifty years ago there were no tables or chairs, and there are only a few now. There
291 has been a little change in regard to cloth-
178 ing, especially in that a few men now wear shirts. And a few men also have shoes; there were none before.

A few women wear European dresses; no one wore such dress formerly. They could not sew at all fifty years ago, and there is still not a single sewing machine in Wailolong.

438 A few of the women sell some vegetables and some arak. They buy small quantities of thread, salt, hairpins, soap, medicine, and tobacco. The mountain people sell some of their forest products.

443 There has been no change at all in the mar-
178 ket system here except for the disappearance
437 of the Delang pasar. This was mostly or entirely a barter pasar. Cash is used at the Okka pasar. Up until seven years ago the Delang pasar was still used. There are no toko or warong here.

483 Very few people have ever ridden in a car here. Roy guesses that at the very most one per cent of the population has had such an experience.

423 The kinds of property in terms of land here are the following: kampong (which is "owned"
& [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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797 works, but I wonder if there might not be trouble if the central organization of the Catholic Church knew it. Still, perhaps the Catholics are indeed less doctrinaire than the Protestants. Surely the Jesuits are, with their different approach toward ends and means. There is a big contrast here with Ambon, surely.

788 Much of the former pagan ritual still survives. For example, there are field rites, beliefs, illness treatments, etc. The pagans still carry on plenty of the old ceremonies. Even the elaborate rites for planting, etc., continue.

241 782 796 The tuno wudjo is still an important figure in planting rites of Wailolong, but has disappeared in Leloba since Vatter's[1] day. The story is that she is a girl who was sacrificed in Lio by her seven brothers, to make the fields fertile. (They say that this is "to make the gardens fat.") Indeed, she told them to kill her in order to help. And the pieces of her body were sent to places all over Flores to make the fields fertile. The story is also found in Adonara.

Note: Lio is a great place for human sacrifice in relation to agriculture. The Radja of Lio not long ago was executed by the Dutch, and among his crimes was listed the killing of young girls for agricultural field rites. The people of Ende know this, and it seems generally known throughout Flores.

[614] [173] Note also: according to Vatter,[1] one of the suku in Tandjung Bunga is Lio, and they are supposed to be descended from people who came from there. I wonder if perhaps this myth is not a sign of former human sacrifice in relation to agriculture all over Flores (or at least for East Flores), and it may also have originated in Lio and thence spread to here. Anyway, the

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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796 story is clear in their minds.

●241 Note also that a Sumba girl was sacrificed
782 for dry springs and fertility. The pieces were sent all over the island. Here we clearly have a pattern. I wonder if perhaps the proto-Malay
[174] strength in Lio may show a Sumba link, and human sacrifice of this sort may not have come into Flores with an eastward migration. There is a fair chance, I think, that they had at least two migrations into Flores: one from the west, the proto-Malay (and thence perhaps the stories in regard to Sina Djawa); and the other from the east, the Negroid migration, and thence the stories in regard to Kroko Putang and other ancestors from Timor, etc.

The tuno wudjo, ideally one for each suku and ama, are still used in ceremonies of all the kampongs here except Leloba and Lewoneda. Wailolong still uses them. The Catholics do not make much fuss about this. The Catholics must allow the rites. The tuno wudjo must fast for half a year or thereabouts, that is, there is a taboo on animals sacrificed for agriculture for them (could it be because they are substitutes for the tuno wudjo themselves, or is this too wild a guess?). It is notable anyway that only two kampongs have discontinued the tuno wudjo so far in this largely Catholic area. It shows how recent and relatively partial the Catholic hold on the population is here. It also shows how strong the agricultural base of paganism is and how important food can be in these terribly poor areas. The people cannot afford to take a chance, even with the old gods.

[771] I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements here at all.

[346] The korke is the kampong temple. In addition,
[614] each suku and each ama has its barn for the "adat" rice, corn, etc. This is like a kind of temple too, and ceremonies such as I saw were

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796 held under the ama kebang.

241 782 [887] Note the food symbolism in these most important rites. They take place under the barn. There are present at these ceremonies the old women (in the old days young virgins) who act as tuno wudjo and food divider. The high point is the killing of a pig, and the meat is mixed with the rice and the blood and the four posts are smeared with this food. Everyone eats. The whole thing is completely linked with fertility. And the ancestors are summoned in the litany and are invited to come and eat.

778 [946] There are plenty of holy places, such as the kampong lama, the place where the tuno wudjo is (what does this mean?), the place where they used to assemble before a war (did they do this before the recent war against Waibalun? Perhaps the few who did the active part of the warfare did). Then there are also holy stones: nubanara, and saonivang. There is also a church or rather a chapel!

The stones are especially important, and this is a real stone cult area. He admits this, and if I had time I could get much about the stories, beliefs, etc., in regard to these stones. I told him about the Stonehenge, the dolmens, etc., and he caught onto this fast.

241 527 The festival calendar is largely one of agricultural feasts. The main ones are at planting and harvest. There are other agricultural feasts too, at all stages. For example, there are festivals at the time of burning the fields, clearing the fields, etc. In all, the agricultural cycle includes thirteen rites. At the thirteenth the harvest comes, and a big time is had by all. Everyone eats and there is a lot of noise. During the growing period everything [824] is quiet in order not to disturb the spirit of the crops. This is a period of danger and much

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527 risk, and one must tread warily and devoutly.
241 Observing all the rites and showing respect for the most important thing of all, food, is the proper thing.

[782] There are also feasts to ask for rain (held at the korke), and against widespread illness (also at the korke), for a new korke, for a new kebang, and for a new "big house."

Note that most of the agricultural rites occur in the fields.

Once in about every nine to ten years they have a great thanksgiving feast, if the crops are good.

[851] A small feast is given when a child is born, but there is no animal sacrifice. If twins are born, however, an animal is cut. Note the gladness displayed at the increase or income of any kind whatsoever, including an additional human being.

[585] There is no marriage feast at all in the old adat.

The biggest feasts are those held at harvest, for a new korke, and the thanksgiving feast.

[171] Note that the Toradja have the thanksgiving feast too, and I saw the start of it there.

[346] The new korke feast is now given when they have a new church!

346 Note the way that the church links with the
614 old cult. I remember almost the first thing I
177 heard here was from the priest who said that the new church is being partly paid for by selling the tusks of the families whose carelessness caused the fire which burned the old church. He also said in the church, both in the old and the new, there are the signs of the four main suku. They have their place in the church. And I suppose they will cut up animals for the new church too. If so this sort of takes the wind out of the argument against constructing a new korke, namely, that it would cause too much of a waste of animals.

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536 the rites of the agricultural cycle, etc., are
highly dramatic).
286 Weaving is probably the most active art.

There are three kinds of dancing.

221 The hard work in this area is done from Janu-
784 ary to March. This is the growing season. They work hard and steadily in the gardens and are tired at night and have to sleep early. Also, there is a taboo on making noise during this time. It is the time of "work and quiet." This links with beliefs about rice, corn, etc. souls, which must be handled carefully. But then, in July, August, September comes the big time for feasts, dancing, singing, especially at the time of full moon. Then they have lots of fun. After that the quiet time starts again after a tapering off.

20 They know just about nothing about foreign sports, etc. My theory is that the lack of movies is the main reason for this. There are also no books, magazines or papers. There is no way of finding out about such things. There
533 is plenty of riddling and song games, like
538 pantun. This is done especially in forms which are sung. The same holds for stories. They are told especially by singing. The stories are sung during the great thanksgiving feasts that come perhaps once every nine or ten years. One story may last a month. Every incident in a past period will be told, with all persons indicated by name, their relationships with other people involved, and everything that happened in every kampong, etc. These are evidently true epics on a small-distance scale. These are "local epics." Such a tale may tell everything that happened over a period of twenty generations. Most tales are told about the ancestors (the sistim again; it permeates everything).

585 I forgot to say that Roy says that marriages
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585 come mainly in the "free months" after harvest,
[221] that is, July, August, September. (Note here
786 that the tuno wudjo fasting period comes in,
261 which he said lasts for about six[1] months. It just jibes with the quiet time.)

721 Head-hunting was done formerly for a feast
346 for a new korke (they can't do it for the new
178 church; too bad!). I have already mentioned
782 how they would give the new posts of a korke some food if the posts did not fit into the rafter holes. This showed that they were hungry. Formerly the food given was human heads. They were hung in the korke. (I suspect there was more of this than Roy[2] says, but he is honest, and perhaps this simply was not done during his time.)

[241] I asked about the blood and the heads needed for making the land fertile and the crops plentiful, etc. He was very vague about this, and my guess is that it is not native in this area. Still, I note the tuno wudjo myth. But this may indeed be a Lio importation. Anyway, they know the connection between blood, human sacrifice, and "fat land." There must be a link here.

226 He says there is no cannibalism here. He
727 says Seegeler[3] was wrong to suspect that they ate parts of the human beings killed in human sacrifice. In fact, he says they didn't even have the human sacrifice. But then he hedged a bit when I reminded him how the Keweluk had forbidden the killing of the Padji women. Then he corrected my previous version of this tale and said that when they had these wars, they didn't, as I thought, kill half the defeated at once and bring the other half back to the kampong and there kill them. He said that actually what they did was to kill only one person and bring the head back. Thus, in the Padji case, they killed one woman and brought her head back. It

1 [i.e., January-June; see category 116, p. 276, #2 --Analyst]
2 [the assistant] 3 [a former controleur --Analyst]

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217 statistics are available for all of the people), but the pastor puts names down in the church book. There is not even a registry of births and deaths (as I think there is in Larantuka and Ende), but each year for taxes a census is taken, by asking how many children there are in a house, etc. I see that one could easily have a continuous census in most parts of Indonesia, as the units are so small, and the hierarchy of administration is so close knit. The kepala
[622] kampong knows everything in his kampong, and the kepala kampongs could report to the kepala district, and so on up.

583 I noticed a case of a little girl of seven living in a house with her father's sister, who has a son. I asked, could this be a case of having already paid the price for this little girl? That is, has he already "taken possession of the goods"? He said that he didn't know, but said that this happens here (i.e., an early payment of the bride price for a little girl). This happens even when the girl is as young as five years. I must check on this case.

178 I talked with van Bekkum[1] about Kattenburg's
342 notion that in Manggarai, economy has advanced, but adat holds, whereas in other parts, economy has not changed but adat has changed. He thinks this is not a bad idea. And then he gave cases of how houses are rapidly becoming changed to the new type, and the old round ones are almost dying out. Also the way wet rice fields are
[241] spreading is most rapid, as is the spread of the use of the buffalo in agriculture. Note how, even in the new rectangular houses, if there is a rite held, the tuan tanah sits in the high spot, and although there is no more a center post, they put a stick up where it should be. (I can't help but think that the lodok must be linked with the center post of the old round houses, and I wonder if perhaps the wedges of

[1] [i.e. pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

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415 the case. Dishes and forks and spoons have
178 come in to some extent. Formerly they used wooden things, gourds, etc. only. Kitchen stuff is now to be found in the area. Terrac-
● 241 ing is new. Irrigated rice fields came in
178 only twenty years ago. The use of buffaloes in agriculture and the plow are very recent (five years ago). All the people are still farmers, however.

436 Today the people have much more money than
178 they had, for example, twenty years ago. Fifty years ago there was no money here at all.

342 Formerly there were no tin roofs or nails.
178 Now there are a few. Houses are different in style. In quantity most of the stuff is not changed.

285 Rattan baskets for clothing are no longer
415 made. They prefer wooden containers. However, they still make mats and baskets. The women make these, and the men make their plaited songko.

286 There is no spinning or weaving. This is
784 taboo except in the northeast quarter of Manggarai (Coolhaas[1] is incomplete on this) and Todo-Pongkor and Labuan Hadji. It is beginning to come in in the west.

323 Pottery is made in a few kampongs (Puruk,
784 Mungges, Bolong). This is taboo except in these places. The penalty is the same as for weaving: bad crops, illness, etc. In Pongkor, only one kampong can make pottery, and only one in Todo. Usually one or two kampongs can make pottery in an area.

326 Smiths are new. There was no iron work here
178 before. Formerly they had to buy instruments made from iron. Now they have equipment to do some forms of iron work in Rai and a few other places. Todo-Pongkor has had smithing for perhaps three hundred years (they brought it in evidently). It is not taboo, but they just

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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326 do not know how to do it.

178 Formerly there was no gold or silver work here. Today there is some. However, it was in Todo-Pongkor for a long time. Only a few people have learned this trade recently. The [656] Dutch forbade any metal work in any kampongs because it resulted in metal theft (what fools!).

262 There have been very few changes if any in the local diet. There is a little flour, tinned milk, etc. today. However, these things exist in very small amounts. The local people eat almost entirely their own food. The staple foods here are corn and rice, of about equal importance. In most of Manggarai, corn is more important (remember that the pastor said there was more rice now, but as a result of the wet irrigated rice fields there are more mosquitoes and more malaria). Meals are [264] served three times a day. The people eat vegetables but almost no fruit. Meat is generally reserved for feasts, and this applies even for fowl. They may cut a fowl if there is a guest, but pigs and the like are reserved for feasts. There is no longer much hunting [224] at all. There is some bird snaring. A lot of [223] dry fish from the coast is eaten. This they have to buy. There are almost no river fish. The use of milk is new. Cheese and butter are said to make people sick. However, they eat all kinds of animals if they can get them, including cats, pythons, dogs, horses, etc.

The situation regarding food is much better today than it was. There are now many gardens, whereas formerly there were few. Today they [438] must buy salt, tobacco, fish, betel ingredi- [435] ents, and in particular, cloth. (This is dear; an ordinary sarong costs fl. 60.00 now.)

241 Irrigated rice fields and terracing tech-
178 niques came in only twenty years ago. Farming tools have been introduced. The buffalo and

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241 plow came in only five years ago. Still,
178 there are no wheeled vehicles. They cannot
[493] make them.

291 Fifty years ago men dressed only in loin-
178 cloths. Only the rich had pants or sarongs. They also had shoulder cloths. There has been no change in the dress for women. They used the same kilt down to just below the knees as they use today. Now, however, more women dress in sarongs and kebaya. Pants, shirts, kebaya and sarongs are carefully kept for special events. They are really one's "best," and they are not plentiful. Nevertheless, nearly everyone owns something of this sort.

There is probably not a single pair of shoes in the two kampongs.

[287] Formerly, a long time ago, they used tapa. And in the Japanese time the people made tapa again. They also made wooden hats. The tapa making was pre-Dutch.

In remoter areas a few loincloths are still
[301] seen. So are earrings, rings, and bracelets
[304] (no leglets). Men never puncture the ear lobe.

302 The style of cutting the hair short for men came in only twenty years ago. Formerly the
301 men were great for beads. Now they are of little importance. The festive ceremonial
292 clothes I saw in Ruteng on the dancers are pusaka. They are mostly men's pusaka. The horns are made of buffalo hide.

304 Tattooing (tikam) is brand new. It came in
178 only ten to fifteen years ago and is now going out. It was done by men who learned how, that's all. However, it is just about gone, and there were not very many people who had tattoos at any time.

304 Women always puncture their ear lobes. Both
178 sexes file their teeth, and this must be done
562 before marriage. Some young people (for exam-
881 ple, the assistant) do not do this, but they

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769 more land here). However, the darat (tree spir-
778 its) who lived in the trees are still there on
776 the spot. When such a grove is cut (and most kampongs have a grove), elaborate rites must be given. It is evidently quite dangerous. Therefore, in addition to the darat in all groves, almost every kampong has its own private darat, who live in the kampong grove.

778 This is important: The assistant says that
769 whenever and wherever they have a ceremony they
273 must set a stone in the center of the place
782 where the rite is held. This stone has palm wine poured over it as a libation. The libation is indispensable, and therefore the stone is also indispensable. It evidently represents the ancestral ghosts, who must always get a drink at every rite. And they pour the drink carefully, as though they were pouring it into someone's mouth. Palm wine is hard to get here, but they will go great distances to get it for a ceremony, even though they may obtain only a little, as it is essential. I note the tremendous importance of alcohol all through here. They drink a lot, as I saw in Anam at the New Year feast (see later), and they like it. It seems to be a perfect case of giving the ancestors what they liked best in life.

I noticed another amazing thing, though it
[533] may be unconscious. When the singing teacher at the mission at the Sunday performance for me arranged the boys for a round singing dance (sanda), he put a stone in the center of the place! It was probably just a marker, but note how easily he set a stone there.

527 I do not know if I got information on all
241 the feasts, as the time was getting short, but
574 he gave them as follows:

(1) New Year. This usually comes in October or November or December. It may be later, but may not be held in the summer. It takes place when

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527 the gardens are all set and growing. The date
574 is uncertain. Each panga must contribute one
● 241 pig. At the New Year ceremony they dance,
sing, pray, etc. And from what I saw in Anam,
[273] they drink plenty. The main feast is held in
the central kampong of the va'u, but there is
no set order as to where the successive feasts
are held in order.

(2) There are many garden rites: for a new
lodok, for a new clearing, for planting, for
the first weeding, if there are many mice, and
for harvest. The last mentioned is the big-
gest. Note that the ceremony for the mice is
not the regular pantomime one described by
[114] Coolhaas.[h] This is not held here, but only in
East Manggarai.

There is no rice mother here.

231 For the garden rites they usually sacrifice
527 pigs and fowls. A buffalo is sacrificed at
782 the rite for the new lodok, but it is killed
241 in the kampong at the tjompang (the animal is
tied to the tree, and thus there is a clear re-
lation between this and the peo of Nageh and
the ngadu of Ngada; and note that both of these
are forked as though they were cut-off trees;
I saw this clearly in Anam, where a tjompang
tree had had branches cut and it looked like a
rudimentary peo! and note that the buffalo is
tied here at the tree as at the peo or at the
ngadu). Usually, only one buffalo is killed,
and the buffalo is only for a new, main, round
garden, i.e., a lingko randang.

242 This raised an interesting point that with
311 the need for rotation of gardens a new lingko
randang must be planted every two years, because
the soil becomes exhausted and must then lie
fallow. At this time beasts graze there and
fatten the land with manure. But here in Veol
land is now lacking, and they must use the lingko
randang and other lingko constantly, which is

h [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We
242 exhausting the soil. Someday someone is going
311 to have to move away!

● 241 Then we talked of fertilizer. They have
242 heard of using manure here, and I told how the Japanese and Chinese forage for manure, following animals around, and using human wastes too. He said, however, that they have heard of this and that the idea is revolting to them. They wouldn't do it. This is curious. They call manure pupuk! (Note the Batak significance.) However, animals graze on fallow fields, so there is some profit from manure anyway.

241 A buffalo is sacrificed at the tjompang for
231 harvest too.

782 I am not clear as to whether it is necessary
527 to sacrifice a buffalo for every new round garden and lodok or only for the main one. I think the latter. Anyway, they do not sacrifice a buffalo every year for the garden, but only when a new one is opened and a lodok is set up. The following year or years no buffalo is sacrificed, because the same lodok remains.

Thus, I suppose that with the present constant use of the garden, there are few if any buffalo sacrificed for lodok. Also, the buffalo sacrifice accompanies only the first harvest from a new garden. There is no buffalo sacrifice in succeeding years for the harvest from the same field.

At the garden rites they pray, sing and dance.
[535] There is a harvest parade around the lodok and around the main post in the tuan tanah house, led by the tuan tanah. Note also that the sanda dance (as at the New Year feast in Anan) is done in the house, and this round dance goes around the main post. These are not only stone people but also circular people.

782 (3) New kampong. A buffalo is sacrificed at
231 the new tjompang.

527 (4) A new big house. Only pigs are sacrificed.
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621 or drum. Thus they may speak of his house as
624 the rumah gong-gendang. These instruments are
534 used in the rites, and as tuan tanah he must have
342 them. If there is a branch kampong, the tuan tanah tjabang must get a gong and a gendang from the mother kampong tuan tanah. Thus the gong-gendang is a symbol of power, like the Celebes aradjang.

There have been men who from time to time try to become tuan tanah-like by getting a gong and a gendang. This is not possible, however, as they must come directly from the old tuan tanah. Sometimes a tuan tanah tjabang is not happy in the branch kampong and he may come back to the mother kampong, taking his gong-gendang with
621 him. I think he said that a branch is often
614 caused by the fact that there are two va'u in a kampong, and one may split off and move to a new location. Evidently there is a tendency to keep the rule of one va'u per kampong. Thus I note that he says that the Ruteng kampong, which has two va'u, is having internal trouble between the two. There might be a split off in such a case.

797 He said finally that Catholicism has made
178 just about no change at all in the adat. It stands fast. Maybe here we have a case of greater technical change than in Larantuka or Ende where there has been practically no technical change, but on the other hand, there has been very little change in the adat here, which has been much modified in Larantuka and Ende.
[242] Thus one can see beautiful farming techniques here, and the mission is strong in this type of development. There are also wooden houses with nails (cost about fl. 2000.00 in meat and gift salaries and materials). In Larantuka and Ende the economic conditions remain at the same old miserable level. Thus the mission changes adat and religion a lot in Ende and Larantuka, but only technical changes have occurred here.

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574 is uncertain. Each panga must contribute one
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231 harvest too.

782 I am not clear as to whether it is necessary
527 to sacrifice a buffalo for every new round garden and lodok or only for the main one. I think the latter. Anyway, they do not sacrifice a buffalo every year for the garden, but only when a new one is opened and a lodok is set up. The following year or years no buffalo is sacrificed, because the same lodok remains.

Thus, I suppose that with the present constant use of the garden, there are few if any buffalo sacrificed for lodok. Also, the buffalo sacrifice accompanies only the first harvest from a new garden. There is no buffalo sacrifice in succeeding years for the harvest from the same field.

At the garden rites they pray, sing and dance.
[535] There is a harvest parade around the lodok and around the main post in the tuan tanah house, led by the tuan tanah. Note also that the sanda dance (as at the New Year feast in Anam) is done in the house, and this round dance goes around the main post. These are not only stone people but also circular people.

782 (3) New kampong. A buffalo is sacrificed at
231 the new tjompang.

527 (4) A new big house. Only pigs are sacrificed.
342

000 notable.

797 The church in Riangkamiß is built with refer-
177 ence to the four ritual sibs of Kottang, Hurin,
346 Keleng, and Marang. This is an example of the
[64] rule used: anything of a social nature is all right, but if it is of a religious nature and related to the old spirits or ghosts, etc., Catholicism won't take it. This is like the
[171] death feasts in the Toradja country, where the Protestants will let the Christians go to these social rites but not to the great exorcism rites. Thus the Catholics here are not allowed to go to the old rites on the nama in front of the korke, but as the priest admitted, it is hard for the folk here to see the difference, and they tend to regard these retained aspects of paganism as full paganism because they are symbols of the whole pagan system.

797 He told much that was interesting. There is
178 in paganism here a need for a girl to be the
● 243 rice maiden for the fertility rites (Vatter[1]
796 tells the story too), and the old adat chiefs insisted in one kampong that at least one girl should not be converted, as at least one is needed to be the rice maiden. This shows the desperate plight of paganism. They must beg to have something vital allowed to remain. "Give us one only," they ask. He said it is true that just about all of the young people are Catholic, but many of the old remain pagan.

[771] Later, in Wailolong the guru Roy said there are few, but very few young people who are pagan.
578 He told us about a war in which a man was killed
411 yesterday. It was a border war between Leloba and Waibalun and the police had to stop it. They fight these wars all the time, with bow and spear and knife. I asked if maybe it were not
511 because they were hungry and need land. And
[578] hunger and misery cause aggression anyway. He denied this, but I think it is true, especially

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

771 the young folk are Christian. Most of the old
[624] people are largely pagan however. There are
no other obvious signs of pagan religion in
the lower kampong. The same goes for Weol.
342 Here there are more round houses, but the new
ones are all rectangular. At the entrance of
778 the kampong there is a mound which I must ask
about. It looks as though it might have been
a cult hill. Then there is the holy tree and
the stones around it. The photo of the stone
figure, Ine Amba, which Vroklage gives as from
Weol, is really from a kampong which can be seen
across the rice fields.

621 There are many old people here, including two
[624] remarkable old men, one of whom is one of the
two tuan tanah in the kampong. This is a double
kampong, with two main parts, and it has there-
fore two tuan tanah. The children here are
[515] dirty and so are the adults, for the most part.
[231] There are pigs all over. However, the houses
[361] are better spaced than, for example, in Laran-
tuka kampongs. The people here have poor clothes,
[291] and many, especially the women, were seen with
304 filed teeth and some of them with teeth beauti-
fully blackened. We noticed no tattooing nor
cutting.

● 243 Looking off from the high kampong one can see
the wet rice fields below. These are in wedge
shapes with a common center. There are many
adjacent, star-shaped arrangements. This is
unique in Indonesia. The priest says this is
because it is easier to fence them in this fashion,
but I suspect there is some cosmological signifi-
cance, perhaps reflected in the circular houses
too. The houses have all sorts of decorations
342 on top of them. The round ones seem to have an
531 upright wooden thing on them. The rectangular
ones have at the ridge ends a stylized pair of
wooden horns, often with a bird in the middle,
and some with two birds, one at each horn tip.
[See pp. 390-91 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography
cat. 113--Analyst]

We

592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more people in many of the houses. The complex ar-
● 243 rangement of rice fields stretches out far below and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but perhaps this is done merely by flooding. I must ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly situated on rises and they are small, for example, Weol has only about thirty houses in it. The priest says that there are many of the stones in kampong Ruteng located about 1½ km. outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each day, and the guru will bring the table and chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel. The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary, which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
177 houses were introduced here by a priest. The guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the
515 folk here, including the priests. Bathing is not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the relationship between partners is distant enough. Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans, called panga, and one may marry within these in the same way, according to the guru. I must find out more about this and also get the kin system. We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in the center of the town where they were playing football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

614 maybe it is a matter of the older and younger
582 lines. I must check on this. The mandur said
[624] there was no tuan tanah in Ruteng kampong.
Later the assistant said they must have one.

In the evening the assistant came to the
124 pasanggrahan and talked with us. He seems to
be the best one yet. He knows plenty about
the old customs, and Christianity has not
caused him to scorn the old ways. He is so
enthusiastic that it was hard for us to stop
him. We got onto the question of Weol.

178 He said that in the old days there was only
342 one large round house per kampong. The diameter
614 was perhaps twenty meters. If you saw two
624 houses, it meant that there were two va'u. And
582 up until twenty years ago (1927) all tuan tanah
778 lived in round houses. After that, however, a
801 change took place. For example, the tuan tanah
of Weol now lives in a rectangular house. In
the old clan house there were nine posts, in
rows of three. The very center pillar was the
main one and here sat the tuan tanah at religi-
ous rites. Others ranged around the walls in
the front half of the house. The rear section
of the house was for the tuan tanah and his fam-
ily. Other panga had sections around the walls.
In the center, behind the main post, was the
kitchen. Later, when more than one round house
was built in a single kampong, the tuan tanah
occupied the main house, and here the main pil-
lar of all was located. This pillar is especi-
ally holy, and the setting of it in place re-
quires certain rites, sacrificial animals, etc.
Other round houses had nine pillars too. Each
house was inhabited usually by one panga, and
in each there was a kepala panga, and smaller
rites were held at each main pillar.

243 The circular rice field arrangement shows
782 certain similarities here. He says that even
778 now when they begin planting or have some other

Wa

243 agricultural rite, they must make a sacrifice
782 at the very center. The main post is the place
778 for house and kampong offerings, and it is called pusat. I think the center of the circular rice field complex is also called the pusat.

115 The assistant's name is Cornelius Lawang.
624 He is from the va'u Pau, which is also the name of a kampong about one kilometer outside the town. His father is the tuan tanah there, and there he will spend tonight. He is his father's successor. Will he take the post? He said just about all tuan tanah (tua' tano') are pagan. But evidently they could be Christian, although a bit of trouble may rise when it comes to the ceremony.

582 I forgot to say that the mandur said it is possible to marry with one's mother's brother's daughter, but not with the other cousins, including father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and father's brother's daughter. If so, this is interesting. He said that
[184] the Catholics forbid mother's brother's daughter marriages now. I must check on this.

567 We got onto the census matter with the assistant. This led to some new points. He said that they do have slaves here and said that he would indicate them in the census, but I must never tell, as this is never mentioned although
842 everyone knows about it. He said that they like
583 to have many children here, and if they have many they give a feast of thanks. (Evidently the more daughters the richer the family may become because of the bride prices. If the family consists of all boys, there is considerable trouble in getting enough goods for the bride prices. These bride prices are reckoned in terms of animals mostly. The mandur said there is trouble often in getting the price and that men who can't marry on this account are not

243 where around the earthen plaza there are Every-
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They
looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the
peo of Masu.

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769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it
were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with shelleyes. It was set in cement.

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124 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However, when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we had to stay overnight at the house of a former kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

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648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan. He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and his cronies are taking everything. There is only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And now they are asking the Christians to move up

R

538 there are a few who are great story tellers.
533 Some stories are told with singing, i.e., real ballads, and may last as long as two days. The kapitan sang one for a bit, softly. They warmed up and began to appear to be quite proud of these songs. They insist, however that only a few are clever at these things.

They tell such stories when the rice is
●[243] ripe, and they may sit all night listening. Most of the stories are about the ancestors. Thus it is the free time--rice-ripe period as usual in Indonesia. This is the time for stories, when they have plenty of time. Perhaps this is also true in the post harvest season. Anyway they do have plenty of stories. And it is not only the old people who know them. For example, there is a rather young lad named Ero who is famous for chanting long stories. These sung stories are voi.

621 They are very clear about the location of
423 boundaries in the district, kampong, and sections of the kampongs, as well as in the gardens. Markers are stone posts, trees, streams, etc.

609 There are different grades of being a for-
621 eigner. The crux of the affair seems to be
[563] people who come from other islands. Thus, though the Sikka are outsiders, they are not foreigners to the same extent that the people from Kupang are. It is a bit hard to fit into a kampong if one is an outsider, although it can be done. The Ende papalele in the huts at the lower end of the kampong are still outsiders, although many have been there since the end of the war. They have few relations with the kampong folk, and there have been few if any marriages. The community is closed.

609 I asked about the teachers and found that the
582 Ndona one found it easy for two reasons: He
608 lives in Waturoga, which is in Lio, and also

We

123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

We discussed a certain rank which appears in
614 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
343 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
562 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala
●243 suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

We also noted a possible error in Vatter.[1]
[114] He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
614 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
796 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
831 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
784 gins, but now with so few young girls still
241 pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[857] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost
[887] babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic
[797] note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

1 [See bibliography, p. 113 -- Analyst]

R Little meat is

262 eaten, and this is done only during feasts. There are some eggs. They do not eat much fish, because they must purchase them. They do buy some food from the local store (never any canned food, because this is too expensive), for example, rice and salt. They do not grow [249] any tobacco.

494 To get the small amount of money they need to buy in the toko, they sell coconuts and anything else they may have, which is usually quite little. Fl. 5.00 in cash is a lot of money for a man here.

264 The people here eat three times a day, a little in the morning, and equally heavy noon and evening meals.

262 574 They like dog meat and also horse meat, but these, like pig and goat, are only eaten at the time of a feast. They say that the main feasts are funeral ones. They also say that the people here have no decided preference and will gladly eat any kind of meat. They [266] say they have no memory of cannibalism except for the eating of the hearts of enemies for 224 bravery in warfare. They rarely hunt. If they 262 do they use a bow and are lucky to get monkeys 624 or pigs. There are no deer here. There is a clear case for meat hunger here, and the only material gain of being a mosa laki is that you [465] are always given a piece of meat when an animal [171] is killed. This is like the Toradja pattern, and shows how much of a luxury meat really is. It is the "government man's salary."

434 Formerly there was no money and there were 178 no toko. Of course there may have been a few 443 gold pieces, but they were really sacred objects. Today they have little cash.

• 243 The irrigated rice fields started three 177 years ago and were instigated by Hadji Akbar 788 of Watu Roga. He went to Mecca and saw the many sawah in Bima, Java, and elsewhere. When

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243 he came back, he at once made a sawah, and the
177 others saw that it was good. Now, everyone
788 plants at least one sawah. Formerly there were no sawah. This is an excellent case of acculturation via the hadj.

412 Formerly the people here did not use hoes
177 or shovels. These came in at the time of the Dutch entry. Before that they had an iron tipped digging stick only. There are no carts.
493 They thought about my proposal for a group to buy one as an investment for hiring. Perhaps there is too little money even to pay for a bicycle here.

352 There are no tables, chairs, or lamps, ex-
354 cept in rare houses like the kapitan's. The
178 only new thing is the kerosene wick, not the lamp. It is called pelita.

342 The house type has changed here from a
178 larger to a smaller structure, and many of the old style roofs are still to be seen.

291 Women now use bought cloth to make thin
178 kebaya. Formerly they made blouses of homespun, but these are all gone. Men and women still wear homespun sarongs. Men wear this alone and are usually bare above the waist. If a man wears a selendang, he is a big man. If he wears a shirt, this is really very slick attire. There were no shoes here at all before, and few now.

301 Men and women wore earrings before, the men
753 ones of gold (look like silver) which the pagans still wear, and the women ones of a different
[304] style. The assistant's ears are pierced, but this is no longer done to the boys, only to the girls. Beads are worn by men and women on festive occasions. These are great ceremonial objects and are worn by the people who are proud of them. If one is not entitled to them, he will become sick if he wears a string of beads.

797 stead they nearly always use the term Orang Katolik or Orang Serani. The usual pattern seems to be recurring, the Protestants not being accepted as of the same religion in any way.
797 The mission headquarters has a large building
346 for priests (there are always three here, but
874 others come to rest and get supplies), several
793 workshops (where boys who are dormitoried on the grounds learn woodworking, machine work, etc.), a lower and a following school of five grades with one thousand pupils in which boys and girls are kept separate (boys and girls from other islands sleep in dormitories), a household school, a laundry, a library, etc. It is really a great plant. There are four brothers of a "working" type here, who run the workshops and handle the technical education, including one Pole who was interned during the war. He speaks
[792] Dutch with an accent. There are many nuns here, and they also help in the small government hospital. Evidently all or nearly all the schools in this area are "government," but they are really run by the mission. I haven't found out exactly how the system works yet. The Mission is ingenious. There is an old tractor which is used for lathe power, an old Japanese machine used for electricity, etc. They have a very large coffee plantation on the road to Maumeri and it looks good.

797 It is remarkable that such a great number of priests and nuns are here in this miserable spot, which can never be any good. Maybe they regard it as a sure foothold in a Mohammedan area, a foothold which may later be expanded.

244 There are practically no vegetables except
262 tubers here, and fruit is rare. So is all other food.

582 The suku marriage custom is evidently still
614 in force, and I will work on it in detail.

578 It is notable that there are so many border
721

Wor
000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass
thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in
area where there is a large bench for sleeping.
There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the
roof and often in front too. Here sit the women
while they work. If there are two families to a
house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
797 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel
as in other kampongs. The church to which every-
one here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamië, but
since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are stan-
dard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are
nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have
brown hair or hair which is partly brown.

[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk
along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-
bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue
and black mostly. The designs are even poorer
than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used
for men and for women. They say that a cloth
takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many
304 men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
few old people, it seems especially the women,
have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

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262 eaten, and this is done only during feasts. There are some eggs. They do not eat much fish, because they must purchase them. They do buy some food from the local store (never any canned food, because this is too expensive), for example, rice and salt. They do not grow [249] any tobacco.

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754 the way to Ndona. She has a second sight, and
756 uses stones to divine. She gets her cures
[787] from dreams. I asked whether she had familiars in dreams, but got no satisfactory reply. But now I can at least proceed with further queries regarding the bisa mari, having an actual case in mind. She can save a woman whose child dies inside her. She is a rather handsome old lady, well preserved, with piercing eyes. She looks clean (smells like disinfectant soap, as she just came from the hospital). I note that she, a doctor herself, went
[758] to the hospital. When I went to the hospital this morning, great crowds were waiting. They have all taken to it, but there is no hope of proper care, as there are so many patients and so few doctors.

There has been a small increase in the sale
438 of merchandise in order to get cash to buy other items. It has not been a very great
[435] change. The produce sold includes coconut, coconut oil (a few bottles, self made, sell at fl. 0.50), vegetables, bananas, betel leaves, and areca nuts. All are very small items. Coconut seems to be the main thing. All of this is sold in the town of Ende, if at all.

With the money they obtain they buy oil,
[443] soap, salt, tobacco, and even a bit of meat and other food in the toko or warong. They also buy dry fish. The toko buys its supplies in Ende.

249 I asked about the cloth situation. This is
433 a poor case now as everyone is short and the distribution of cloth by the government has not been too effective. This is a remarkable case. For many years formerly the people here had discontinued planting cotton. Then, when the Japanese came, they started up again and have done so since. Each family plants a little. The yield is not so good, but it could be, the assistant says.

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251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They
looked very high and impressive.

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361 There are more than four hundred here now. And
now they are asking the Christians to move up

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291 for sarongs and slendangs [shawls worn over the
286 head or the chest]. I see plenty of tooth fil-
304 ing here. And nearly all the women, young and
276 old, have the awful looking betel teeth. The
older men have the same betel teeth. The younger
men seem to chew betel less, and I can see that
their teeth are evened but are not filed down.

304 I saw a tattoo on the back of a woman and was
178 told that it is fairly common all over here. (I
later noticed a young girl in Roworeke with an
initial tattooed on her arm.) This tattooing,
however, is no longer significant here. The de-
sign I saw looked like a kind of anchor design

291 Many of the women here, mainly the old but
several of the young, go about with bare breasts.
When working this seems to be quite common.

252 I saw several women pounding corn. They use
412 a small round tree trunk mortar, and for a pestle
462 a mere pole. The corn is small and brownish.
They call it djagung Solor or mata kuching, and
it does look like small cats' eyes [the meaning
of the latter term, in Indonesian].

231 This area is full of goats. There are also
many pigs and a fair number of buffaloes, but I
saw no cattle. There are many small horses here
too. High in the mountains I saw an amazing
band of fine looking horses who had gone wild
after escaping. They can never be recaptured.
I was told that there are deer, wild pigs, and
wild buffaloes here.

776 At the lakes I asked if it might not be a
fine place for nitu and suwanggi, and they looked
sharply. They reverted to this cautiously and
asked me if I could see the spirits. They are
going to be cagey about pagan ideas, but when
they are caught off-guard they agree that there
are probably spirits in this mysterious place.

361 The plazas are of pounded earth, bare, with
houses scattered about and the most conspicuous
things being the stone graves.

Wa

585 come mainly in the "free months" after harvest,
[221] that is, July, August, September. (Note here
796 that the tuno wudjo fasting period comes in,
● 261 which he said lasts for about six[1] months. It
just jibes with the quiet time.)

721 Head-hunting was done formerly for a feast
346 for a new korke (they can't do it for the new
178 church; too bad!). I have already mentioned
782 how they would give the new posts of a korke
some food if the posts did not fit into the
rafter holes. This showed that they were hungry. Formerly the food given was human heads. They were hung in the korke. (I suspect there was more of this than Roy[2] says, but he is honest, and perhaps this simply was not done during his time.)

[241] I asked about the blood and the heads needed
for making the land fertile and the crops plentiful, etc. He was very vague about this, and my guess is that it is not native in this area. Still, I note the tuno wudjo myth. But this may indeed be a Lio importation. Anyway, they know the connection between blood, human sacrifice, and "fat land." There must be a link here.

226 He says there is no cannibalism here. He
727 says Seegeler[3] was wrong to suspect that they
ate parts of the human beings killed in human sacrifice. In fact, he says they didn't even have the human sacrifice. But then he hedged a bit when I reminded him how the Keweluk had forbidden the killing of the Padji women. Then he corrected my previous version of this tale and said that when they had these wars, they didn't, as I thought, kill half the defeated at once and bring the other half back to the kampong and there kill them. He said that actually what they did was to kill only one person and bring the head back. Thus, in the Padji case, they killed one woman and brought her head back. It

[1] [i.e., January-June; see category 116, p. 276, #2 --Analyst]
[2] [the assistant] [3] [a former Controleur --Analyst]

Madura OE6
Bali OF7
Nias OD11
Batak OD5
Flores OF9

I 262 Bl Md [231] [391 cont.]

The animal food in the diet consists more of fish than of meat; this, too, is shown by the great importance of fishing and fish nurseries, while cattle raising is found only in a few places, such as Madura and Bali (and then chiefly for the European market). In addition, pork is a prohibited food for by far the greater part of the population as Mohammedans. This meat, however, is

N Bt Bl [262] I [782]

particularly favored among non-Mohammedan peoples, such as the Niassans, the heathen and Christian Batak, and the Balinese. The meat of pigs, buffaloes, and chickens is consumed mainly on festive occasions when these animals serve as offerings to the spirits, who, however, consume only the essence, the ethereal part of the food, and the material part remains for the celebrants. In general, the Indonesian is a very temperate, often frugal eater, but these feasts, especially the feasts for the dead, often degenerate into veritable orgies.

Bt F [262]

It should also be mentioned that in a few areas the inhabitants are very fond of dog flesh, for example, in a few parts of the Batak lands and on Flores, among others.

I 276 I [258]

Luxuries. Among these the above-mentioned palm wine can be reckoned; it is far surpassed in importance [392] and general distribution by betel. The betel quid consists of a couple of leaves from the betel bush (Piper betle L.), which are brushed with a bit of fine shell-lime and then a piece of areca-nut and a piece of gambier are rolled up in the leaves. (Gambier is boiled out of the leaves of Uncaria acida Roxb., a climbing shrub; there are many gambier distilleries in the Riau Archipelago.) The quid is chewed for about a quarter of an hour, after which a quid of tobacco is put between the teeth and the lips. The chewing of betel produces an abundance of red-colored saliva; when princes go on a journey, a large golden cuspidor is carried along by a servant or serving-girl. The natives ascribe very favorable results to betel-chewing: relief from feeling hunger, a fresh taste in the mouth, clean breath, etc. In any case, it does not appear to have any harmful effects. Betel-chewing is common throughout the whole of the archipelago among both men and women. To offer a guest betel is considered

123 only six, including me and Kattenburg, in the jeep. A wisecracking and obnoxious religious guru, who had started right off giving us a lecture on the virtues of Catholicism, got right in and displaced a better man.

632 The kapitan has no authority as I see it, and I remember the kapitan of Gunung Rodja who Ariens said has real power. He had told me that he had to help this kapitan all the time because he is so weak. He looks and acts this way, and is young anyway. He should have thrown the guru out. I would have done so, but I did not know what his influence really amounted to. Anyway, we finally got off with this unpleasant guru, who talked all the time in a raucous voice, the kapitan, the secretary (assistant) a nice lad, and a quiet relative of the kapitan who was dressed in adat clothes, a young man who sat in the rear box who said nothing. We went up the
481 dangerous road for 52 km., beyond Ndetosoko, pass-
133 ing a few kampongs, including the magnificent hillside kampong of Wologai, and Ndoeria. At km.
& 52 we turned off onto a grassy road and passed two kampongs on the twisting and high road to the mountain. We got there in two and one quarter hours in all, and it was a fine sight, on top of the world. The elevation is 1550 meters. Red lake is really almost brown. The green one is Nile green, and the blue one is robin's egg blue.
[262] We ate lunch, during which I found that in
521 Roworeke they eat dogs. The guru talked constantly, and the kapitan seemed to be dominated by him. The secretary was his butt and he constantly punched and pushed him like a real joker.

123 I got so sore at the pressure to take more than four of them along that I threatened to go
181 home and call off the trip. All the way I thought of how disagreeable these people were, except for the secretary and a few other young ones. The old ones are almost uniformly O.K. The guru is oily and loud and hearty.

797 stead they nearly always use the term Orang Katolik or Orang Serani. The usual pattern seems to be recurring, the Protestants not being accepted as of the same religion in any way.
797 The mission headquarters has a large building
346 for priests (there are always three here, but
874 others come to rest and get supplies), several
793 workshops (where boys who are dormitoried on the grounds learn woodworking, machine work, etc.), a lower and a following school of five grades with one thousand pupils in which boys and girls are kept separate (boys and girls from other islands sleep in dormitories), a household school, a laundry, a library, etc. It is really a great plant. There are four brothers of a "working" type here, who run the workshops and handle the technical education, including one Pole who was interned during the war. He speaks Dutch with an accent. There are many nuns here,
[792] and they also help in the small government hospital. Evidently all or nearly all the schools in this area are "government," but they are really run by the mission. I haven't found out exactly how the system works yet. The Mission is ingenious. There is an old tractor which is used for lathe power, an old Japanese machine used for electricity, etc. They have a very large coffee plantation on the road to Maumeri and it looks good.

797 It is remarkable that such a great number of priests and nuns are here in this miserable spot, which can never be any good. Maybe they regard it as a sure foothold in a Mohammedan area, a foothold which may later be expanded.

244 There are practically no vegetables except
●262 tubers here, and fruit is rare. So is all other food.

582 The suku marriage custom is evidently still
614 in force, and I will work on it in detail.

578 It is notable that there are so many border
721

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784 There is definite totemism here though some
614 clans have no taboos or totem ancestors. But
611 it is the usual thing. Weol may not use one
769 kind of bamboo, because the ancestors were born
562 of this bamboo. Pau may not eat a certain kind of monkey, as the ancestors were linked (this is the assistant's va'u). Women marrying out of the va'u may eat the totem of their own clan but must go through a special rite. Men may never give up the totem taboos, even if they live in an ambil anak arrangement.

574 The next day we went to Weol and up to the
273 kampong with the assistant. We brought native
276 tobacco and gin which we had bought for fl. 2.00
123 in Ruteng. As we entered the kampong, on the right we noted the house of the kepala kampong. Next to it is that of the tuan tanah, where we sat on the front porch. Both of these houses are of the new style, but are sooty because there are no chimneys. The children carried two chairs up from Tjantjar for us and later brought a table from the school. However, the assistant and the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong sat on a mat on the floor. Others were in the background. On the rise in front was a great crowd. We gave gin and tobacco to the old people and
[262] were later served first coffee and then two hard boiled eggs. Others got no eggs. The eggs came by chain-passing from the next kampong, Ndung. Evidently eggs are something special. The old tuan tanah knows everything, and his brother the kepala kampong is old and smart too. The kepala of the third panga of Weol kampong sat in the rear. He too is old.

632 The daluschap Rahong is one of the thirty-
621 nine in Manggarai. The dalu are of Bima origin, or at least this is true of most of them. There are thirty-three kampongs in Rahong. The tuan tanah knows all of them, including the constellations. They are as follows:

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
961 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
55 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
594 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

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778 feasts. Thus it is like Barupu in Toradja.
769 (Ratebedi is one of the Rabu kampongs.
346 Vavoëd is another, and so is the non-shrine
574 kampong Kekamberu. The others which have merely the grave-bone shrines have a feast only when they need to fix up a shrine.

632 The next day we went to Roworeke again. Note an error in the preceding notes: The sikesani besar, who lives in Worowai, is of the suku Nggonggora'ba. Thus the Big Four are as follows: Mosa laki mere of Rewarangga, Giri tumba of Odja. Ndeto au of Rewarangga, and Sikesani of Nggonggora'ba. The names of these posts mean: mosa, male (animal); laki, male (human); mere, big; giri, around; tumba, spear (he walks around with a spear); ndetu, many colored; au, bamboo; sike, here; sani, there.

181 I am always impressed by the combination of
124 lack of courtesy and the cringing servility of
576 these Endenese. They constantly talk to each other when I am talking, pass remarks about me in Endenese, etc. At the same time they keep on "tuanning" and bowing. They are grasping too. For example, the kapitan looks steadily at my gold watch and band and asked me to sell him U.S. gold pieces. The assistant asked me to give him personally a ring-spiral notebook such as used for the work. He can't answer questions on the schedule, so I have to do it all. The kapitan is a bit better, and the guru is smarter, but I get the idea that these folk are a rather poor lot.

784 Again we got on to the subject of totemism.
● 262 The word for such taboos is pire. I doubt that
614 I got the whole story, but as far as I can see
562 there are three kinds of totem taboos and they apply to foods:

(1) Suku or pu'u taboo. This is called pire ngguäh, the latter term meaning "descen-

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784 dants of suku". (Evidently related to the
262 adat kepala kampong, the ata ngguäh nua ["man
614 suku descendants kampong."]) I must ask what
562 the suku membership variation in adat kepala kampong are; here he is an Odja. These taboos apply not to men nor to children of the suku but to women who marry into the suku only. This is very unusual, in ethnography. In the Odja suku these apply to the tomato, dog, eggs, and four other kinds of food. The males of Odja and the children may eat everything, but the wives may not. Thus if a Wanda woman marries into Odja, these are her taboos. If she eats
[753] any of these, she gets terrible sores, and they always point to their arms, just as the Ambonese say that sores on their arms are caused by the same thing. The Wanda taboos are the tomato, eggs, a kind of maize (djagung Solor), and ripe coconut.

784 (2) Family or household taboos. These are
262 called pire sa'o teenda (sa'o teenda means
753 family). These are set by the father (and by
592 the mother too?) on all the members of the
614 household, including the man, wife and children. Thus the assistant had bad sores two years ago and asked the dukun why. The latter diagnosed the cause as buffalo meat (the horns stuck through the skin). Whereupon Migo declared that buffalo meat was taboo to himself, wife, and children. Such a taboo stays in the direct line (thus a kind of lineage totem) until some head of a line decided it is needed no longer, and then a feast is given together with an animal sacrifice to lift the taboo. Thus Migo
[773] has started a taboo, and perhaps fifty years hence, unless it is lifted, they will have a story in his family about the origin of the taboo. The suku taboos have more ancient legends to explain their origins. These taboos of household restrictions are thus a kind of assumed taboo.

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614 assumed taboo.
784 (3) Personal totem taboos. These apply to
●262 individuals only, not to a wife or husband or
753 child or anyone else. This is a kind of "allergy." These are pire se'imu (the latter term means "individual"). Thus the kapitan's wife got sores and decided (dukun consulted?) that it was because she had eaten buffalo meat. Now she eats none. If she wishes to lift her taboo, she must give a feast with animal sacrifice. The kapitan and his child may eat buffalo.

614 The kapitan's wife thus has the taboos of
784 the kapitan's suku and her own personal one
583 too. She was also of Odja, but until she mar-
562 ried did not have the Odja taboos. Migo's wife has Odja suku taboos (she was from the suku Wanda) and also Migo's household taboo. The kapitan has no taboos, but Migo has his household taboo. It is notable that if a man
[591] pays no bride price and lives matrilocally, his wife does not take on his suku's taboos, but assumes the taboos of the women who marry into her own sib. That is, she is a married woman, and thus must follow suku taboos. But since the bride price has not yet been paid she is not a member of her husband's suku, and so she merely takes on her own suku's taboos as though she were a woman married into her own suku. When the bride price is finally paid, she takes on her husband's suku's taboos, and of course they move into his house. Thus one can say that the totem of the suku hits women only, but only women married into the suku, not women of the suku. Lineage taboos are coming in all the time, and they apply to all household members and may pass on down from generation to generation. Personal taboos are for individuals only. This is queer, and I am sure that I have not yet got the whole story.

R Little meat is

●262 eaten, and this is done only during feasts. There are some eggs. They do not eat much fish, because they must purchase them. They do buy some food from the local store (never any canned food, because this is too expensive), for example, rice and salt. They do not grow [249] any tobacco.

434 To get the small amount of money they need to buy in the toko, they sell coconuts and anything else they may have, which is usually quite little. Fl. 5.00 in cash is a lot of money for a man here.

264 The people here eat three times a day, a little in the morning, and equally heavy noon and evening meals.

262 574 They like dog meat and also horse meat, but these, like pig and goat, are only eaten at the time of a feast. They say that the main feasts are funeral ones. They also say that the people here have no decided preference and will gladly eat any kind of meat. They [266] say they have no memory of cannibalism except for the eating of the hearts of enemies for 224 262 624 bravery in warfare. They rarely hunt. If they do they use a bow and are lucky to get monkeys or pigs. There are no deer here. There is a clear case for meat hunger here, and the only material gain of being a mosa laki is that you [465] are always given a piece of meat when an animal [171] is killed. This is like the Toradja pattern, and shows how much of a luxury meat really is. It is the "government man's salary."

436 178 443 Formerly there was no money and there were no toko. Of course there may have been a few gold pieces, but they were really sacred objects. Today they have little cash.

243 197 788 The irrigated rice fields started three years ago and were instigated by Hadji Akbar of Watu Roga. He went to Mecca and saw the many sawah in Bima, Java, and elsewhere. When

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533 In connection with special training for
871 individuals, the only thing they can think of is that the children have flute lessons in school and learn to read notes.

212 In Wailolong fifty years ago only one person was literate.

191 Everyone here can speak the local language.
212 Of the old folks, perhaps only one per cent can speak Indonesian. The younger people are learning it in school. No one here speaks Dutch. No one here speaks any other language. About fifty per cent of the population here can read and write. At the most perhaps ten persons read regularly or at least look at the mission paper. This is the only "reading matter" except for prayer books.

There is almost no writing done locally. Perhaps about ten people have at some time written or received a letter. One guru can read and write Arabic.

There is no special instruction given in reading and writing. There are no aliens, and hence no foreign languages used in the area.
[207] There is no radio, and perhaps only the guru have ever seen movies.

178 There have been very few changes in the
412 technology here introduced during the last fifty
●262 years. They are using shovels a bit, etc., but mainly the same old artifacts. In regard to food, there are a few changes. For example, there are new kinds of vegetables (in the old days they evidently had practically none), new varieties of bananas, etc. Evidently food was simple to the extreme in the old days.

286 The women spin and weave here, and this is perhaps the most important craft (in fact there
323 is no doubt about it). There is no pottery (they buy such items from the few places where pottery is made). Recently, a few people have
000 learned how to cook salt. There are about ten

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771 actually makes Mohammedanism impossible. Mo-
797 hammedanism is out here because it (1) taboos
782 certain kinds of flesh, which Christianity does not and (2) because it requires a special kind of slaughtering, which Christianity does not. This is an amazing case of how a "small" thing can explain why a great religion fails and why another succeeds.

624 Roy went further and said that it is impos-
782 sible to have a radja tuan system or even several radja tuan without pigs and ritual killing. The pig killing rite is thus the very center of the whole social scheme. (I had some
[262] pork here, and it was fat, greasy, and tough. But these folks are always hungry evidently, and even more so perhaps now than ever. Again I see how meat means so much.)

162 Perhaps twenty per cent of the Wailolong
771 population is still pagan (see the census). In Leloba there are perhaps only twenty persons who are still not Christian. But these are, or at least some of them, preparing for baptism. They are mostly old people. However, they burst out, there are plenty of persons in both kampongs who are only partially Christian. They think of them as being half pagan as they do not understand much about Christianity. They are Christians in name only.

797 And, Roy said, when I said that Krol said that Catholicism allowed plenty of ceremonies that if this were not so perhaps Catholicism would lose many adherents. The Catholics must compromise. Thus the gurus agree with the priests. Moreover, just as Krol said, they wouldn't get any more converts if they became too rough on the pagan customs. Thus I see that the way here is to make haste slowly, and to let the pagans keep as much as possible, and to gradually wean the young to the true one hundred per cent faith. This is clever and it

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587 I must check on the following: If there is no levirate, must the new husband of a widow pay the full bride price, or what?

601 587 583 Note how the kinship terms reflect the levirate: the term for brother's wife is the same as for wife and for mother's brother's daughter, although the vocative terminology is different.

The sororate, although not required, is allowed. The bride price must be paid. Still, note how the kinship terms seem to reflect the sororate: the term for wife's sister is the same as for wife and mother's brother's daughter, although the vocative is different. Moreover, in regard to the levirate, the term for husband's brother is the same as for husband and father's sister's son, although the vocative is different.

Moreover, in regard to the sororate, the term for sister's husband is the same as for husband and father's sister's son, although the vocative is different.

587 583 In the case of the levirate, a token bride price is paid. I found this out the next day, and it may consist of one horse. But this is the same thing as no bride price. The brother has a special privilege on his dead brother's widow. (They eat horses occasionally here.) [262]

In the case of the sororate, however, the full bride price must be paid, as the girl is a new purchase.

601 He says there is a strong taboo against a girl calling her father's sister's son rona and a man calling his mother's brother's daughter vina. Not having any dictionary, I do not know if this is because there is an obscene connotation to these words for man and woman, but I doubt it, because they are used referentially. Evidently, it is just too forward. He said that it is cause for terrible shame if a child

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614 ask; and (3) the latung pesi corn: this is
784 true of the firstborn only (I will ask about
773 this too).

Note the firstborn theme here too. This is also found in Sikka totemism. The Pau va'u [764] has only one taboo aside from the custom that the stone must not be used for anything, and it is that the members must be buried naked. The story is that once, when the dead were still dressed, a child was ordered to get clothes for a dead person. The child refused, and an old man who was angry said, "All right, from now on our descendants cannot be buried in clothes." It is a kind of curse.

Manong taboos are mice and dogs. They cannot be eaten. I don't know the story, but I can ask the assistant's wife. Now, however, the assistant's wife can eat these, because she has married out. But she has taken on a taboo (tjek'i) of Pau and will be buried naked. He asks, "What about the Catholics?" I said there was no trouble, I thought, because there is no rule in the Church that a person must be buried with clothes on! Each taboo has a story of rationalization behind it. Usually there are two or three taboos per va'u.

[262] I found out that cats are eaten here.

These kampongs have long since been separate,
621 but once they were one. There was a man named
[361] Pong Ndung who came from Veol, but didn't want to live in the kampong, so he moved down to lower land and settled under a tree. The Veol people got angry and asked him to come back, and he said all right, but moved only into the present Ndung area, which was then vacant. He thus founded the new kampong, and since then it has been called Ndung.

Before 1870 to 1880 they had only kampongs and va'u. Then, under Bima, came in the dalu and gelarang divisions. The line between gela-

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326 do not know how to do it.
178 Formerly there was no gold or silver work here. Today there is some. However, it was in Todo-Pongkor for a long time. Only a few people have learned this trade recently. The
[656] Dutch forbade any metal work in any kampongs because it resulted in metal theft (what fools!).
● 262 There have been very few changes if any in the local diet. There is a little flour, tinned milk, etc. today. However, these things exist in very small amounts. The local people eat almost entirely their own food. The staple foods here are corn and rice, of about equal importance. In most of Manggarai, corn is more important (remember that the pastor said there was more rice now, but as a result of the wet irrigated rice fields there are more mosquitoes and more malaria). Meals are
[264] served three times a day. The people eat vegetables but almost no fruit. Meat is generally reserved for feasts, and this applies even for fowl. They may cut a fowl if there is a guest, but pigs and the like are reserved for feasts. There is no longer much hunting
[224] at all. There is some bird snaring. A lot of
[223] dry fish from the coast is eaten. This they have to buy. There are almost no river fish. The use of milk is new. Cheese and butter are said to make people sick. However, they eat all kinds of animals if they can get them, including cats, pythons, dogs, horses, etc.

The situation regarding food is much better today than it was. There are now many gardens, whereas formerly there were few. Today they
[438] must buy salt, tobacco, fish, betel ingredi-
[435] ents, and in particular, cloth. (This is dear; an ordinary sarong costs fl. 60.00 now.)
241 Irrigated rice fields and terracing tech-
178 niques came in only twenty years ago. Farming tools have been introduced. The buffalo and

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262 eaten, and this is done only during feasts. There are some eggs. They do not eat much fish, because they must purchase them. They do buy some food from the local store (never any canned food, because this is too expensive), for example, rice and salt. They do not grow [249] any tobacco.

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Ambon OH4
Tanimbar OF19
Gorontalo OG4

Arfak OJ7
Flores OF9
Alor OF5
Igorot OA20

[22 cont.]

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Papoewa's van de Geelvinksbaai [The Papuans of Geelvink Bay], p. 78. Sal. Müller, op. cit., p. 108. Natuurk. Tijdschrift v. Ned. Ind., XXXVII, p. 186-187. A.B. Meyer, Ausland 1882, p. 11, note.

among other tribes of that island (2). It has been said that the

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2. See Haddon, "the Tuguri Head-Hunters," Int. Archiv für Ethnographie, Vol. IV, 240 pp.

Langa, the Rokka [Roka], and the Wogo, inhabitants of the interior of Flores, are also cannibals. They not only eat their enemies, but kill and devour their relatives when they are old and sickly. This has been denied, however (3). The mountain

3. De Hollander, Handleiding, Vol. II, p. 721. Tijdschrift v. Ned. Ind., 9th year, Vol. IV, p. 147.

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tribes of the neighboring Solor Islands cut out the hearts of those who have fallen in battle, roast them over the fire, and divide them among the victors (4). Whether or not they are eaten

4. Tijdschrift v. Ind. Taal- L. en Vk., Vol. XX, p. 391, see koppenjacht [headhunting] in the index.

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has not been reported. The custom of eating human flesh was likewise practiced on the Tanimbar and Timorlaut Islands (5),

5. Riedel, de kroes en sluikharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua [The curly-haired and straight-haired races between Celebes and Papua], p. [no number given].

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829 assistant said that he just did it, and that it was a revelation to him. They simply do not think in such diagrammatic terms.

769 186 The ancestor cult is strong here and there are many stories about it, but it is not used to glorify the place. In fact, there is no real pride as such. They are simply satisfied as they know nothing else. There is no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village.

178 There has been very little change here in regard to the expanding horizons of social and economic contact.

721 578 178 The old wars and head-hunting continued until recently. Wars seem to have been caused mostly over border disputes, so far as they can remember. Heads were taken as a sign of victory. But I got very little regarding a real head-hunting cult. They said that the heads were placed on the borders, evidently on the borders over which the war had been fought. [789] They said voluntarily that they ate the hearts [246] of enemies in order to increase their magic power. They are quite clear and vivid about this. The hearts were removed through an incision in the back under the shoulder blade. The main enemies were Nggobe and Rodja, but there is no hostility now. More seldom, war was waged against the Lio folk. Spears and [411] guns were used, and formerly bows. Bows were used especially by the Nggobe folk. Circular shields were made of buffalo hide and wood. There were alliances of mutual aid too. For example, Rewarangga (Worowai) and Odja (Roworeke) were in such an arrangement. Also, they [634] went to war for the Ende radja who paid wages for this.

721 634 The radja bitjara (a post no longer present in Ende; he was a kind of minister of foreign relations) (and he was able to talk all lan-

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Little meat is
262 eaten, and this is done only during feasts.
There are some eggs. They do not eat much
fish, because they must purchase them. They
do buy some food from the local store (never
any canned food, because this is too expensive),
for example, rice and salt. They do not grow
[249] any tobacco.

434 To get the small amount of money they need
to buy in the toko, they sell coconuts and
anything else they may have, which is usually
quite little. Fl. 5.00 in cash is a lot of
money for a man here.

264 The people here eat three times a day, a
little in the morning, and equally heavy noon
and evening meals.

262 They like dog meat and also horse meat, but
574 these, like pig and goat, are only eaten at
the time of a feast. They say that the main
feasts are funeral ones. They also say that
the people here have no decided preference
and will gladly eat any kind of meat. They
[266] say they have no memory of cannibalism except
for the eating of the hearts of enemies for
224 bravery in warfare. They rarely hunt. If they
262 do they use a bow and are lucky to get monkeys
624 or pigs. There are no deer here. There is a
clear case for meat hunger here, and the only
material gain of being a mosa laki is that you
[465] are always given a piece of meat when an animal
[171] is killed. This is like the Toradja pattern,
and shows how much of a luxury meat really is.
It is the "government man's salary."

436 Formerly there was no money and there were
178 no toko. Of course there may have been a few
443 gold pieces, but they were really sacred ob-
jects. Today they have little cash.

243 The irrigated rice fields started three
177 years ago and were instigated by Hadji Akbar
788 of Watu Roga. He went to Mecca and saw the
many sawah in Bima, Java, and elsewhere. When

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727 was then that Keweluk said it was taboo to kill
●266 (to kill women only evidently?). Maybe Vatter[1] has a version? Anyway, he did admit that when an enemy was captured in war, although they didn't kill him in the korke (he was a bit shocked at the idea), they would kill him outside the kampong. His father did this, which was quite decent after all!

754 He insists that there was no cannibalism at
[266] all, except that formerly (and even today?) the suwanggi did it. They were and are evidently the devils here. They do the things that other people wouldn't. I wonder if perhaps they are the scapegoats for past practices. That is, they say that their ancestors never did such things, only the suwanggi did them. But, note that there were plenty of suwanggi. Roy's father had to kill fourteen in one day in Leloba alone! There is something fishy here. Either he won't tell everything, or else he has forgotten, or else I am really wrong to suspect him.

681 The death punishment was given only to suwang-
684 gi (again the devils). It was also given in cases of adultery if the offenders were caught red handed.

Thus my work in Leloba--Wailolong ended. Roy
115 is a fine old fellow. His only requests were to
124 ride with me if I happened to be going the "same" way," and to take his relatives and family along. He also wanted some photographs, and I will send him a photograph of me. And a copy of my book. I will also send him some medicine for asthma. How different he is from the begging and crafty Endenese.

Roy probably won't live much longer. He is a dramatic figure.

He, more than anyone else, probably, killed off paganism here. But he retains the tolerance and respect for his ancestors, and a knowledge of and pride in the legends and old things.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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167 651 486 men to leave, as the tax is on each household headed by an adult man (fl. 12.50 annually), and thus the radja would lose income if they emigrated.

266 681 754 There was head-hunting here before. They say that the only cannibalism was the eating of the hearts of enemies in order to gain additional strength. There was no human sacrifice, they say, but they have heard of the Lio stuff (and I checked with Arriens[1] and noted that de Bruine[2] in a report on Lio did not list this as among the crimes of the executed Radja of Lio--whose alias was Pius!--but Arriens says that he did it anyway). The only way a person could be given the death punishment was to be proven a suwanggi.

778 831 178 More about the tubu musu. They say that "musu" means "two become one." If so, this is perfect, and indeed the tubu musu is similar to the linggam-yoni. Indeed, they say that it consists of an upright stone, less than a meter high, standing on a flat one. "Tubu" they say means "stone," but I note that Arndt gives it an "obscene" meaning (or is it the musu part that is obscene? check Arndt's Lio dictionary).

They have a rather vague idea that this tubu musu may represent male and female. And it can have children. Thus it is like many such stone-bearing stones in Indonesia, including the stones of Larantuka and some on Ambon. I asked if the tubu musu still had children, and this is beautiful, "no more." It is like Roy saying that the familiars of his father appear no more (but they are there and he could call them: "I can call the spirits from there, etc." "Yes, but will they come?") He has no doubt that they would come. I should have asked if the stones still could have children. Anyway, both they and Roy are completely serious about what used to happen. There are no more rites held at the tubu musu, but plenty were held formerly. [Analyst]

1 [Controleur at Ende--Analyst]; 2 [Probably Controleur at Lio--Analyst]

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721 kor, e.g., Ruteng and Tjibal. But Rahong never
614 resisted Todo and Pongkor. The Dutch fought
578 here (near the pemali grove along the road).
The panglima prang who led this fight is still living.

Va'u Veol had no traditional enemy, but might join in and help on one side or the other in a war.

There were many wars between the dalu that these kampongs entered. In other regions there were plenty of wars between va'u ("non-dalu wars") but there was not much of this here. These were caused because of borders, molesting fellows, etc. Dalu wars were over borders mainly, but might be for other reasons. The only big wars here were between the dalu. And each kampong had to send just about all of its adult men to fight in these dalu wars.

411 The weapons used consisted of spears, long knives, and shields. They did not use the bow until a few came in very recently. They had no blowguns, but recently a few have come in for hunting birds, although they use no poison darts. Shields were round or rectangular, always of rattan. Helmets were also made of
[714] rattan. Their war clothes were fancy. Feathers were placed on the helmets.

266 There was no head-hunting, but, for revenge,
721 they drank a little blood. However, there was no war cannibalism. (Note the many things which are lacking in Manggarai which are usually found elsewhere in Indonesia.)

Still, even now from time to time there comes
721 a rumor that men are coming who will chop off their heads. These people are rumored to be coming from outside. It looks like the left-overs of a memory of an old head-hunting experience, perhaps felt from the outside.

[608] There are no traditional alliances between
721 clans or kampongs of the pela sort. But there
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538 but many are still remembered. I get the idea that the decline here is not so great as in many other areas.

484 There is practically no desire here yet to go to places which are "happier."

721 There was no head-hunting here at any time,
●266 nor was there any cannibalism, although they did drink blood for revenge pleasure in war. There was no human sacrifice and no torture.
681 The death punishment was given for murder, a slave having sex relations with a kraeng woman, primary incest (but more distant incest was punished by a purifying rite only). The way the death punishment was carried out here and in Pongkor was to throw the victim down into a river from a high point.

411 Note: To kill a beast the people here use
231 a spear or a long knife. It is nearly always the latter.

778 The tjompang tree may be only either waringin
824 or dadap.

515 I see plenty of lice-plucking here. The pretty wife of the head guru I saw plucking the head of another woman. And I see this all over. And here, judging by the smell, they seldom bathe. I see no bathing places. Toilets are evidently holes in the ground enclosed by a screen. I don't remember seeing lice-plucking in Makassar or Buginese areas, but perhaps they do it too. I also do not remember seeing it in Ambon. The Toradja certainly do it. Note that the Endenese and people in Larantuka bathe. The Toradja don't. I think it is probably mountain people (especially the dirty Ngada) who do not bathe and also who have more lice. In this regard, note the Manggarai Ngada, Toradja, and Batak. The Minangkabau, although living in the mountains, bathe (a sign of former coastal life?).

124 Thus ended the Manggarai work, and the as-

609 We
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
497 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has
[778] magical power, but we didn't get into the full story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

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592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more
243 people in many of the houses. The complex ar-
rangement of rice fields stretches out far be-
low and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but per-
haps this is done merely by flooding. I must
ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly
situated on rises and they are small, for ex-
ample, Weol has only about thirty houses in it.
The priest says that there are many of the
stones in kampong Ruteng located about $1\frac{1}{2}$ km.
outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each
day, and the guru will bring the table and
chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel.
The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary,
which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about
fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
197 houses were introduced here by a priest. The
guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the
515 folk here, including the priests. Bathing is
not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the rela-
tionship between partners is distant enough.
Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans,
called panga, and one may marry within these in
the same way, according to the guru. I must find
out more about this and also get the kin system.
We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in
the center of the town where they were playing
football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

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721 whips. Later the mandur of the pasanggrahan,
555 a Manggarai man from kampong Ruteng, said that girls especially like a man who has knocked out another's eye with a whip.! It looks like a head-hunting pattern, but so far I have gotten no response on the subject of head-hunting, and the priests say it did not exist here even in former times. I must check on this.

[126] We took photographs, and one of them was of
634 the Radja. He was a bit drunk, and said that
273 the dancers were hot inside too. He made what
537 seemed to me to be an unnecessary speech to
609 the men around him to the effect that we were Americans and not Dutch and as to why we were here. Later he said he was busy as this was the day of the kampong folk. He said he would see us later so that if we needed any help we could call on him, and he could also warn us of possible dangers. The latter reference was vague, and I can't see the point. He called a lad who came with a bottle of brandy and we had drinks in front of a great crowd. He wore a songko, which is strange for a Christian radja. Evidently, from what we hear, the Radja here has been in for only a short time, and this one is both young and new, as his father died recently (maybe not his father?)

614 Then we went back to the pasanggrahan and
582 talked with the mandur who said that in the Ruteng kampong there is still plenty of the old culture. He said it is possible to marry inside the va'u (this is the correct spelling) or outside. He said marriages usually occur outside. He said something about how if one partner was from the older sibling branch of the va'u and the other from the younger sibling branch, they may marry (could it be that here we have a subclan?) The assistant says they have panga inside the va'u, and he gave his own as the first, which I think means the older branch. Thus

! [i.e., during the ritualized mock warfare games; see p.92, c.st.116 --Analyst]

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784 There is definite totemism here though some
614 clans have no taboos or totem ancestors. But
611 it is the usual thing. Weol may not use one
769 kind of bamboo, because the ancestors were born
562 of this bamboo. Pau may not eat a certain kind of monkey, as the ancestors were linked (this is the assistant's va'u). Women marrying out of the va'u may eat the totem of their own clan but must go through a special rite. Men may never give up the totem taboos, even if they live in an ambil anak arrangement.

574 The next day we went to Weol and up to the
273 kampong with the assistant. We brought native
276 tobacco and gin which we had bought for fl. 2.00
123 in Ruteng. As we entered the kampong, on the right we noted the house of the kepala kampong. Next to it is that of the tuan tanah, where we sat on the front porch. Both of these houses are of the new style, but are sooty because there are no chimneys. The children carried two chairs up from Tjantjar for us and later brought a table from the school. However, the assistant and the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong sat on a mat on the floor. Others were in the background. On the rise in front was a great crowd. We gave gin and tobacco to the old people and
[262] were later served first coffee and then two hard boiled eggs. Others got no eggs. The eggs came by chain-passing from the next kampong, Ndung. Evidently eggs are something special. The old tuan tanah knows everything, and his brother the kepala kampong is old and smart too. The kepala of the third panga of Weol kampong sat in the rear. He too is old.

632 The daluschap Rahong is one of the thirty-
621 nine in Manggarai. The dalu are of Bima origin, or at least this is true of most of them. There are thirty-three kampongs in Rahong. The tuan tanah knows all of them, including the constellations. They are as follows:

764 with upright stone. They are built by indi-
211 viduals to commemorate their own name. There
[554] is great vanity here in keeping one's name
alive after death. Thus the ngadu builder
gets his name on the ngadu too. There are no
offerings, however, at these rest places.

The Nageh in Soa kill animals with spears
231 as they are released (probably a hunting sur-
411 vival). Perhaps this is related to Toradja
spearing?

Larantuka: We left Ende on Friday, January
556 6, and after ten and a half hours we got to
237 Larantuka. There we met a young Chinese trader
177 who was born in Lomblem and whose father has a
438 toko there. They are now in Surabaja, but he
comes through Flores and the islands to buy
stuff each year. He is now buying kemiri nuts.
He told me a lot about Lomblem. He said that
there are thousands of tusks in Lomblem alone.
And he said that Maumere, which is relatively
rich in various products, is cornering a large
part of the tusks of Flores. In other places,
for example, in Larantuka, there are fewer
tusks now, and people are beginning to pay
money instead. The Maumere folk, he said,
think nothing of money. The real wealth and
goal of all striving is tied up in the tusks.
He said that the Chinese brought the tusks in
originally and told the radjas here that they
were the teeth of the naga (which was important
locally before that). The radjas paid dearly
for them, and soon all the folk here wanted
them. Hence, thousands were imported by the
Chinese. It may have been the same situation
as that which obtains with the mokko in the
Alor area. They too may well be from China.

This Chinese said that in Lomblem the folk
511 want very little. They work a little, just
461 enough to get the corn going, and then drink
185 enough gin to go to sleep. When drunk they
273

511 sing a little and then go to sleep. The only
461 time they work hard, and this consists of
185 bringing in coconuts and other stuff to the
[273] Chinese, is when they want to get clothes for
feasts and when they have to pay taxes. Their
only thorn is taxation. Without taxes they
would be completely happy. I heard later, in
237 regard to the tusks, that there are very few
438 in Wailolong, perhaps only ten. However, they
556 circulate and keep the system going. The as-
sistant said that many have been sold because
the people need money so badly. Many were sold
to the people in Tandjung Bunga.

Wa. When we went to Wailolong we met the assis-
614 tant on the section of Wailolong which is on
241 the side road near Leloba. He was there getting
796 census material. We went off there and at-
231 tended a rite of the Leworita suku, or rather
one of the ama of the suku. It was the rite
for the beginning of the agricultural season.
The big kampong rite was held first, and here
it was held on Christmas. Then, each suku has
a similar rite, and then again each ama. They
are just now getting around to the ama rites.
[343] In this section there are two kebang (lumbung
or barns) adat, i.e. suku or ama barns. The
big kepala barn is that of the Number One suku
(here Ama Dotang [usually Ama Kottang] which is
near the main korke). The two suku represented
here are Lewodoreng and Leworita. This rite
was held under the adat barn of Leworita (where
jaws of sacrificed pigs hang), but the land is
owned by Lewodoreng. This is why the men who
played the roles of Kottang and Kelen (head
and feet) were not from Leworita but from
Lewodoreng.

The old pagans (some were not so old) did
the rites, but the Christians stood all around,
and they ate what they could get later, probably.
A small pig was brought in and then the prepa-

178 After the ancestors are called, the pig is cut,
562 first sawed through the neck until the windpipe
796 is cut, and then with one blow the head is cut
241 off. The assistant said that if it is a big
887 pig, a strong blow is required to knock the
769 head off with a single sweep.
614 Note that the two old men who prayed were from Leworita and Hurint. Evidently this makes no difference, but they do choose old people who know prayers (however, they have one from the suku giving the rite, as he must recite the names of their ancestors).

[276] Then betel was prepared and passed around. As the pig bled, blood splashed on the tusk which was lying on the ground beside one of the posts. This is a ritual tusk and is not very large. It is owned by the ama and is not used for bride prices. The second part of the rite--to give the food to the ground and posts --came next. The tuno wudjo and other old women took the rice and heaped it on a plate like a hillock. The men cut out the liver of the pig and chopped it up. The mixture was put on the ground, or rather a bit of it was, and also smeared on the four posts of the barn. Gin was
•[273] meanwhile passed around (we got some), and it was also poured on the ground and sprinkled around under the barn. We left after this as the rite was over, but they went on to cook and eat the pork with the rice. This is a relatively small rite, although it was a part of the entire planting ritual complex.

614 One can say that each grouping (or, as the
241 assistant says, each barn) must have agricul-
796 tural rites. Thus, the system runs down from
343 the big kampong-barn-suku Kottang rite, with all the suku there and all the tuno wudjo (of all suku and ama); to the suku rites at each suku barn, and all suku and tuno wudjo at these too, in all five rites; and finally to the ama-

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601 does so. So much for the kinship system.

Then, incidentally, he said that an indis-
273 pensable item at each sacrifice must be palm
769 wine (tuak). Even if they have to travel for
778 some distance to get some (and it is hard to get in the Veol area, as not much is made locally), They must do so; and the reason is that the stone, which is the central point of all rites, must have a libation poured over it. The ancestors are explicitly called, and then the tuak is poured over the stone as though into the mouth of a person which the stone is. Thus I think these stones are the ancestors. They are real idols. Note that the Vatu Veol, and the removed Ine Amba too, are, (or were) in human form. I think that perhaps the popularity of statues in Java after the Hindu influx may have been due to the pre-existence of human form stone images. The point is, in this libation business, the stones are treated as though they were really human.

In regard to the mother's brother's daughter
582 or tungku marriage, this was formerly required,
578 at least for one son. He might be forced
835 brutally into such a marriage if he was reluc-
tant. It should be the eldest son too. If
[753] this is not done, the family may be afflicted with illness. And it is wicked anyway. This rule still holds, although force is no longer used to back it up. A good case is that of the assistant himself. He didn't like his mother's brother's daughter, as he said, "she lived in the house" (what psychological overtones are there here?). So he refused, and married his wife. However, he has two other brothers, who are still unmarried, and his whole family is watching anxiously until one of them marries the mother's brother's daughter. He says that they talk about this all the time. It is true that they are still pagan. His father indeed

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769 more land here). However, the darat (tree spir-
778 its) who lived in the trees are still there on
776 the spot. When such a grove is cut (and most kampongs have a grove), elaborate rites must be given. It is evidently quite dangerous. Therefore, in addition to the darat in all groves, almost every kampong has its own private darat, who live in the kampong grove.

778 This is important: The assistant says that
769 whenever and wherever they have a ceremony they
● 270 must set a stone in the center of the place
782 where the rite is held. This stone has palm wine poured over it as a libation. The libation is indispensable, and therefore the stone is also indispensable. It evidently represents the ancestral ghosts, who must always get a drink at every rite. And they pour the drink carefully, as though they were pouring it into someone's mouth. Palm wine is hard to get here, but they will go great distances to get it for a ceremony, even though they may obtain only a little, as it is essential. I note the tremendous importance of alcohol all through here. They drink a lot, as I saw in Anam at the New Year feast (see later), and they like it. It seems to be a perfect case of giving the ancestors what they liked best in life.

I noticed another amazing thing, though it
[533] may be unconscious. When the singing teacher at the mission at the Sunday performance for me arranged the boys for a round singing dance (sanda), he put a stone in the center of the place! It was probably just a marker, but note how easily he set a stone there.

527 I do not know if I got information on all
241 the feasts, as the time was getting short, but
514 he gave them as follows:

(1) New Year. This usually comes in October or November or December. It may be later, but may not be held in the summer. It takes place when

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527 the gardens are all set and growing. The date
574 is uncertain. Each panga must contribute one
241 pig. At the New Year ceremony they dance,
sing, pray, etc. And from what I saw in Anam,
[273] they drink plenty. The main feast is held in
the central kampong of the va'u, but there is
no set order as to where the successive feasts
are held in order.

(2) There are many garden rites: for a new
lodok, for a new clearing, for planting, for
the first weeding, if there are many mice, and
for harvest. The last mentioned is the big-
gest. Note that the ceremony for the mice is
not the regular pantomime one described by
[114] Coolhaas.[h] This is not held here, but only in
East Manggarai.

There is no rice mother here.

231 For the garden rites they usually sacrifice
527 pigs and fowls. A buffalo is sacrificed at
782 the rite for the new lodok, but it is killed
241 in the kampong at the tjompang (the animal is
tied to the tree, and thus there is a clear re-
lation between this and the peo of Nageh and
the ngadu of Ngada; and note that both of these
are forked as though they were cut-off trees;
I saw this clearly in Anam, where a tjompang
tree had had branches cut and it looked like a
rudimentary peo! and note that the buffalo is
tied here at the tree as at the peo or at the
ngadu). Usually, only one buffalo is killed,
and the buffalo is only for a new, main, round
garden, i.e., a lingko randang.

242 This raised an interesting point that with
311 the need for rotation of gardens a new lingko
randang must be planted every two years, because
the soil becomes exhausted and must then lie
fallow. At this time beasts graze there and
fatten the land with manure. But here in Veol
land is now lacking, and they must use the lingko
randang and other lingko constantly, which is

h [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

124 sistant, Cornelius, was fine. I left him a stamped envelope and paper to get information on the bride price and mother's brother's daughter marriage frequency.

Van Bekkum[1] showed me a great volume typed
114 before the war by an assistant of his on
124 Manggarai marriage customs. It was only two-thirds done, and he needs another year to complete it. It is all planned out and indexed. It is monumental and should be translated and published. Van Bekkum says that only Cornelius could do the book. He also went on a several months field trip for the mission to Pulu[illegible] Island, off the Maumere coast, where there was said to have been an aboriginal population. He has a manuscript on the buffalo sacrifice there.

He is a remarkable fellow and importuned me only a little for palm wine and tobacco for the old men.

574 The last day we went along to the near end
123 of the road, to kampong Anam, one of the dalu[illegible] kampongs. Here there were plenty of kraeng with
● [273] hangovers, and some still a bit drunk. This is a very large kampong, with perhaps a population of six hundred. There is a tjompang in it and several tuan tanah. At the tjompang, which had stones newly and nicely arranged, were sticks stuck with wood chips on them with rice and bits of other types of food, offered at the New Year feast. I was invited into the main tuan tanah house, and there I sat with lots of men in a circle, on mats and on mat cushions. Women played fine drum and gong music, and men sang fine sanda songs, with solos and choruses.
[782] Hanging on the rafter near the center was the main naga bamboo food shelf, and in each family section along the walls were similar ones. Food was placed on them. The house was rectan-
[342] gular (there are no more tuan tanah houses in

1 [pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

632 The kapitan of Ambu Nggobe, whom I met in a new hadji costume before, is a rather oldish one. Ariens says he has the most power of any-
123 one in Ende. The guru is a hard, pushing, Christian type, who has lost the old respect forms and feels superior to all the others. This guru kept trying to find out whether we[1] were Catholics, but we didn't tell him.

At last we went back to the kampong but stopped
191 off in a fine village near where the Kilimutu road leaves the main road. I forget the name. It has
[142] handsome women, proto-Malay type, who are ruined
[276] by betel. The men too are pretty good looking. Some of the children are very intelligent. I asked about the language situation and the guru said that only the schooled ones speak Malay anywhere in Ende. Thus the old ones do not, but this is not entirely so as some of the old ones who were never schooled are able to speak Malay.

342 In this kampong the houses as usual are roofed
343 with alang-alang thatch. There are many barns, which are small and have roofs which go to the
764 floor. The graves are in the plaza. One was
178 very large and of massive stone situated under a roof. It was the grave of an important ancestor. Others were of usual stone piles and slabs. One burial was set up last month, as it said on a wooden cross set up on top of the old style stone slab grave. The bodies here are laid out in a lying down position in the stone cists. From later evidence in Roworeke I think that many individuals may be placed in one grave. They lift the slab, move over the old bones, and set the new body in. In the old days they would put the body wound up with gemutu ropes in a tree until the whole thing rotted. Then the bones were placed in a box which in turn was placed in the cist. A rather long time ago the government made the people here dispose of the bodies at once.

[1] [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg--Analyst]

R

291 for sarongs and slendangs [shawls worn over the
286 head or the chest]. I see plenty of tooth fil-
304 ing here. And nearly all the women, young and
276 old, have the awful looking betel teeth. The
older men have the same betel teeth. The younger
men seem to chew betel less, and I can see that
their teeth are evened but are not filed down.

304 I saw a tattoo on the back of a woman and was
178 told that it is fairly common all over here. (I
later noticed a young girl in Roworeke with an
initial tattooed on her arm.) This tattooing,
however, is no longer significant here. The de-
sign I saw looked like a kind of anchor design

291 Many of the women here, mainly the old but
several of the young, go about with bare breasts.
When working this seems to be quite common.

252 I saw several women pounding corn. They use
412 a small round tree trunk mortar, and for a pestle
462 a mere pole. The corn is small and brownish.
They call it djagung Solor or mata kuching, and
it does look like small cats' eyes [the meaning
of the latter term, in Indonesian].

231 This area is full of goats. There are also
many pigs and a fair number of buffaloes, but I
saw no cattle. There are many small horses here
too. High in the mountains I saw an amazing
band of fine looking horses who had gone wild
after escaping. They can never be recaptured.
I was told that there are deer, wild pigs, and
wild buffaloes here.

At the lakes I asked if it might not be a
776 fine place for nitu and suwanggi, and they looked
sharply. They reverted to this cautiously and
asked me if I could see the spirits. They are
going to be cagey about pagan ideas, but when
they are caught off-guard they agree that there
are probably spirits in this mysterious place.

961 The plazas are of pounded earth, bare, with
houses scattered about and the most conspicuous
things being the stone graves.

We

592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more people in many of the houses. The complex ar-
243 rangement of rice fields stretches out far below and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but perhaps this is done merely by flooding. I must ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
728 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly situated on rises and they are small, for example, Weol has only about thirty houses in it. The priest says that there are many of the stones in kampong Ruteng located about 1½ km. outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each day, and the guru will bring the table and chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel. The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary, which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
197 houses were introduced here by a priest. The guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the
55 folk here, including the priests. Bathing is not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the relationship between partners is distant enough. Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans, called panga, and one may marry within these in the same way, according to the guru. I must find out more about this and also get the kin system. We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in the center of the town where they were playing football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

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784 There is definite totemism here though some
614 clans have no taboos or totem ancestors. But
611 it is the usual thing. Weol may not use one
769 kind of bamboo, because the ancestors were born
562 of this bamboo. Pau may not eat a certain kind of monkey, as the ancestors were linked (this is the assistant's va'u). Women marrying out of the va'u may eat the totem of their own clan but must go through a special rite. Men may never give up the totem taboos, even if they live in an ambil anak arrangement.

574 The next day we went to Weol and up to the
273 kampong with the assistant. We brought native
276 tobacco and gin which we had bought for fl. 2.00
123 in Ruteng. As we entered the kampong, on the right we noted the house of the kepala kampong. Next to it is that of the tuan tanah, where we sat on the front porch. Both of these houses are of the new style, but are sooty because there are no chimneys. The children carried two chairs up from Tjantjar for us and later brought a table from the school. However, the assistant and the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong sat on a mat on the floor. Others were in the background. On the rise in front was a great crowd. We gave gin and tobacco to the old people and
[262] were later served first coffee and then two hard boiled eggs. Others got no eggs. The eggs came by chain-passing from the next kampong, Ndung. Evidently eggs are something special. The old tuan tanah knows everything, and his brother the kepala kampong is old and smart too. The kepala of the third panga of Weol kampong sat in the rear. He too is old.

632 The daluschap Rahong is one of the thirty-
621 nine in Manggarai. The dalu are of Bima origin, or at least this is true of most of them. There are thirty-three kampongs in Rahong. The tuan tanah knows all of them, including the constellations. They are as follows:

We

776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 554 Kraeng here is the original title for high nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

796 614 782 231 At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is done by families or pangas. Each man in the group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunt-
[887] ing.) Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 535 574 555 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say here) is done at many feasts. Each house has some costumes, and the men may use them. They say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 527 526 533 In the afternoon we went to see some fine dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part of the week long independence festival. The lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and sing-
[276] ing. Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertain-
[887] ment was complicated and good. Most drummers
200 and gong players seem to be old women. These

582 firm in stating that one had to marry within the
565 same class, of which there are three: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata hoö, but I forget the terms for the others.
[587] They say that a lower man may never marry up,
[567] but that a higher man may marry down for a second wife. They are more open here about slavery than I have found elsewhere.

142 The people are quite handsome and many of
144 them are of the proto-Malay type. There are relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay element predominates, and the East Flores Negroid types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars. There is also a great difference in the color of the skin, many people being quite light-skinned
[515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here
[197] say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not the Soa folk.

291 The clothes of the local people are shabby and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are
304 universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears.
[276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments
[301] in their ears today. Only the holes are noted. We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most men have their names or initials as well as figures tattooed on their forearms. This name
[177] tattoo is quite general.) (Perhaps this is the secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy tattoo.")

764 The burials here, I think, and certainly in
565 Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners, but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

632 The districts here are called kepala mereschappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan. This one is evidently Naru.

178 After the ancestors are called, the pig is cut,
562 first sawed through the neck until the windpipe
796 is cut, and then with one blow the head is cut
241 off. The assistant said that if it is a big
887 pig, a strong blow is required to knock the
769 head off with a single sweep.
614 Note that the two old men who prayed were from Leworita and Hurint. Evidently this makes no difference, but they do choose old people who know prayers (however, they have one from the suku giving the rite, as he must recite the names of their ancestors).

[276] Then betel was prepared and passed around. As the pig bled, blood splashed on the tusk which was lying on the ground beside one of the posts. This is a ritual tusk and is not very large. It is owned by the ama and is not used for bride prices. The second part of the rite--to give the food to the ground and posts --came next. The tuno wudjo and other old women took the rice and heaped it on a plate like a hillock. The men cut out the liver of the pig and chopped it up. The mixture was put on the ground, or rather a bit of it was, and also smeared on the four posts of the barn. Gin was
[273] meanwhile passed around (we got some), and it was also poured on the ground and sprinkled around under the barn. We left after this as the rite was over, but they went on to cook and eat the pork with the rice. This is a relatively small rite, although it was a part of the entire planting ritual complex.

614 One can say that each grouping (or, as the
241 assistant says, each barn) must have agricul-
796 tural rites. Thus, the system runs down from
343 the big kampong-barn-suku Kottang rite, with all the suku there and all the tuno wudjo (of all suku and ama); to the suku rites at each suku barn, and all suku and tuno wudjo at these too, in all five rites; and finally to the ama-

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584 178 whom they like. They always used and still use intermediaries for the approach. There is never a chance for much acquaintance before marriage.

581 276 In marriage the main thing wanted is a good worker, by both sexes. Secondly, they want good behavior and good nature. Looks are very unimportant for both. I notice this, and it may be a reason why betel mouths are of no consequence. But I do notice that the prettiest young women I see (the head guru's wife and the mandur's wife) do not use betel. Maybe they are beginning to think of their appearance a bit. I asked him if the men here think the guru's wife is pretty. He said not especially so. She happens to be a beauty. I said that in the United States she would be so regarded, and he seemed embarrassed at the whole talk. They evidently don't go into such questions very much if at all.

836 About ten to twenty-five per cent of the women here are not virgins at marriage, but he says, how can he tell? This is his guess. They do it in the dark. A girl can ruin her name in this fashion, but they do it secretly. If a bride is not a virgin, there is no fuss. He insisted that there is no special feeling about it, which seems a bit queer. He said that perhaps there is a bit more sex now, but he is very uncertain. About fifty per cent of the men are not virgins at marriage. There is not much sex with widows, mainly with those who are young girls. But there was a bit of talk about widows, and it seems that there are cases. If [848] a bastard is born, the mother looks for a husband. If she can't find a man who is willing to marry her, the children merely enter the girl's family. Cornelius[1] doesn't know of a case in Veol.

584 An adat wedding first involves an intermediary to sound out whether the marriage will be

[1] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

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000 be, the assistant says. Some cotton fluff is
438 sold in the pasar. Thread, however, is not
283 usually bought any more. It is rare and expensive. Thus the wheels and even the hand spindles are busy everywhere.

443 In addition to the market places mentioned before, there is another market in the cycle here. It occurs on the seventh day left out in the arrangement described before (or rather, on the sixth, as there is no market on Sunday), and this is on Thursday, I think. It is at Magekoba, on the way back from Wolowaru, and in the hills above kilometer 33.

[178] The whole market business is new, starting during the last war only. Formerly they did not have a single pasar.

436 Before the Dutch came there was no money
177 except the Portuguese dinar, which was in gold
[301] of various denominations. The assistant has heard of most of these only, as all of them have long since been melted down for ornaments. He remembers that the one like a silver rupiah was worth about fl. 12.50, and the ringgit sized one was worth fl. 25.00. There were also bigger coins and others which were smaller. There were also lead Portuguese coins, with holes in them like a gobang [a two and a half sen piece]. These too have disappeared because they were melted down to mix with gold to make an alloy.

436 I note that these people stare and stare at
727 my watch and watch band, and probably this is one thing (gold) which they might steal, as it
[301] is irresistible. I note that the women still have gold decorations. Thus the assistant's wife has a pretty good bracelet. There were big troubles when the NICA came in and the people had only Japanese money. Thousands of rupiah were lost in those times. There are just about no more silver coins here. Occa-

Wa

There are about ten
326 smiths (are they full time? I doubt it).

241 As before, rice and corn are the staple
177 crops. There has been practically no change except for the introduction of new kinds of bananas, peanuts, and a few vegetables, in
[433] the diet. The local community is still almost one hundred per cent self sufficient.
283 They even make their own thread from their own cotton, although they may buy some thread today.

178 There has been practically no change at all since Vatter's book was written. In Wailolong they still have a tuno wudjo.

[352] Fifty years ago there were no tables or chairs, and there are only a few now. There
291 has been a little change in regard to cloth-
178 ing, especially in that a few men now wear shirts. And a few men also have shoes; there were none before.

A few women wear European dresses; no one wore such dress formerly. They could not sew at all fifty years ago, and there is still not a single sewing machine in Wailolong.

438 A few of the women sell some vegetables and some arak. They buy small quantities of thread, salt, hairpins, soap, medicine, and tobacco. The mountain people sell some of their forest products.

443 There has been no change at all in the mar-
178 ket system here except for the disappearance
437 of the Delang pasar. This was mostly or entirely a barter pasar. Cash is used at the Okka pasar. Up until seven years ago the Delang pasar was still used. There are no toko or warong here.

483 Very few people have ever ridden in a car here. Roy guesses that at the very most one per cent of the population has had such an experience.

423 The kinds of property in terms of land here are the following: kampong (which is "owned"
[See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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462 the men. If a woman gets sick, a man may fetch
[286] water, and some men like to cook. The only
thing which is purely a woman's occupation is
[285] weaving. There is no mat or basket making
here. This is done only in the mountains.

426 Small debts may be accumulated among the
kampong folk. Thus if a man has fl. 10.00 he
lets it be known that he will lend it, and he
does so at interest. People seldom borrow more
than fl. 5. For one month for this amount they
must repay fl. 7 to fl. 8. Thus there is a
fantastic amount of interest. The Chinese will
lend only if the borrower has some form of se-
curity, for example, a gold decoration. He
charges the same rate. There were and are no
government pawn shops here.

465 There are about five men who work as coolies
178 in Ende town. These are the only wage earners.
The kapitan receives pay, and the secretary
gets a very small amount. The kepala kampong
gets eight per cent of the tax yield (this is
bad). The mosa laki mere gets meat at all
feasts. He also receives rice. Fifty years
ago there were no wages at all.

443 There are two Chinese stores (at kilometer 6
and kilometer 8). There are eight warong, six
owned by the papalele Ende folk, and the other
two by the guru agama and the kepala kampong.
They sell the same merchandise as the Chinese
stores but have smaller stock.

622 The posts of kepala kampong and kapitan are
634 new here. This is true also of their mandur.
578 The radja has always been here as a post.
There have been changes in the borders too.
Thus there is no more Radja of Ndona. The family
lives near the bridge but no longer has the post.
(All over Flores there must be these fragments
of old-time ruling families, and there is a
great deal of potential trouble here unless the
whole radja complex gets cleared away.)

415 the case. Dishes and forks and spoons have
178 come in to some extent. Formerly they used wooden things, gourds, etc. only. Kitchen stuff is now to be found in the area. Terrac-
241 ing is new. Irrigated rice fields came in
178 only twenty years ago. The use of buffaloes in agriculture and the plow are very recent (five years ago). All the people are still farmers, however.

436 Today the people have much more money than
178 they had, for example, twenty years ago. Fifty years ago there was no money here at all.

342 Formerly there were no tin roofs or nails.
178 Now there are a few. Houses are different in style. In quantity most of the stuff is not changed.

285 Rattan baskets for clothing are no longer
415 made. They prefer wooden containers. However, they still make mats and baskets. The women make these, and the men make their plaited songko.

286 There is no spinning or weaving. This is
784 taboo except in the northeast quarter of Manggarai (Coolhaas is incomplete on this) and Todo-Pongkor and Labuan Hadji. It is beginning to come in in the west.

323 Pottery is made in a few kampongs (Puruk,
784 Mungges, Bolong). This is taboo except in these places. The penalty is the same as for weaving: bad crops, illness, etc. In Pongkor, only one kampong can make pottery, and only one in Todo. Usually one or two kampongs can make pottery in an area.

326 Smiths are new. There was no iron work here
178 before. Formerly they had to buy instruments made from iron. Now they have equipment to do some forms of iron work in Rai and a few other places. Todo-Pongkor has had smithing for perhaps three hundred years (they brought it in evidently). It is not taboo, but they just

[See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

Batak OD5
Flores OF9
Sumatra OD1
Toradja OG11

I [521 cont.]
286 forth, [522] to obtain dotted patterns; the application of one
174 color. Material: one's own weaving.
291 9. The discovery of reserving methods to obtain more than one color on the cloth (kain kembangan of Surakarta).

10. The application of the wax reserving-process, making use of a little stick, to obtain geometrical motifs. Material: one's own weaving. Application of one color.

11. The invention of the tjanting. Perfecting the technique. The use of finer fabrics. The application of more colors (1).

1. De Nederlandsche Kunstnijverheid in Nederlands Indië, III, p. 8.

The reserving process, as such, must be very old, as is its use in the Netherlands East Indies. In this case, too, the guide
I was the desire for beautification. When the plain color was no
[386] longer satisfying, ways of achieving the desired range of colors without immersing the fabric to be colored had to be discovered. The means were found: strips of bamboo, pieces of tree bark, fibers, thread, starch. The reserving process is by no means confined to the textile industry, but is used also in connection with
B other techniques, plaiting, for example.
F Among the Karo-Batak, as well as the Kéo in the interior
● 286 of Flores, the same method is used to reserve parts of the ma-
386 terials for clothing before they are put into the indigo vat.

S In Indragiri, as well as in the Toradja lands, the patterns
T plaited in bamboo baskets are covered with like patterns of
286 bamboo to be removed after the dyeing, from which the smooth
386 outer skin is not removed and therefore the dye does not penetrate them. The covered patterns are then reserved.

I The conflict over the question as to whether batik was
174 introduced from elsewhere or whether it originated on Java or
286 elsewhere in the archipelago is already very old. Mr. L.
144 Serrurier, in his work, de Wajang-poerwa, een ethnologische

R

764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs
often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I
must find out how the funerals are run now.
Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember
that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the
plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and
there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even
among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.
[797] The assistant has finished five grades of
schooling in Ndona.

291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
178 men (old style) although this is changing fast,
a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders
for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
[302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar
286 topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
531 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the de-
signs are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
124 I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan.
Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they
have a holiday whenever there is the slightest
excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I
must find out about later, is how the kepala kam-
pong is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some re-
624 marks about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in
only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently
means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan
and others are not. I must get this kepala kam-
pong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the
main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

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764 It is done in one day now, because the body be-
178 gins to smell otherwise.

144 The physical types in the mountains, the Lio
361 folk (who speak the same dialect as the Ende
[197] coastal dwellers but with a different accent,
and they are really only a mountain branch of
the Ende-Lio tribe) are mainly proto-Malay, or
at least that's the way it seems to me. One
can see this especially in the women, but also
in many of the men. It seems that the more
Melanesian and Papuan types are settled along
the coast, which makes me wonder if maybe there
might not have been a reverse movement of the
black people from the Timor area into Flores,
pushing the proto-Malay people back into the
hills. There are plenty of Melanesian types, and
Papuans, and even Australoid types in the hills,
however, just as on the coast. I get the impres-
[181] sion that the mountain people are nicer, better
looking, more polite, and perhaps even a little
cleaner than the coastal dwellers.

609 I notice that these Roworeke lads, especially
197 the guru, order the Lio folk around. They seem
771 to be regarded as hillbillies. However, they
speak the same language, and many mountain kam-
pongs are one hundred per cent Catholic. In fact,
I really wonder if maybe there might not be more
pagans in Roworeke itself than in many if not
most of the mountain kampongs. Certainly there
seem to be more obviously pagans in Roworeke
than I saw offhand in the mountain kampong. I
778 asked if the mountain kampong has a rumah pemali.
They said yes, but that it is quite far off, near
the main road. I didn't have time to see it.

291 Much of the clothing here is in the form of ikat
●286 work, and I can see some of this material woven
on the local back bar looms (horizontal).

Much of the cloth is plain, unattractive, dark
material. The ikat work, and also much of the
plainly woven cloth, is dark and is used mainly

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291 for sarongs and slendangs [shawls worn over the
286a head or the chest]. I see plenty of tooth fil-
304 ing here. And nearly all the women, young and
276 old, have the awful looking betel teeth. The
older men have the same betel teeth. The younger
men seem to chew betel less, and I can see that
their teeth are evened but are not filed down.

304 I saw a tattoo on the back of a woman and was
178 told that it is fairly common all over here. (I
later noticed a young girl in Roworeke with an
initial tattooed on her arm.) This tattooing,
however, is no longer significant here. The de-
sign I saw looked like a kind of anchor design

291 Many of the women here, mainly the old but
several of the young, go about with bare breasts.
When working this seems to be quite common.

252 I saw several women pounding corn. They use
412 a small round tree trunk mortar, and for a pestle
462 a mere pole. The corn is small and brownish.
They call it djagung Solor or mata kuching, and
it does look like small cats' eyes [the meaning
of the latter term, in Indonesian].

231 This area is full of goats. There are also
many pigs and a fair number of buffaloes, but I
saw no cattle. There are many small horses here
too. High in the mountains I saw an amazing
band of fine looking horses who had gone wild
after escaping. They can never be recaptured.
I was told that there are deer, wild pigs, and
wild buffaloes here.

At the lakes I asked if it might not be a
776 fine place for nitu and suwanggi, and they looked
sharply. They reverted to this cautiously and
asked me if I could see the spirits. They are
going to be cagey about pagan ideas, but when
they are caught off-guard they agree that there
are probably spirits in this mysterious place.

961 The plazas are of pounded earth, bare, with
houses scattered about and the most conspicuous
things being the stone graves.

349 and in the corner is a long wooden drum used in
769 certain ceremonies. Most amazing, however, is
614 a box under the roof and set on planks across
766 beams. This box is covered with old ikat clothes and measures about 3x2x2 feet. In it are the bones of the great ancestor of the Wanda suku. The kapitan said they are "hundreds of years" old. When they have a suku feast, hundreds of people come here and kill buffaloes and dance and sing and pray, asking the ancestors for favors. They do not call them but call on them. All a-
764 round[1] are the stone heap and slab graves of lesser folk. Bodies put in them are bound in the knee-to-chest posture. They often are too small to allow lying down anyway. I was told that many are placed in one cist, and new bodies are put in by lifting the slab and moving the old bones over.

286 I saw a back-bar loom and two women spinning
126 on primitive wheels from cotton fluff. It is im-
181 pressive and the threads they make are good. One old and one young woman were so employed. I started to take a photograph of the old one and a young lady came up and said that she was his mother and that if I took a photograph of her I had to give him one too. I closed the camera and went away. These are the least agreeable folk I have met yet in Indonesia. Still there are plenty of fine people here. Nevertheless, they are not uniformly polite as, for example, are most of the Buginese.

181 We then got out of Watu Roga, leaving discon-
126 tent, it seemed, as we had taken photographs but given none to the people as we had done across the road in Roworeke. I get the impression that the Watu Roga folk are a bit antagonistic possibly to the people in Roworeke. I also suspect that these Ende people are aggressive and competitive and grasping anyway.

621 Then we went around the sections of Roworeke. These are, so far as I can get them up to now:

[1] [i.e., Watu Roga.—Analyst]

R
349 set on the rafters a similar chest with bones of
766 the old ancestor of the Odja suku. I was told
769 that this has been there for hundreds of years,
614 but then it was reckoned that it had been there
621 for at least seven generations. It too was covered with ikat clothing. There was no drum in this one. They said that when the ancestor suku feast is held, hundreds of people gather here and buffaloes are killed, as was true in the other place. All around are many other stone cist tombs, all graves of descendants of the big
342 Odja. There are some high houses here, but most of them are lower in construction.

●286 In Padjambu we saw many women spinning and weaving. One girl was pressing cotton fluff on a primitive wooden wringer arrangement in order to flatten it before spinning. It looked just like an old-fashioned clothes wringer. We saw an old woman preparing the loom threads in the first stage of ikat work. The white threads were wrapped with fiber windings. We saw several ikat sarongs, all of which were heavy and dull in
[435] color. The kapitan said that I could buy one for
[181] fl. 150.00 and another for fl. 250.00. This again shows the grasping character of these folk.

123 I forgot to say that the kapitan wants to go to Larantuka with us. I refused to let him go along. Also, at the Odja ancestral bone bundle tower an old mother said we had to leave an offering. We left some cigarettes. Perhaps they wanted money.

286 These ikat things are all over. I don't like
386 them very much, but they are genuine. The cotton
531 is grown locally and is pressed and spun. The dyes are blue and black and are made from indigo leaves. The ikat work is done with ties of fiber.
[438] Indeed, the only trade material used here is the red dye they buy in the stores. They also weave regular cloth, but the colors are always dull. The designs are small and indecisive.

Wa
000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass
thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in
area where there is a large bench for sleeping.
There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the
roof and often in front too. Here sit the women
while they work. If there are two families to a
house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
787 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel
as in other kampongs. The church to which every-
one here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamiö, but
since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are stan-
dard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are
nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have
brown hair or hair which is partly brown.

[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
●286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk
along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-
bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue
and black mostly. The designs are even poorer
than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used
for men and for women. They say that a cloth
takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many
men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
304 few old people, it seems especially the women,
have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

114 [585] [565] [784] [614] [286] exactly the same rites and all moves are the same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas' word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).[1] In addition to the technical totem taboos given by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 614 I note on the map that place names recur often all over Manggarai, especially not far away. These are clan names, which are given to kampongs founded by split offs from the mother kampong. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 578 632 648 186 The mandur said there is criticism of the Radja today because he is not "one hundred per cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, although somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud of this Minangkabau story while at the same time it may harm them in light of Manggarai nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes[1] says that when the Dutch were trying to select a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not a contented area and that the people there wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may see a possible chance of paying off old scores. This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where self-governing setups led to exploitation of lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may try to raise themselves up to a parity level and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask questions, and they will reply without first going through a translator. However, the reply

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 1B--Analyst]

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592 The oldest man is the head of the house, and his eldest son succeeds him. This is invariable. The eldest woman is the manager (nu'a luka rumah tangga). The eldest son's wife succeeds her.

783 673 It is interesting to note that both adat sins and church sins are kept track of.

509 We left Larantuka on Tuesday, January 9, and stopped that night in Maumere, so that Kattenburg can get his plane to Makassar on Wednesday.

●286 On Wednesday I went on to Ende, and this took six hours, because I went to Sikka (didn't quite get there because the road had been torn up, although I did see Lela, which is near it). Sikka is really isolated, and the road leading there is poor. I noticed all along the road that there were women under or beside the houses weaving. This is true all over Flores. I noticed the drying of threads after dyeing, the looms, the wheels, the piles of cotton, etc. I note the same thing in Roworeke, Wailolong, Leloba, and everywhere.

634 661 439 789 769 I heard much about the radjas' shady business practices (led by the Radja of Sikka, but Larantuka is in on it too) in regard to the surplus distribution sold in Makassar and the copra smuggled into Singapore, etc. The Chinese are in on the deal. Some day these radjas will be out, and this will be better for everyone. I talked with Arriens[1] about them and he was doubtful that they have much magic power here, but I think there is quite a bit. It is perhaps not so directly electrical as in Celebes, but the respect hangs heavy, and they are the apex of the whole ancestor cult. This is true of Larantuka, and I suspect it is true of the other areas.

632 634 Arriens said there has been much trouble in Tana Ai, because they want their own kapitan, but Sikka evidently has his own ideas. Until

[1] [i.e., Controleur at Ende -- Analyst]

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178 In terms of technology and occupation, there
463 have been very few changes. They still farm
in the old way, and there have been no new jobs
342 created. There are today such houses as the
178 kapitan's, with a bit of cement work. This is
354 new. And every house has a pelita /a kind of
lamp/ for which they buy kerosene. Few of
them have any real lamps like the kapitan's.
The assistant has one, but it is typically out
291 of order. Shirts here are new, but they are
178 rare and cost much. Shoes are new here and
[413] are very rare. Pens, etc., are extremely rare.
The women no longer wear the homespun blouses.
They wear homespun sarongs like the men do,
but buy kebaya of thinner cloth today.

• 286 They cannot make thin cloth with their
looms, and this is a great handicap. What
they make is too heavy. This is mainly a matter of thread. They can't spin thread any
thinner than they do and have it strong enough
so that it will not break in the loom. Thus,
if they could get trade thread, they might be
able to weave thinner cloth (?).

[346] The only tin roofs are on the grave-bone
shrines of Odja and Wanda.

Every woman spins thread and weaves. There
are no specialists, however, who sell cloth.
This is done only rarely.

463 There are no smiths or specialists of any
326 kind. There were about twenty men who worked
563 at making pots here, and this started evidently
about two years ago. It was a Chinese company
(evidently tied in with the Radja some way),
and these lads worked in their spare time. As
there are no orders now, they are working
there no longer. It is not a native craft.

241 The most important local agricultural crop
and food source is maize, by far. Then come
rice, vegetables, and yams. There is no sago;
000 they have never heard of it. Little meat is

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462 the men. If a woman gets sick, a man may fetch
[286] water, and some men like to cook. The only
thing which is purely a woman's occupation is
[285] weaving. There is no mat or basket making
here. This is done only in the mountains.

426 Small debts may be accumulated among the
kampong folk. Thus if a man has fl. 10.00 he
lets it be known that he will lend it, and he
does so at interest. People seldom borrow more
than fl. 5. For one month for this amount they
must repay fl. 7 to fl. 8. Thus there is a
fantastic amount of interest. The Chinese will
lend only if the borrower has some form of se-
curity, for example, a gold decoration. He
charges the same rate. There were and are no
government pawn shops here.

465 There are about five men who work as coolies
178 in Ende town. These are the only wage earners.
The kapitan receives pay, and the secretary
gets a very small amount. The kepala kampong
gets eight per cent of the tax yield (this is
bad). The mosa laki mere gets meat at all
feasts. He also receives rice. Fifty years
ago there were no wages at all.

443 There are two Chinese stores (at kilometer 6
and kilometer 8). There are eight warong, six
owned by the papalele Ende folk, and the other
two by the guru agama and the kepala kampong.
They sell the same merchandise as the Chinese
stores but have smaller stock.

622 The posts of kepala kampong and kapitan are
634 new here. This is true also of their mandur.
The radja has always been here as a post.
578 There have been changes in the borders too.
Thus there is no more Radja of Ndona. The family
lives near the bridge but no longer has the post.
(All over Flores there must be these fragments
of old-time ruling families, and there is a
great deal of potential trouble here unless the
whole radja complex gets cleared away.)

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533 In connection with special training for
871 individuals, the only thing they can think of is that the children have flute lessons in school and learn to read notes.

212 In Wailolong fifty years ago only one person was literate.

Everyone here can speak the local language.
191 Of the old folks, perhaps only one per cent
212 can speak Indonesian. The younger people are learning it in school. No one here speaks Dutch. No one here speaks any other language. About fifty per cent of the population here can read and write. At the most perhaps ten persons read regularly or at least look at the mission paper. This is the only "reading matter" except for prayer books.

There is almost no writing done locally. Perhaps about ten people have at some time written or received a letter. One guru can read and write Arabic.

There is no special instruction given in reading and writing. There are no aliens, and hence no foreign languages used in the area.
[207] There is no radio, and perhaps only the guru have ever seen movies.

178 There have been very few changes in the
412 technology here introduced during the last fifty
262 years. They are using shovels a bit, etc., but mainly the same old artifacts. In regard to food, there are a few changes. For example, there are new kinds of vegetables (in the old days they evidently had practically none), new varieties of bananas, etc. Evidently food was simple to the extreme in the old days.

● 286 The women spin and weave here, and this is perhaps the most important craft (in fact there
323 is no doubt about it). There is no pottery (they buy such items from the few places where pottery is made). Recently, a few people have
000 learned how to cook salt. There are about ten

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536 the rites of the agricultural cycle, etc., are highly dramatic). Weaving is probably the
●286 most active art.

There are three kinds of dancing.

The hard work in this area is done from Janu-
221 ary to March. This is the growing season. They
784 work hard and steadily in the gardens and are tired at night and have to sleep early. Also, there is a taboo on making noise during this time. It is the time of "work and quiet." This links with beliefs about rice, corn, etc. souls, which must be handled carefully. But then, in July, August, September comes the big time for feasts, dancing, singing, especially at the time of full moon. Then they have lots of fun. After that the quiet time starts again after a tapering off.

They know just about nothing about foreign
20 sports, etc. My theory is that the lack of movies is the main reason for this. There are also no books, magazines or papers. There is no way of finding out about such things. There
533 is plenty of riddling and song games, like
538 pantun. This is done especially in forms which are sung. The same holds for stories. They are told especially by singing. The stories are sung during the great thanksgiving feasts that come perhaps once every nine or ten years. One story may last a month. Every incident in a past period will be told, with all persons indicated by name, their relationships with other people involved, and everything that happened in every kampong, etc. These are evidently true epics on a small-distance scale. These are "local epics." Such a tale may tell everything that happened over a period of twenty generations. Most tales are told about the ancestors (the sistim again; it permeates everything).

585 I forgot to say that Roy says that marriages
241

517 few moving pictures, and the trips to Ende town.

535 [526] They dance and sing, although they do not have the whip dueling here. They do the bamboo dancing as in Manggarai. They dance and sing only at the time of the full moon, and prepare the occasion in advance. Local instru- [534] ments are only the drum and the gong. Anything else is imported. And the only dances of old are the ronggeng and the main tandak (round dance), and the bamboo dance. This is all.

526 524 They play soccer and raga (rattan kick ball). They have no card games. They do have a corn and hole game. They also spin tops, but do this only after the harvest.

53 They no longer make wooden images. There is no stone work here and no drama (evidently not even much in the ritual). There is no [286] painting. Weaving is about the only local art. Thus they are very poor, aesthetically.

527 The only free days are feast days, Lebaran, and now merdeka. The rest of the time the people have to work hard. As they say, it is kebon, kebon, kebon. But after the harvest things are easier. During the growing season times are really arduous.

546 Very little is known locally about alien amusements. They seldom see movies, seldom if ever read, and almost never talk with foreigners. (Indeed, this underlines the remoteness of these people. They are near Ende, but nearly all of them are far away from anything outside.) Most of the people here (by far) have never seen a movie, and the others have only seen one once or twice. They do not understand that sound movies talk. This came out when I asked about how many people had seen them. The kapitan said that they don't have that kind of movies (he had never heard of them evidently). Yet he has seen at least one, but he thought

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346 351 788 around the main post as around the lodok (see Coolhaas).[1]

There is no pasar system here. There are 443 only pedlars who carry goods around. Markets are located only in the big towns: Ruteng, Reo, Labuan, Mborong, etc.

437 There is some barter, but most transactions are carried on using cash. Before the Dutch came in there was no money here and the people had to barter.

286 784 Note and very important: There is a taboo on weaving all over Manggarai, except in the northeast quarter. The assistant can mark the border of weaving precisely. The only exception is Todo and Pongkor, where there is no taboo and there is a bit of weaving. I asked if it is a taboo or just a lack of knowledge of how to weave. He said both, but that it is definitely a taboo. If they weave, the crops will fail, and illness will spread across the land. There have been a few attempts to introduce weaving, and the crops have proven to turn bad. It has nothing to do with the totem. He says it is not tjek'i at all, but merely ireng, which means taboo. This is a puzzler, and is amazing.

871 In 1912 three 3-grade schools were opened in Manggarai: in Ruteng, in Reo, and in Labuan. In 1924, a five-grade school was opened in Ruteng. There were about forty schools in all Manggarai before the war, but only one went as far as fifth grade (the one in Ruteng). This is what the Dutch did between 1924 and 1942! There are now about sixty schools in Manggarai. The school in Tjantjar opened in 1947. It serves nine kampongs: Tjantjar, Veol, Ndung, Rai, Puruk, Sampar, Nggarang, Meler, and Tjara. The farthest kampong is Sampar, which is three kilometers walk away.

There is a fourth grade here too, serving all of Rahong. The children come from far away.

[1] [See bibliography, category 113.—Analyst]

We

415 the case. Dishes and forks and spoons have
178 come in to some extent. Formerly they used wooden things, gourds, etc. only. Kitchen stuff is now to be found in the area. Terrac-
241 ing is new. Irrigated rice fields came in
178 only twenty years ago. The use of buffaloes in agriculture and the plow are very recent (five years ago). All the people are still farmers, however.

436 Today the people have much more money than
178 they had, for example, twenty years ago. Fifty years ago there was no money here at all.

342 Formerly there were no tin roofs or nails.
178 Now there are a few. Houses are different in style. In quantity most of the stuff is not changed.

285 Rattan baskets for clothing are no longer
415 made. They prefer wooden containers. However, they still make mats and baskets. The women make these, and the men make their plaited songko.

286 There is no spinning or weaving. This is
784 taboo except in the northeast quarter of Manggarai (Coolhaas is incomplete on this) and Todo-Pongkor and Labuan Hadji. It is beginning to come in in the west.

323 Pottery is made in a few kampongs (Puruk,
784 Mungges, Bolong). This is taboo except in these places. The penalty is the same as for weaving: bad crops, illness, etc. In Pongkor, only one kampong can make pottery, and only one in Todo. Usually one or two kampongs can make pottery in an area.

326 Smiths are new. There was no iron work here
178 before. Formerly they had to buy instruments made from iron. Now they have equipment to do some forms of iron work in Rai and a few other places. Todo-Pongkor has had smithing for perhaps three hundred years (they brought it in evidently). It is not taboo, but they just

[See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

R

778 They agreed that Ndoeria had rebuilt many rumah pemali. I must go there sometime.

574 Back in Roworeke, the kapitan gave us sweet soft drinks and port wine (Chinese). Then he put
291 on his adat dress, including a batik headcloth
386 which was winged in front, and a fine ikat slen-
[287] dang, and a woven sarong. There seems to be no more tapa around here. The colors of the woven and ikat stuff are dark, including blue, black, and dull red. They are not very attractive, and the cloth is quite heavy. I saw women with baskets full of leafy stuff (small leaves) and I asked what was inside. They said tarum [indigo] and that it is used to make the blue and black dye. Thus they still use locally made dyes, but in Roworeke the red dye is bought in a store.

126 I took a picture of the kapitan and his wife and family including the fine type old mother.
621 We then started on a tour of the kampong. We went first across the road to Watu Roga. It is small and evidently most of the Wanda suku are.
342 There is one large house, but most of the others
178 are rather small. They are not of the high pitched roof type. I was told that before the war there were more of the old high roof type, but the Japanese leveled many of them to make the people move into the hills as they said the population was too dense near the town. I can't quite get the point, but new houses tend to be low, four sloped roofed, rather long and squat in type, but still look primitive because of the alang-alang thatched roof and many with the coconut leaf midrib walls. The walls, however, are usually low or invisible because they are under the low-hanging roof. Hence they are hooded.

349 In Watu Roga there is a high concrete struc-
769 ture looking something like a watchtower with
614 steps leading up. It has a four-sloped tin roof.
766 There is a low wall around a small rectangular space under the roof. The flooring is of tile,

Wae

241 178 [493] plow came in only five years ago. Still, there are no wheeled vehicles. They cannot make them.

291 178 Fifty years ago men dressed only in loincloths. Only the rich had pants or sarongs. They also had shoulder cloths. There has been no change in the dress for women. They used the same kilt down to just below the knees as they use today. Now, however, more women dress in sarongs and kebaya. Pants, shirts, kebaya and sarongs are carefully kept for special events. They are really one's "best," and they are not plentiful. Nevertheless, nearly everyone owns something of this sort.

There is probably not a single pair of shoes in the two kampongs.

[287] Formerly, a long time ago, they used tapa. And in the Japanese time the people made tapa again. They also made wooden hats. The tapa making was pre-Dutch.

[301] [304] In remoter areas a few loincloths are still seen. So are earrings, rings, and bracelets (no leglets). Men never puncture the ear lobe.

302 301 292 The style of cutting the hair short for men came in only twenty years ago. Formerly the men were great for beads. Now they are of little importance. The festive ceremonial clothes I saw in Ruteng on the dancers are pusaka. They are mostly men's pusaka. The horns are made of buffalo hide.

304 178 Tattooing (tikam) is brand new. It came in only ten to fifteen years ago and is now going out. It was done by men who learned how, that's all. However, it is just about gone, and there were not very many people who had tattoos at any time.

304 178 562 881 Women always puncture their ear lobes. Both sexes file their teeth, and this must be done before marriage. Some young people (for example, the assistant) do not do this, but they

1:Alkema & Bezemer--444 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Timor OF20
Flores OF9

[397 cont.]

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Inhabitants of East Flores
Photo. Kol. Instituut. Coll. Leroux.

T
[342]

On Timor, for instance, the old-fashioned type of house is round, while the newer type is oval, and the houses of more prominent people and princes are square. [Illustration appears here.] According to Grijzen (1), the houses in North Tatoen (Béloe) in particular are oval in form.

1. Mededeelingen omtrent Béloe of Midden-Timor [Information concerning Béloe or Central Timor], 1904, p. 44.

J [564 cont.]
291 He puts the material and the puppet on a low, wooden anvil.
536 The figure is now cut out of the parchment by means of 15 little chisels and a small wooden hammer. When this has been done, the puppet is whitened all over with bone ash mixed with lime water and the ash from burned durian rinds. Then the puppet is painted in the various colors desired or it is gilded. When the painting and gilding are completed, it is varnished, dried between plates of plaited bamboo, clothed with a thick drill fabric, flattened, and attached to the bone handles. It is to be noted that it is painted on both sides.

T L 714 Besides the making of wajang puppets, which on the whole must be called a very artistic craft, shields, too, are made of parchment. They are round and decorated with figures on the Southwestern Islands and on Timor, where meticulously worked S cartridge pouches of the same material are also made and worn. F Painting is also done here, but only in one color. The preparation of parchment is also known on Flores and Sumba. 291

I 326 [714] Metalwork. Loeber is of the opinion that metalwork is one of the younger techniques in the archipelago. There is much to be said for this view. "Much of what a tropical people needs was found in abundance in the native flora, material that was ready for use with some simple processing" (1).

1. J. A. Loeber, Jr., Houtsnijwerk en Metaalbewerking in Nederlands Indië [Wood Carving and Metalwork in the Netherlands East Indies], Amsterdam, 1916, p. 31.

This does not alter the fact that the working of metals in some areas of the archipelago is very old. Cast work is probably the oldest form, but the forging of weapons has been practiced for centuries.

The trade of the weapon-smith, the only one that is immortalized on Hindu-Javanese reliefs, is represented at

634 Badjawa (the capital of Nageh Keo is Boawai). The Ngada radja is an old style man with thirty wives who hunts and does nothing else. A relative, a wakil, does the work. To the west is the Radja of Manggarai, with the capital at Ruteng. The Dutch Controleur, Degens, also resides in Ruteng. The former radja died three to four months ago, and the new one has not yet been installed.

361 I began by riding out along the road toward Badjawa, and got to a ford about fifteen kilometers out. On the way I saw plenty of small and disorderly looking kampongs, with a definitely different arrangement and house style from 515 any other of the places I have been. Also, I noticed that the people here are slovenly, dirty, and strange in appearance. This is a real mongrel zone, and neatness is noticeably lacking in the people and in the villages. On 771 this west side of Ende in the coastal kampongs the people are mainly Mohammedan. On the east side and into the mountains they are mainly Christian. But in both cases, there are just about as many pagans, and sometimes the pagans are in the majority.

563 The next day I rode out to the east and into the mountains as far as Ndetosoko, high in the 361 mountains. On the evening of the day before I ●291 rode out to the other side of the Ende peninsula 515 to Ipi beach. Along this stretch is a kampong made up mostly of Savunese. The houses are of a different style and the people are more like those from Roti in appearance (somewhat of a Hindu type), with sarongs having nice designs and horizontal patterns. I was told by the Controleur's wife that the Savunese are clean and are used here as babu, etc. The Savunese also keep their kampong clean and neat.

764 I stopped here and there along the road into the mountains of Lio and noted some remarkable

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764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I must find out how the funerals are run now. Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.
[797] The assistant has finished five grades of schooling in Ndona.

●291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
178 men (old style) although this is changing fast, a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
[302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
286 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
531 looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the designs are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
124 I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan. Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they have a holiday whenever there is the slightest excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I must find out about later, is how the kepala kampong is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some re-
624 marks about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan and others are not. I must get this kepala kampong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

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764 It is done in one day now, because the body be-
178 gins to smell otherwise.

144 The physical types in the mountains, the Lio
361 folk (who speak the same dialect as the Ende
[197] coastal dwellers but with a different accent,
and they are really only a mountain branch of
the Ende-Lio tribe) are mainly proto-Malay, or
at least that's the way it seems to me. One
can see this especially in the women, but also
in many of the men. It seems that the more
Melanesian and Papuan types are settled along
the coast, which makes me wonder if maybe there
might not have been a reverse movement of the
black people from the Timor area into Flores,
pushing the proto-Malay people back into the
hills. There are plenty of Melanesian types, and
Papuans, and even Australoid types in the hills,
however, just as on the coast. I get the impres-
[181] sion that the mountain people are nicer, better
looking, more polite, and perhaps even a little
cleaner than the coastal dwellers.

609 I notice that these Roworeke lads, especially
197 the guru, order the Lio folk around. They seem
771 to be regarded as hillbillies. However, they
speak the same language, and many mountain kam-
pongs are one hundred per cent Catholic. In fact,
I really wonder if maybe there might not be more
pagans in Roworeke itself than in many if not
most of the mountain kampongs. Certainly there
seem to be more obviously pagans in Roworeke
than I saw offhand in the mountain kampong. I
778 asked if the mountain kampong has a rumah pemali.
They said yes, but that it is quite far off, near
the main road. I didn't have time to see it.
● 291 Much of the clothing here is in the form of ikat
286 work, and I can see some of this material woven
on the local back bar looms (horizontal).

Much of the cloth is plain, unattractive, dark
material. The ikat work, and also much of the
plainly woven cloth, is dark and is used mainly

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291 for sarongs and slendangs [shawls worn over the
286 head or the chest]. I see plenty of tooth fil-
304 ing here. And nearly all the women, young and
276 old, have the awful looking betel teeth. The
older men have the same betel teeth. The younger
men seem to chew betel less, and I can see that
their teeth are evened but are not filed down.

304 I saw a tattoo on the back of a woman and was
178 told that it is fairly common all over here. (I
later noticed a young girl in Roworeke with an
initial tattooed on her arm.) This tattooing,
however, is no longer significant here. The de-
sign I saw looked like a kind of anchor design

291 Many of the women here, mainly the old but
several of the young, go about with bare breasts.
When working this seems to be quite common.

252 I saw several women pounding corn. They use
412 a small round tree trunk mortar, and for a pestle
462 a mere pole. The corn is small and brownish.
They call it djagung Solor or mata kuching, and
it does look like small cats' eyes [the meaning
of the latter term, in Indonesian].

231 This area is full of goats. There are also
many pigs and a fair number of buffaloes, but I
saw no cattle. There are many small horses here
too. High in the mountains I saw an amazing
band of fine looking horses who had gone wild
after escaping. They can never be recaptured.
I was told that there are deer, wild pigs, and
wild buffaloes here.

At the lakes I asked if it might not be a
776 fine place for nitu and suwanggi, and they looked
sharply. They reverted to this cautiously and
asked me if I could see the spirits. They are
going to be cagey about pagan ideas, but when
they are caught off-guard they agree that there
are probably spirits in this mysterious place.

961 The plazas are of pounded earth, bare, with
houses scattered about and the most conspicuous
things being the stone graves.

R

778 They agreed that Ndoeria had rebuilt many rumah
pemali. I must go there sometime.

574 Back in Roworeke, the kapitan gave us sweet
soft drinks and port wine (Chinese). Then he put
291 on his adat dress, including a batik headcloth
386 which was winged in front, and a fine ikat slen-
[287] dang, and a woven sarong. There seems to be no
more tapa around here. The colors of the woven
and ikat stuff are dark, including blue, black,
and dull red. They are not very attractive, and
the cloth is quite heavy. I saw women with bas-
kets full of leafy stuff (small leaves) and I
asked what was inside. They said tarum [indigo]
and that it is used to make the blue and black
dye. Thus they still use locally made dyes,
but in Roworeke the red dye is bought in a store.

126 I took a picture of the kapitan and his wife
and family including the fine type old mother.

621 We then started on a tour of the kampong. We
went first across the road to Watu Roga. It is
small and evidently most of the Wanda suku are.

342 There is one large house, but most of the others
178 are rather small. They are not of the high
pitched roof type. I was told that before the
war there were more of the old high roof type,
but the Japanese leveled many of them to make the
people move into the hills as they said the popu-
lation was too dense near the town. I can't
quite get the point, but new houses tend to be
low, four sloped roofed, rather long and squat
in type, but still look primitive because of the
alang-alang thatched roof and many with the coco-
nut leaf midrib walls. The walls, however, are
usually low or invisible because they are under
the low-hanging roof. Hence they are hooded.

349 In Watu Roga there is a high concrete struc-
769 ture looking something like a watchtower with
614 steps leading up. It has a four-sloped tin roof.
766 There is a low wall around a small rectangular
space under the roof. The flooring is of tile,

We

771 I see many old pagan men and women here, un-
301 like in Leloba. They wear necklaces, earbells,
291 and ikat sarongs. I saw one old man getting gin
with bamboos. Many women here go about bare
breasted.

304 Most people have their teeth filed. They are
flattened.

621 The kepala kampong, who has sore eyes, say
124 that Leloba and Wailolong were combined in the
negri lama. There is still much intermarriage
and a very close relationship between these two.
Later, when I got to work with the guru and he
saw that I needed to get every name, etc., he
was scared and said that it is easy if he has to
do this in his kampong but hard in Wailolong.
Thus there is a big gulf between even nearby kam-
pongs. This question took us until 7:30 to talk
over and we are still in trouble.

124 I knew this morning that I should not take a
123 man who is not a member of my kampong, but he is
115 so good in other ways that I yielded to the priest.
It is clear that the main rule in this kind of
research is: never take an assistant who does
not live in the kampong. If you do he will not
be received easily and he does not know the local
gossip and intimate personal matters which would
prove helpful. Also, I can't sit in his house in
the kampong, and this is important for impres-
sions. I may be able to work out a compromise
at greater cost by using the Leloba guru but an-
other assistant in Wailolong. This is a mess and
from now on I follow my instinct on choosing an
assistant. We finally left after dark.

797 At noon today I went to the mission headquar-
ters to get gas. It alone has any, because V.
and W. has no trucks here. I can see that the
mission has everything. It is really the admin-
istration here. The pasanggrahan boy said that
the Catholics here do not use the name "Christ"
because this is taken to mean Protestant. In-

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796 done in an excited pagan style, although on the
535 occasion of a Christian festival. We saw
144 clearly the difference between East and West Flores as far as racial composition is concerned. As you pass into Lio hills the proto-Malay becomes much more marked, though the Negroid element is still there. Some of the women are remarkably white. Such women are seldom or never seen in East Flores.

797 About the Malay here: When they want to say someone is converted, in Larantuka, they say that he "ikut Rom" [follows Roma]. The titles
554 are interesting: the territorial priest of
793 Flores is Tuan Regionale; then there are the Tuan Boswesen, Tuan Landbouw, Njonja HPB, Njonja AR (Assistant Resident), Njonja and Tuan Bestuur (Bestuurshoofd), and for a nun
[792] they do not use Njonja, but Tuan Zuster.

647 Note: The Controleur here is C. B. Arriens.

Although there is a general similarity in
342 house style all over East and Central Flores, there are differences. The tremendous high roofs are typical of Lio and Ende. The flat and large four-sloped ridges are found in Larantuka, and in between, in Sikka and Tana Ai, there is an intermediate form, with the four-slope ridge a bit on the rounded off side, and the whole thing appears to be smaller.

411 In East Flores especially the bow is still
224 used. We met a large band on Christmas not far
126 from Larantuka with bows and spears. They were coming up from a kampong with a large church. I asked if they were going to war or to hunt, and they said they were going to hunt deer. I took a photograph of them. They are always glad to be photographed. I can hardly take photographs, however, because they all rush in to be included, especially the children.

291 The style of clothing changes from place to
184 place, though here again there is a general

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291 similarity. The ikat work and weave patterns
184 of sarongs especially show certain differences.
302 In Sikka the children have the front half of
482 their hair shaved. Here also the women and children usually employ a tumpline.

[527] We[1] had one day in Roworeke as December 27
123 was Independence Day. We left for Badjawa on the latter, after a ceremony. As appears to be usual in Roworeke, which is a most annoying environment with constant requests for jeep rides and a general lack of respect, the kapitan and a large group had to be taken first to kilometer 10 where they had a garden. The kapitan and the kepala kampong pleaded that we come to haul them to Ende for the ceremony tomorrow, but we refused firmly. Today the kepala kampong
[292] wore a woman's felt hat with a chin string.
304 His wife who is pregnant had a tattoo over her arm, but it consisted of a name and random marks. I see this sort of thing everywhere. The old patterns seem to have gone. Today the thing to have tattooed is your name. Then we went back to Roworeke and went to work in the "office" which was full of flies and people.

621 The kampongs in Roworeke are as follows (the
361 area extends from kilometer posts 5 to 8):

1. Nuamere (kilometer 7; the kapitan's area)
2. Bita (across the road, north of Watu Roga)
3. Kopoëdo (inside from Nuamere)
4. Puüdjambu (same)
5. Roworeke Asal (same)
6. Ae Boü (along the road below Nuamere)
7. Ae Utu (along the road below Ae Boü)
8. Wolomere (across the road from Ae Utu; the secretary's area)
9. Tana Ri (kilometer 6)
10. Ndetu (kilometer 5; many Ende folk live here)

1 [i.e., Kennedy and Kattenburg --Analyst]

487 of dirty, mixed kampongs, and then went up along
the cliffs over the sea to Nangapanda. Then
the road headed into the mountains, and after
[361] a long stretch which appeared to be practically
uninhabited (as usual between the coast and
mountain folk, here as in the Toradja country),
and finally we arrived in Badjawa. Before we
797 reached Badjawa we saw a large mission station
at Todabelu, where there were many modern
buildings, a seminary, and a model farm as well
as a trade school. All of these were notably
advanced over anything else we have seen in
Flores. As usual, it is connected with the
526 mission. In Badjawa there was a great crowd
for the day, and football games were held.
These are the great sport all over Indonesia
now, and it is coming even into the remote kam-
pongs. It is the national sport [i.e., soccer].

We saw here the dirty but spirited Ngada,
291 with dull clothes. The adat dress, however, is
striking, especially that of the men. It con-
sists of a dark blue cloak and a red headcloth.
304 We also noted that a lot of the people had filed
teeth, and in addition many had blackened them.
Earboring is a general practice here, but as
usual the younger men may have the holes but no
rings. (For example, the assistant in Roworeke
is like this and so is the younger guru in Le-
[771] loba.) This is a pretty primitive looking lot,
although most of them are Christian.

361 The Ngada kampongs are hard to see as they
342 are nearly all behind bamboo thickets. Ngada
houses are rectangular with low hanging hooded
roofs. They are built on piles definitely,
unlike Ende (or at least most of the houses in
[778] Ende) and Larantuka. In these kampongs there
are not many stones that I could see, but as
769 yet I have not seen a kampong fully. Notable
346 are the inverted pyramid-like ancestor houses
built on a single post. They are called nadu

771 the young folk are Christian. Most of the old
[624] people are largely pagan however. There are
no other obvious signs of pagan religion in
the lower kampong. The same goes for Weol.
342 Here there are more round houses, but the new
ones are all rectangular. At the entrance of
778 the kampong there is a mound which I must ask
about. It looks as though it might have been
a cult hill. Then there is the holy tree and
the stones around it. The photo of the stone
figure, Ine Amba, which Vroklage gives as from
Weol, is really from a kampong which can be seen
across the rice fields.

621 There are many old people here, including two
[624] remarkable old men, one of whom is one of the
two tuan tanah in the kampong. This is a double
kampong, with two main parts, and it has there-
fore two tuan tanah. The children here are
[515] dirty and so are the adults, for the most part.
[231] There are pigs all over. However, the houses
[361] are better spaced than, for example, in Laran-
tuka kampongs. The people here have poor clothes,
[291] and many, especially the women, were seen with
304 filed teeth and some of them with teeth beauti-
fully blackened. We noticed no tattooing nor
cutting.

243 Looking off from the high kampong one can see
the wet rice fields below. These are in wedge
shapes with a common center. There are many
adjacent, star-shaped arrangements. This is
unique in Indonesia. The priest says this is
because it is easier to fence them in this fashion,
but I suspect there is some cosmological signifi-
cance, perhaps reflected in the circular houses
too. The houses have all sorts of decorations
342 on top of them. The round ones seem to have an
531 upright wooden thing on them. The rectangular
ones have at the ridge ends a stylized pair of
wooden horns, often with a bird in the middle,
and some with two birds, one at each horn tip.
[See pp. 390-91 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography cat. 113--Analyst]

We
534 drums and gongs were brought here from several
535 kampongs. They are the real tuan tanah articles.
[624] At one time three little girls danced with
their eyes downcast and with very little move-
ment of the feet. They wore slendang and nice
dresses. The oldest man, looking like a nickel
[292] head Indian, had on an amazing costume with
rich embroidery, and a silver fringe under his
chin like a beard. For a head decoration he
had a gilded horse. He also carried two kris,
and each of the other men had one.

526 Now, at 6 P.M., after all day of it, taking
turns, the men are still whipping. This is a
tireless business.

609 We get the impression of real remoteness
178 here. These men are from the kampong nearby,
and in this large bowl of distant mountains they
are in their old dress doing the weird old
practices and it has little to do with modern
freedom and independence. When we go to such
a place they look more at us than at the per-
formers. We steal the show. But this is so
all over Indonesia for whites. And they stare
at us endlessly.

304 The tuan tanah of Weol has an elaborate set
of patterns tattooed on his arms.

● 291 The Manggarai men often wear plaited, flat,
songko-like headgear.

291 The horses here are important. Men and women
492 ride them, but mainly the former. The whole
[133] open land looks like the wild West. The priests
use only horses here. They are small and spir-
ited and bells are usually placed around their
necks.

614 The next day we went again to Weol and asked
[624] if the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong were
really brothers. If so, how could they belong
to different panga. I found out that they are
not brothers but merely distantly related.

The three panga names in Weol are the names

582 firm in stating that one had ~~to marry~~ within the
565 same class, of which there are three: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata hoö, but I forget the terms for the others.
[587] They say that a lower man may never marry up,
[567] but that a higher man may marry down for a second wife. They are more open here about slavery than I have found elsewhere.

142 The people are quite handsome and many of
144 them are of the proto-Malay type. There are relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay element predominates, and the East Flores Negroid types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars. There is also a great difference in the color of the skin, many people being quite light-skinned
[515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not
[197] so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not the Soa folk.

291 The clothes of the local people are shabby and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are
304 universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears.
[276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments
[301] in their ears today. Only the holes are noted. We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most men have their names or initials as well as figures tattooed on their forearms. This name
[177] tattoo is quite general.) (Perhaps this is the secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy tattoo.")

764 The burials here, I think, and certainly in
565 Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners, but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

632 The districts here are called kepala mereschappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan. This one is evidently Naru.

R

178 In terms of technology and occupation, there
463 have been very few changes. They still farm
in the old way, and there have been no new jobs
342 created. There are today such houses as the
178 kapitan's, with a bit of cement work. This is
354 new. And every house has a pelita [a kind of
lamp] for which they buy kerosene. Few of
them have any real lamps like the kapitan's.
The assistant has one, but it is typically out
291 of order. Shirts here are new, but they are
178 rare and cost much. Shoes are new here and
[413] are very rare. Pens, etc., are extremely rare.
The women no longer wear the homespun blouses.
They wear homespun sarongs like the men do,
but buy kebaya of thinner cloth today.

286 They cannot make thin cloth with their
looms, and this is a great handicap. What
they make is too heavy. This is mainly a mat-
ter of thread. They can't spin thread any
thinner than they do and have it strong enough
so that it will not break in the loom. Thus,
if they could get trade thread, they might be
able to weave thinner cloth (?).

[346] The only tin roofs are on the grave-bone
shrines of Odja and Wanda.

Every woman spins thread and weaves. There
are no specialists, however, however, who sell cloth.
This is done only rarely.

463 There are no smiths or specialists of any
326 kind. There were about twenty men who worked
563 at making pots here, and this started evidently
about two years ago. It was a Chinese company
(evidently tied in with the Radja some way),
and these lads worked in their spare time. As
there are no orders now, they are working
there no longer. It is not a native craft.

241 The most important local agricultural crop
and food source is maize, by far. Then come
rice, vegetables, and yams. There is no sago;
000 they have never heard of it. Little meat is

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243 he came back, he at once made a sawah, and the
177 others saw that it was good. Now, everyone
788 plants at least one sawah. Formerly there were no sawah. This is an excellent case of acculturation via the hadj.

412 Formerly the people here did not use hoes
177 or shovels. These came in at the time of the Dutch entry. Before that they had an iron tipped digging stick only. There are no carts.
493 They thought about my proposal for a group to buy one as an investment for hiring. Perhaps there is too little money even to pay for a bicycle here.

352 There are no tables, chairs, or lamps, ex-
354 cept in rare houses like the kapitan's. The
178 only new thing is the kerosene wick, not the lamp. It is called pelita.

342 The house type has changed here from a
178 larger to a smaller structure, and many of the old style roofs are still to be seen.

291 Women now use bought cloth to make thin
178 kebaya. Formerly they made blouses of homespun, but these are all gone. Men and women still wear homespun sarongs. Men wear this alone and are usually bare above the waist. If a man wears a selendang, he is a big man. If he wears a shirt, this is really very slick attire. There were no shoes here at all before, and few now.

301 Men and women wore earrings before, the men
753 ones of gold (look like silver) which the pagans still wear, and the women ones of a different
[304] style. The assistant's ears are pierced, but this is no longer done to the boys, only to the girls. Beads are worn by men and women on festive occasions. These are great ceremonial objects and are worn by the people who are proud of them. If one is not entitled to them, he will become sick if he wears a string of beads.

Wa

There are about ten
326 smiths (are they full time? I doubt it).

241 As before, rice and corn are the staple
177 crops. There has been practically no change except for the introduction of new kinds of bananas, peanuts, and a few vegetables, in
[433] the diet. The local community is still almost one hundred per cent self sufficient.
283 They even make their own thread from their own cotton, although they may buy some thread today.

178 There has been practically no change at all since Vatter's book was written. In Wailolong they still have a tuno wudjo.

[352] Fifty years ago there were no tables or chairs, and there are only a few now. There
•291 has been a little change in regard to clothing, especially in that a few men now wear
178 shirts. And a few men also have shoes; there were none before.

A few women wear European dresses; no one wore such dress formerly. They could not sew at all fifty years ago, and there is still not a single sewing machine in Wailolong.

438 A few of the women sell some vegetables and some arak. They buy small quantities of thread, salt, hairpins, soap, medicine, and tobacco. The mountain people sell some of their forest products.

443 There has been no change at all in the mar-
178 ket system here except for the disappearance
437 of the Delang pasar. This was mostly or entirely a barter pasar. Cash is used at the Okka pasar. Up until seven years ago the Delang pasar was still used. There are no toko or warong here.

483 Very few people have ever ridden in a car here. Roy guesses that at the very most one per cent of the population has had such an experience.

423 The kinds of property in terms of land here are the following: kampong (which is "owned"
2 [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

Wa

I note also that

554 there is a kind of mark of "upperness" in the
[177] wearing of European shirts by the men! This
[291] probably holds for the European dress worn by
some women too.

Roy says that in Larantuka town there is a
195 high and a low language, but I wonder if this
may not mean that there is merely a polite
idiom. Here in this area they all speak the
same language, but use fancier language in the
[554] ceremonies. The only titles are those of the
listed posts. One must be respectful to the
uppers.

614 The whole rank system depends on genealogi-
565 cal descent. There are no rules in regard to
interclass marriage, and everything depends
upon the suku system.

634 The Radja of Larantuka is a descendant of
565 the Ili, just as the other folk are. He is a
bit mixed up with Timor, via Pategolo. And
the Radja kedua is from Kroko Putang. However,
the entire upper "nobility" is really inte-
grated with the commoners. That is, there is
no heaven descent. They are just like the
other people, except genealogically they are
ranked a bit higher. All power also depends
on descent.

In 1905 the first guru of Leloba, Bala,
793 started his religious work. He had been con-
verted before this at the school in Larantuka.
At that time there were priests in Larantuka.

In 1912 a church was built at the kampong
361 lama of Riang Kamiŭ (this is another example of
how much and how recently these kampongs have
been moved from place to place). In fact,
only in these years, all kampongs except Lewo-
neda were still in the hills. Wailolong was
moved from the hills to the beach in 1913. At
that time a guru was sent to Wailolong, and in
1922 or 1923 Wailolong moved to the present lo-
cation.

Wae

241 plow came in only five years ago. Still,
178 there are no wheeled vehicles. They cannot
[493] make them.

291 Fifty years ago men dressed only in loin-
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There is probably not a single pair of shoes in the two kampongs.

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In remoter areas a few loincloths are still
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304 Tattooing (tikam) is brand new. It came in
178 only ten to fifteen years ago and is now going out. It was done by men who learned how, that's all. However, it is just about gone, and there were not very many people who had tattoos at any time.

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178 sexes file their teeth, and this must be done
562 before marriage. Some young people (for exam-
881 ple, the assistant) do not do this, but they

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476 602 614 [585] to obtain the bride price, but also in such cases as the building of a new big house. The va'u helps with the costs of a wedding feast. The rona get animals for their women, and the vina give animals for theirs. The return gifts go in the opposite direction: the rona give the gifts and the vina receive them.

I get the impression that there is more to it than just this simple roundabout exchange. Thus, a family has several relations of rona and vina, and the same ones will not always be involved in a given marriage. The ones not directly involved evidently help out, or can be called upon to help in a marriage in which they are not directly involved. But this is not too clear to me. Cornelius[1] says that the whole thing is quite a burden, as when they are called upon they must give this aid. The nearer the groups live, the more they are called upon. If they are far off, this is not too much of a burden.

582 563 There are no marriages here with foreigners, but in other places a few Manggarai women have married Chinese men. These are definitely not liked. They are "lost." They are outside the adat and the magic circle.

582 ●291 178 At the time of marriage, local males are sixteen (some are fifteen to twenty-one years old. The majority fall within the age groupings sixteen to seventeen. Females, at the time of their marriage, are fourteen to twenty years old. Formerly they married later. The youngest was about nineteen (I think this was for males). He says that this was because they "got clothes" when they were older. The boys did not even wear loincloths until about the age of sixteen. The girls wore only a little cloth from about the age of twelve on. This was because it was so hard to get clothes. They married only two to three years after getting clothes. The rich

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

Wae

582 people married earlier, because they got their
291 clothes earlier. Cornelius[1] says that until
178 about twenty-five years ago you could see quite old and young people going about naked. He remembers this. They do not like too young marriages (!). Also, they do not like them if the partners are too old.

[561] There are no age grades.

614 The Veol clan is very large, but there are clans which are even larger. Not a single clan has ever become extinct. However, some panga have. There is one such panga in Veol.

562 Formerly, the position of women was really
178 low, like that of slaves. Now they are a little
584 higher. Today there is a beginning in the direction of freer choice in marriage. Formerly all marriages were arranged by the elders.

611 The system here is all patrilineal, and there have been no changes.

162 In 1930, Cornelius[1] says, there were five thousand extra women in all Manggarai. I will check the records for the ratio.

587 The levirate obtains if there is a widow. If
768 there is no brother, her family must take her back, and pay one horse. The children stay with the dead father's family. If the levirate goes through, the man pays one horse.

[583] If a widow remarries to a man other than the brother of her deceased husband, the price must be paid to the family of the dead husband, and the "bonds" are "broken." The sororate is not required. The bride price is required in the case of a sororate. It is quite usual, because the sister of the deceased is accustomed to the widower and his children. The children of course stay with the father's family always.

586 There is not much divorce, but it did occur and still does.

[587] The main cause of divorce is discord, not barrenness, as in this case a man simply gets another wife.

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

We

567 are no more "slaves."

The dalu of Reo, who is the grandson of the last radja naib, or proconsul, of Bima in Reo (and thus he is sore that he is not the radja of Manggarai) when I asked him if he knew about the Do Donggo, said that they were actually descendants of Manggarai slaves who had escaped or who were let loose into the mountains of Sumbawa. I asked if they spoke the Manggarai language, and he said no, they had forgotten it. I suspect this, but it is interesting and might bear further looking into.

555 There is little chance for one to move within the social system here. The only chance I see is by becoming a guru, but so far no one from Veol or Ndung has become a guru. I note that there are a couple of policemen from here who have gone to Kupang and Ende. And the boy who went to Makassar they said had worked here for a Chinese. Then he just went along with him to Makassar. They agreed that he might make his way ahead there in the big world.

565 There are pusaka kris, and costumes, but
● 291 they appear mainly at feasts. One can see them
177 then. Otherwise, there is just about no dif-
554 ference in clothing between one class and another, and I get the impression that even formerly there was not much in this regard. However, I note that nowadays, for everyday appearances, here and everywhere I go, the new mark of the new middle class is a European shirt or dress, perhaps shoes, pants, etc. And of course most significant is a fountain pen and brief case. I can see this even when an old type lad has higher rank and his assistant is, for example, a Minahasa government worker. The latter, because of his education, patronizes the former, although he observes the proper respect indulgently. The dress marks the difference. Where the chief is also European

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565 291 177 554 dressed, e.g. the kapitan of Roworeke, he is not dominated by an "assistant." However, he dominates (cautiously as yet) the adat dressed mosa laki. This is interesting.

565 576 The Pongkor kraeng said that manners differ by class, and he may be right. However, I met a rough kraeng in Anam. And I think that he was from Todo too. Todo ones have a reputation of being more refined than those from Pongkor. All this probably does not mean very much.

[195] 576 178 Special words are used as part of the language of ceremonies and rites. However, this is merely a matter of occasion. In the old days real respect was shown for the Bima dignitaries, the kraengs, etc. When one approached a kampong where there was a kraeng, one had to dismount from one's horse and remove one's shoulder cloth down to the hips, where it was wound around, leaving the torso bare.

[689] If one did not show the proper respect formerly, a whole kampong might be made lampang. Thus, enslavement was the great mass punishment. Even today there is still a bit of feeling in regard to the rank of the kraeng, although it is nothing like what it was before.

554 621 614 There are grades of pride on the kampong level, and thus Veol feels a bit higher than its branch kampong Tjantjar. Also, Veol va'u feels a bit better than the incoming va'u Tjepang. But this is not a real formulization.

565 582 There are no approved marriages with mendi. This is still very bad. It is possible to marry with other kinds of "slaves" (e.g., lampang). There are a number of such cases now in Veol. Everyone, up to the radja, may marry everyone else except the mendi. There are plenty of such mixed marriages, and even the radja has a commoner for a wife. Here again one can see the ordinary quality of the radjas

291 similarity. The ikat work and weave patterns
184 of sarongs especially show certain differences.
302 In Sikka the children have the front half of
482 their hair shaved. Here also the women and children usually employ a tumpline.

[527] We[1] had one day in Roworeke as December 27
123 was Independence Day. We left for Badjawa on the latter, after a ceremony. As appears to be usual in Roworeke, which is a most annoying environment with constant requests for jeep rides and a general lack of respect, the kapitan and a large group had to be taken first to kilometer 10 where they had a garden. The kapitan and the kepala kampong pleaded that we come to haul them to Ende for the ceremony tomorrow, but we refused firmly. Today the kepala kampong
[292] wore a woman's felt hat with a chin string.
304 His wife who is pregnant had a tattoo over her arm, but it consisted of a name and random marks. I see this sort of thing everywhere. The old patterns seem to have gone. Today the thing to have tattooed is your name. Then we went back to Roworeke and went to work in the "office" which was full of flies and people.

621 The kampongs in Roworeke are as follows (the
361 area extends from kilometer posts 5 to 8):

1. Nuamere (kilometer 7; the kapitan's area)
2. Bita (across the road, north of Watu Roga)
3. Kopoëdo (inside from Nuamere)
4. Puüdjambu (same)
5. Roworeke Asal (same)
6. Ae Boü (along the road below Nuamere)
7. Ae Utu (along the road below Ae Boü)
8. Wolomere (across the road from Ae Utu; the secretary's area)
9. Tana Ri (kilometer 6)
10. Ndetu (kilometer 5; many Ende folk live here)

1 [i.e., Kennedy and Kattenburg--Analyst]

769 or ngadu. These and the bhaga, which I could
346 not see clearly but which are evidently merely minature rectangular houses for female ancestors, are notable features in just about all of the Ngada kampongs. Arndt[1] says the bhaga are empty, but I wonder. These two sorts of structures are erected by the prosperous folk to show respect and honor to their dead ancestors. Each one is given the name of the ancestor. Evidently, a person may build one for himself.

They are always built in pairs, one male and one female.

159 The very fat Radja of Ngada came to the
634 pasanggrahan in a uniform with shoulder epau-
224 lets, four stripes, and above this a cluster
[292] looking like a sunburst. The uniform was white and not unlike that of a KPM captain. He can't write, and is still a pagan, but he says that his children are Christian. He is very jolly and although tolerant I can see that he thinks little of the missions. He also criticized the forced labor which the Dutch demanded for road work when he was young. He said that anyone who wouldn't follow orders, including the radjas, was jailed or deposed. He is the man who joked about the Dutch and the "modern"
[595] Florenese. He never does much in administration, but likes to hunt and has many wives. He told us that he has many children and grandchildren. He gets in trouble with the government for burning the vegetation in deer hunts. He said it is necessary to kill deer as otherwise they would hurt the gardens. This land has practi-
311 cally no trees on it, but consists mostly of
[137] rolling naked hills as a result of overburning.
[133] Maybe the priest was right who said that he
[224] thought they were a hunting folk before and in those days they burned off the whole area in
[241] deer drives. Now they burn off the vegetable

[1] [See pp. 366-69 of Arndt as cited in bibliography, Cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

526 the heavy rain it started at two because it was
being played for a prize. One team was called
ATOM (Anak Tanah Orang Manggarai), and the
other was Pasir, from Reo. The latter team won.
526 Then the police played a team of radja kedua.
292 But the adat game in the other place (football
535 players, unlike barefoot players in Badjawa,
541 had real football shoes) was amazing. The men
721 wore horned head decorations, some of them
with plumes, and fancy coverings with plumes on
their bodies, as well as a kind of tail of
plumes stuck in the rear. They looked like
[171] Timorese warriors. This is the true ceremonial
dress of Manggarai, and they said they use them
in all kampongs for ceremonies. They had bells
on the rear which jingled as they danced with a
jigging step. It looked and sounded just like
American Indians at a powwow, except that the
dress was different. In addition, they yelled
from time to time. But the main point of the
[411] game is to try to strike the eye of the opponent
with a buffalo thong whip. The defender carries
a round buffalo hide shield and a curious bow-
shaped parrier which is quite long and looks
like a bunch of rattans tied together. The
whole thing gave the appearance of a war dance,
and perhaps it was.

I met the Radja and he said that they used
such costumes in war formerly. They also used
shields and even the parriers (it is not clear
[533] whether they also used the whips). The songs
too were especially like a cheering section
which kept up a chant from time to time answer-
ing the yells of the fighters, in chorus. The
fighting seemed formalized, and they danced
around jingling and kept this up until they were
ready to close in. Then even the approach was
formalized. As soon as a blow was made the at-
tacker ran away, as though he had taken a coup.
It looks to me like ritualized mock warfare with
whips.
[i.e., Children of the Land of the Manggarai. Analyst]

We These
534 drums and gongs were brought here from several
535 kampongs. They are the real tuan tanah articles.
[624] At one time three little girls danced with their eyes downcast and with very little movement of the feet. They wore slendang and nice dresses. The oldest man, looking like a nickel
[292] head Indian, had on an amazing costume with rich embroidery, and a silver fringe under his chin like a beard. For a head decoration he had a gilded horse. He also carried two kris, and each of the other men had one.

526 Now, at 6 P.M., after all day of it, taking turns, the men are still whipping. This is a tireless business.

609 We get the impression of real remoteness
178 here. These men are from the kampong nearby, and in this large bowl of distant mountains they are in their old dress doing the weird old practices and it has little to do with modern freedom and independence. When we go to such a place they look more at us than at the performers. We steal the show. But this is so all over Indonesia for whites. And they stare at us endlessly.

304 The tuan tanah of Weol has an elaborate set of patterns tattooed on his arms.

291 The Manggarai men often wear plaited, flat, songko-like headgear.

231 The horses here are important. Men and women
492 ride them, but mainly the former. The whole
[133] open land looks like the wild West. The priests use only horses here. They are small and spirited and bells are usually placed around their necks.

614 The next day we went again to Weol and asked
[624] if the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong were really brothers. If so, how could they belong to different panga. I found out that they are not brothers but merely distantly related.

The three panga names in Weol are the names

Wae

241 plow came in only five years ago. Still,
178 there are no wheeled vehicles. They cannot
[493] make them.

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178 cloths. Only the rich had pants or sarongs. They also had shoulder cloths. There has been no change in the dress for women. They used the same kilt down to just below the knees as they use today. Now, however, more women dress in sarongs and kebaya. Pants, shirts, kebaya and sarongs are carefully kept for special events. They are really one's "best," and they are not plentiful. Nevertheless, nearly everyone owns something of this sort.

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1:Alkema & Bezemer--444 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Timor OF20
Flores OF9

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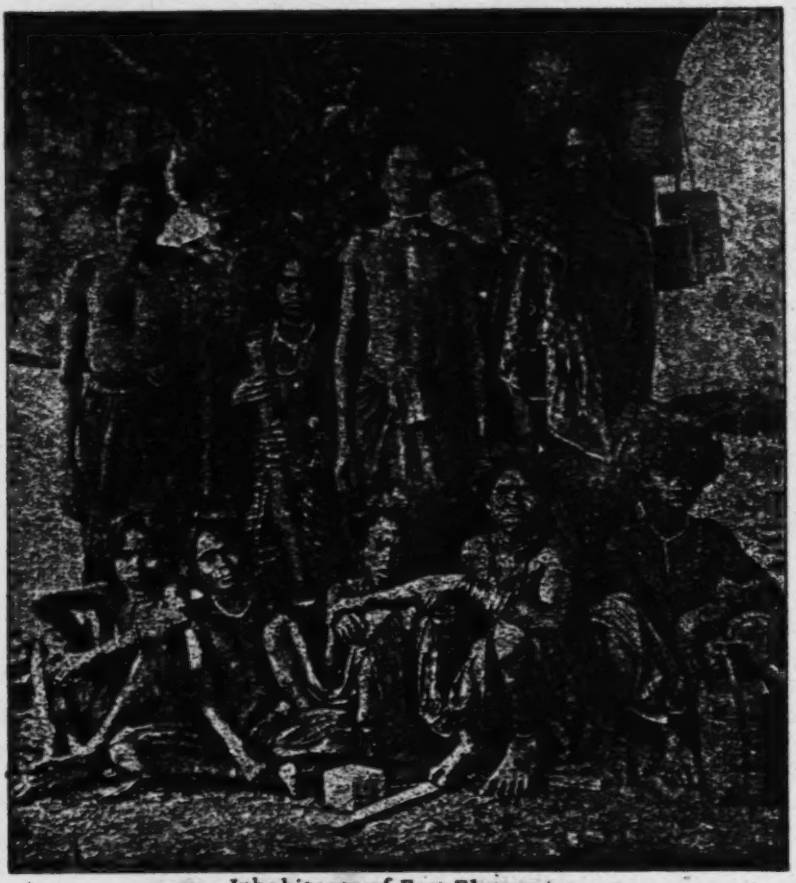

Inhabitants of East Flores
Photo. Kol. Instituut. Coll. Leroux.

T
[342]

On Timor, for instance, the old-fashioned type of house is round, while the newer type is oval, and the houses of more prominent people and princes are square. [Illustration appears here.] According to Grijzen (1), the houses in North Tatoen (Beloe) in particular are oval in form.

1. Mededeelingen omtrent Béloe of Midden-Timor [Information concerning Béloe or Central Timor], 1904, p. 44.

Aru OH5 Batak OD5
Bali OF7 Borneo OC1
Javanese OE5 Sumba OF17
Atjehnese OD4 Flores OF9
Minang Kabau OD10 Babar OF6

I 325 [567 cont.] this, especially in the archipelago, and that it also exists in the native languages. One speaks of yellow and red copper, but one should speak of brass, that is, an alloy of copper and zinc, and copper. Copper is mixed with zinc only because the pure metal is too soft to be durable and is very difficult to cast (2).

2. Loebèr, op. cit., p. 45.

I 301 174 5 Br Bt F Bb Ar 301 El 301 177 I 301

The oldest use of brass in the archipelago was probably in arm and ankle rings, both in spiral form and in the curved ring form with the ends slanting down. The Batak, Dajak, and Sumba women, as well as women from Flores and the Babar and Aru Islands, adorn themselves with them. They are also found on Bali, although they are gradually disappearing because of the importation of cheap and more expensive jewelry from Europe.

It is said that prominent women in the interior wear 12 to 15 brass rings, which weigh several kilograms (3).

3. Loebèr, op. cit., p. 7.

At M J 325

The brass foundries of Java and Sumatra (Padang Highlands, Atjeh, and the Batak lands) are the best known. On Java, kettles, basins, cuspidors, trays, dishes, betel boxes, and clasps are cast.

[568] There is very little modeling; it is limited to the casting of fruit models or an occasional bird form for wajang lamps. Actual artistry is expressed almost exclusively in the chasing on the cast and polished work. The handsomer the surface on which the chasing is done, the finer are the figures on it. In this connection, the work done to order in recent years is greatly inferior to the former art. [Illustration appears here.] The cast work itself is also very inferior in comparison with that of the old Hindu days.

I [172]

771 I see many old pagan men and women here, un-
●301 like in Leloba. They wear necklaces, earbells,
291 and ikat sarongs. I saw one old man getting gin
with bamboos. Many women here go about bare
breasted.

304 Most people have their teeth filed. They are
flattened.

621 The kepala kampong, who has sore eyes, say
124 that Leloba and Wailolong were combined in the
negri lama. There is still much intermarriage
and a very close relationship between these two.
Later, when I got to work with the guru and he
saw that I needed to get every name, etc., he
was scared and said that it is easy if he has to
do this in his kampong but hard in Wailolong.
Thus there is a big gulf between even nearby kam-
pongs. This question took us until 7:30 to talk
over and we are still in trouble.

124 I knew this morning that I should not take a
123 man who is not a member of my kampong, but he is
so good in other ways that I yielded to the priest.
115 It is clear that the main rule in this kind of
research is: never take an assistant who does
not live in the kampong. If you do he will not
be received easily and he does not know the local
gossip and intimate personal matters which would
prove helpful. Also, I can't sit in his house in
the kampong, and this is important for impres-
sions. I may be able to work out a compromise
at greater cost by using the Leloba guru but an-
other assistant in Wailolong. This is a mess and
from now on I follow my instinct on choosing an
assistant. We finally left after dark.

797 At noon today I went to the mission headquar-
ters to get gas. It alone has any, because V.
and W. has no trucks here. I can see that the
mission has everything. It is really the admin-
istration here. The pasanggrahan boy said that
the Catholics here do not use the name "Christ"
because this is taken to mean Protestant. In-

000 Wa trols this atomism.

124 The next day we went to the kampong, stopping
212 at Mudakaputu, and Watuwiti, and other places on
115 the way. These all seemed less good than Wailolong. For example, Riangkamiß had only two suku; others had none or only one korke, etc. At Leloba, the guru had another guru with him, and said that we must use him as he was not so good at writing. Then I asked about whether or not it might not be a good idea to use an assistant who lives in Wailolong, but they said nobody there can write well because most of them have attended only three grades of schooling. Then we went to the district chief, the kakang, who was formerly in Boschwesen, and who is a man with good authority. He said he would order the Wailolong folk to help and would put at my disposal a lad from Wailolong. Also, he said he would order them to let us use one of the rumah pemuda, or boys' houses, in Wailolong. We talked at length about the situation and it seems that there are really no people in Wailolong who are able to write well.

773 We talked about the way the old stories are
178 dying out and the young people won't listen any
872 more. The guru Roy and a few old men only are the ones who know very much. The guru is the best, and he knows all of the ancestors back for nineteen generations. He also complained about how the schools do not have books about Indonesia and the local affairs, but rather about Europe, which the children cannot understand.

632 We had taken in the jeep a lot of kepala suku
622 and kepala kampong of Wailolong to the kakang
693 where they were to have a case hearing. It is
614 evidently a case concerned with marriage. The kepala suku are clearly old style fellows. Several
[30] of the old men had long hair and necklaces and one had a tattoo on his chest. The kakang gave a
614 speech ordering them to help us. Then we went to

000 of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

582 583 237 614 621 The next day I questioned the guru about this, and after a long talk about kinship, which revealed that the mother's brother's daughter type of marriage is a regular type of thing, he came out with the classic statement that usually the tusks come back to the original payer in three moves. Thus, ideally this is a three-class, mother's brother's daughter, rotating system. However, the route of the tusks may be longer, involving up to twenty moves before they return to the original giver. But they try to make the circle as fast as possible, doing it in three moves if they can. Naturally, this is not always possible. We examined some cases of possible long routes, and he said it might be true that it would take up to twenty moves before the tusks returned. They try never to let the tusks go outside the kampong, and this may be why probably there is not much extrakampong marriage. But even if they did, they could close the circle by careful planning. He said, just as Wouden[1] might, that the mother's brother's daughter marriage and the bride price and the sib system are all part of a complete system. We will have more of this later.

114 Today, Friday, December 23, we started in on the Vatter[2] book which the mission lent to me. It is amazingly correct.

Among the corrections, etc., are the following: [304] tattooing against illness is not done in Leloba; [775] a tattoo mark is needed to be recognized on entering the deadland; [301] feather decorations are used only festively; [302] the special woman's horsetail coiffure is not used here any longer; [755] cotton is not placed in the ears for illness (55)[2]; [614] one of the sibs from Sina Djawa is Lewonuhah; [784] the term suku wung is used here (74)[2] wung having the sense of taboo.

[1] [See pp.19-21, 85-88 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the relationships linking the individuals in this area became more and more distant. Thus they gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed, since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols, showing the effect of having worked with van Bekkum.[1] The priests try to discourage mother's brother's daughter marriages, but they always give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get the idea that the priests here are less firm regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka. This is probably because it is a relatively new field, and the Catholics go slowly and gradually in destroying what is old. The dodge they use here is special dispensation. This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price, is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with his wife's family until the bride price is paid. This may take ten years or he may never pay the bride price, but the children belong to his va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
177

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng; see also bibliography, cat. 113 — Analyst]

582 firm in stating that one had ~~to marry~~ within the
565 same class, of which there are three: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata hoß, but I forget the terms for the others.
[587] They say that a lower man may never marry up, but that a higher man may marry down for a
[567] second wife. They are more open here about slavery than I have found elsewhere.

142 The people are quite handsome and many of
144 them are of the proto-Malay type. There are relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay element predominates, and the East Flores Negroid types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars. There is also a great difference in the color of the skin, many people being quite light-skinned
[515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here
[197] say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not the Soa folk.

291 The clothes of the local people are shabby and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are
304 universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears.
[276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments
[301] in their ears today. Only the holes are noted. We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most men have their names or initials as well as figures tattooed on their forearms. This name
[177] tattoo is quite general.) (Perhaps this is the secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy tattoo.")

764 The burials here, I think, and certainly in
565 Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners, but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

632 The districts here are called kepala mereschappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan. This one is evidently Naru.

Wer

614 ration began. At the head of the group sat the
241 kelake of the Leworita ama doing the rite. On
796 one side sat two old men, one from Leworita and
231 the other from Hurint, who prayed. They were
merely the oldest and cleverest ones there.
[301] They were real pagans, with bobbed hair, red
necklaces of beads, and silver earrings. One
had a tattoo (relatively young fellow). One
[769] prayed steadily, giving generations of Leworita
and calling all these ancestors in turn, and at
each generation the other chimed in with a
chant. The rhythm was fine. On the other side
sat the three; the man from Lewodoreng Waru'ing
holding the head of the pig (as this ama has
the Kottang function in this suku); the man
from Engamaking holding the feet (as this ama
has the Kelen function in this suku); and the
man from Hurint, who cut, as usual.

178 To the side from these sat two old women
562 who were the tuno wudjo, one from Leworita and
796 one from Lewodoreng (they needed two because
887 the former was giving the rite, but it was on
241 the latter's ground). In the old days it was
614 always a young girl virgin who acted as tuno
wudjo, but there are no more in these groups
who are still pagan, so they have to use old
women. I can see the same thing on the schedule:
in Wailolong there are some tuno wudjo who are
very young (e.g., three or four years old) as
they are not yet Christians, but others are very
old pagan women. Thus, the pagans are making
the best of it, but what can they do when the
old women are dead? The answer is found in
Leloba, where they no longer are able to have
rites. They have given up the suku and ama
rites, but still have the kampong agricultural
ceremonies. First, however, a mass is held in
[769] the chapel, and then they say prayers, but are
allowed to recite the names of the ancestors.
They no longer use the tuno wudjo, however.

R

243 he came back, he at once made a sawah, and the
177 others saw that it was good. Now, everyone
788 plants at least one sawah. Formerly there were no sawah. This is an excellent case of acculturation via the hadj.

412 Formerly the people here did not use hoes
177 or shovels. These came in at the time of the Dutch entry. Before that they had an iron tipped digging stick only. There are no carts.
493 They thought about my proposal for a group to buy one as an investment for hiring. Perhaps there is too little money even to pay for a bicycle here.

352 There are no tables, chairs, or lamps, ex-
354 cept in rare houses like the kapitan's. The
178 only new thing is the kerosene wick, not the lamp. It is called pelita.

342 The house type has changed here from a
178 larger to a smaller structure, and many of the old style roofs are still to be seen.

291 Women now use bought cloth to make thin
178 kebaya. Formerly they made blouses of homespun, but these are all gone. Men and women still wear homespun sarongs. Men wear this alone and are usually bare above the waist. If a man wears a selendang, he is a big man. If he wears a shirt, this is really very slick attire. There were no shoes here at all before, and few now.

301 Men and women wore earrings before, the men
753 ones of gold (look like silver) which the pagans still wear, and the women ones of a different
[304] style. The assistant's ears are pierced, but this is no longer done to the boys, only to the girls. Beads are worn by men and women on festive occasions. These are great ceremonial objects and are worn by the people who are proud of them. If one is not entitled to them, he will become sick if he wears a string of beads.

R

000 be, the assistant says. Some cotton fluff is
438 sold in the pasar. Thread, however, is not
283 usually bought any more. It is rare and expensive. Thus the wheels and even the hand spindles are busy everywhere.

443 In addition to the market places mentioned before, there is another market in the cycle here. It occurs on the seventh day left out in the arrangement described before (or rather, on the sixth, as there is no market on Sunday), and this is on Thursday, I think. It is at Magekoba, on the way back from Wolowaru, and in the hills above kilometer 33.

[178] The whole market business is new, starting during the last war only. Formerly they did not have a single pasar.

436 Before the Dutch came there was no money
177 except the Portuguese dinar, which was in gold
[301] of various denominations. The assistant has heard of most of these only, as all of them have long since been melted down for ornaments. He remembers that the one like a silver rupiah was worth about fl. 12.50, and the ringgit sized one was worth fl. 25.00. There were also bigger coins and others which were smaller. There were also lead Portuguese coins, with holes in them like a gobang [a two and a half sen piece]. These too have disappeared because they were melted down to mix with gold to make an alloy.

436 I note that these people stare and stare at
727 my watch and watch band, and probably this is one thing (gold) which they might steal, as it
[301] is irresistible. I note that the women still have gold decorations. Thus the assistant's wife has a pretty good bracelet. There were big troubles when the NICA came in and the people had only Japanese money. Thousands of rupiah were lost in those times. There are just about no more silver coins here. Occa-

Wae

241 plow came in only five years ago. Still,
178 there are no wheeled vehicles. They cannot
[493] make them.

291 Fifty years ago men dressed only in loin-
178 cloths. Only the rich had pants or sarongs. They also had shoulder cloths. There has been no change in the dress for women. They used the same kilt down to just below the knees as they use today. Now, however, more women dress in sarongs and kebaya. Pants, shirts, kebaya and sarongs are carefully kept for special events. They are really one's "best," and they are not plentiful. Nevertheless, nearly everyone owns something of this sort.

There is probably not a single pair of shoes in the two kampongs.

[287] Formerly, a long time ago, they used tapa. And in the Japanese time the people made tapa again. They also made wooden hats. The tapa making was pre-Dutch.

In remoter areas a few loincloths are still
[301] seen. So are earrings, rings, and bracelets
[304] (no leglets). Men never puncture the ear lobe.

302 The style of cutting the hair short for men
301 came in only twenty years ago. Formerly the men were great for beads. Now they are of
292 little importance. The festive ceremonial clothes I saw in Ruteng on the dancers are pusaka. They are mostly men's pusaka. The horns are made of buffalo hide.

304 Tattooing (tikam) is brand new. It came in
178 only ten to fifteen years ago and is now going out. It was done by men who learned how, that's all. However, it is just about gone, and there were not very many people who had tattoos at any time.

304 Women always puncture their ear lobes. Both
178 sexes file their teeth, and this must be done
562 before marriage. Some young people (for exam-
881 ple, the assistant) do not do this, but they

1:Alkema & Bezemer--615 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Batak OD5 Borneo OC1
Redjang-Lampung OD12 Gorontalo OC4
New Guinea OJ1 Java OE1
Minangkabau OD10 Flores OF9
Aru OH5

I 291 G Br 291 764 F J A Br 302 Bt R 301 302 N 291 301

[549 cont.]

and the pajoeng, whose shaft and busks are made of bamboo. Dajak women even weave articles of clothing out of the bark of young bamboo, and the Minahasa have materials woven out of bamboo fibers, which are used at the burials of lesser people. Bamboo combs are found in various forms on Java, Borneo, Flores, and the Aru Islands. Bamboo hairpins, decorated with pieces of cloth, are worn by young girls in Batak lands, and headbands of bamboo are worn in western Borneo and in the Lampoengs.

[550] On New Guinea bamboo is used for a penis-covering, and on the same island, around Humboldt Bay, nose ornaments of bamboo are used by the Papuans.

I 482

The role of bamboo in daily work can be understood only if one realizes the great elastic bearing-power of its long, tough stalks. [Illustration appears here.] Bamboo carrying-baskets are transported hanging on a pikoelan, the bamboo carrying-pole. Great quantities of products are sent downstream on bamboo rafts and sold with the rafts. Fruit is taken to market in bamboo baskets, and chickens are transported in great baskets; the Chinese and the non-Mohammedans who may do it transport pigs in baskets that cover the front part of the body. On the sawahs that are not irrigated by technical irrigation installations, bamboo retaining walls are used to dam the water, as well as to distribute it over the sawahs. [Illustration appears here.]

I 312 243

M 312 243

Another ingenious arrangement is the bamboo kintjir, which is used in the Padang Highlands to bring the water to the rice fields that lie at a higher level than the river streaming by. The kintjir is a water wheel kept in motion by the running water by means of bamboo tubes that lie in a certain direction around the circumference of the wheel, scooping the water from the river and, coming to the top through the rotary motion of the wheel, emptying it into a bamboo drain.

J 412

The rice knife on Java is attached to a bamboo handle.

I 482

Heavy burdens that must be carried by several persons are transported by means of a number of stout bamboo poles bound together in such a way that a large number of bearers can share the weight.

R

764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I must find out how the funerals are run now. Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.
[797] The assistant has finished five grades of schooling in Ndona.

291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
178 men (old style) although this is changing fast, a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
● [302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
286 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
531 looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the designs are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
124 I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan. Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they have a holiday whenever there is the slightest excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I must find out about later, is how the kepala kampong is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some re-
624 marks about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan and others are not. I must get this kepala kampong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

302 Kattenburg in a mountain kampong reported that he had seen a girl wearing lipstick. It was betel stain to which he is not used.

487 We left Ende for Larantuka on Tuesday, December 20, and after a long run through the mountains we reached Maumeri at noon. Then we went on an even harder run to Larantuka. This took all afternoon. The rain in the hills was bad. We passed through Tanai Ai and Lewotobi areas without knowing it. The land was very empty. I suddenly found that I was in Konga.

[485] Larantuka is the end of the world, and the pasanggrahan there was pretty primitive.

[443] It is hard to buy anything here in Larantuka.
[377] There is no electricity except in the mission,
797 and the latter runs the town and everything else of a western nature evidently. The place has an air of having been asleep for a long time. Behind it is the Ili Mandiri, the storied mountain of the ancestors of the Larantuka people. The
144 town is a mixture of natives and descendants of intermixed Portuguese as well as Malays from Malaya who came in a long time ago with the Portuguese. One can see all sorts of physical types. Outside the town along the coast is a
361 Mohammedan kampong, Kampong Baru, but there are few Mohammedans elsewhere. Most kampongs are behind the mountain. There are also a few on the way to Lewotobi.

632 The next day we started out to see the area
361 behind the mountain, especially Leloba, where Vatter[1] worked. We passed through several kampongs of rather large but shabby look. This was especially true of Mudakaputu (seat of kakang of Mudakaputu formerly, although he is now at one of the other places, in Riangkamië, I think), Watuwiti, Riangkamië, and Wailolong. These are all together in one kakangschap (called gemeente here too by the people, and it is also one adat
632 area). This is the Blakang-Gunung. The Radja

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

000 of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

582 583 237 614 621 The next day I questioned the guru about this, and after a long talk about kinship, which revealed that the mother's brother's daughter type of marriage is a regular type of thing, he came out with the classic statement that usually the tusks come back to the original payer in three moves. Thus, ideally this is a three-class, mother's brother's daughter, rotating system. However, the route of the tusks may be longer, involving up to twenty moves before they return to the original giver. But they try to make the circle as fast as possible, doing it in three moves if they can. Naturally, this is not always possible. We examined some cases of possible long routes, and he said it might be true that it would take up to twenty moves before the tusks returned. They try never to let the tusks go outside the kampong, and this may be why probably there is not much extrakampong marriage. But even if they did, they could close the circle by careful planning. He said, just as Wouden[1] might, that the mother's brother's daughter marriage and the bride price and the sib system are all part of a complete system. We will have more of this later.

114 Today, Friday, December 23, we started in on the Vatter[2] book which the mission lent to me. It is amazingly correct.

Among the corrections, etc., are the following: [304] tattooing against illness is not done in Leloba; [775] a tattoo mark is needed to be recognized on entering the deadland; [301] feather decorations are used only festively; [302] the special woman's horsetail coiffure is not used here any longer; [755] cotton is not placed in the ears for illness (55)[2]; [614] one of the sibs from Sina Djawa is Lewonuhah; [784] the term suku wung is used here (74)[2] wung having the sense of taboo.

[1] [See pp. 19-21, 85-88 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

622 kelake. Evidently the kepala kampong have been
624 superimposed on the other system.
614 The purely administrative chiefs are:

Kepala Kampong Kottang (he is the kepala kampong)
Kepala Kampong Kelen (IIb)
Kepala Kampong Hurint (IIIc)

The latter two have this as their only titled rank. If I am right that the kepala kampong is also the kepala kampong Kottang, then there are really sixteen officers, i.e., actual men in office, but the total number of offices is twenty-three. Some men have more than one office. When
[788] there are ceremonies, the praying (marang) is
[887] done, not by the man from suku Marang, but by the oldest man who is clever. Here it is a man
[756] named Bugis, from IIa. He is also the molang, or medicine man. Can it be that often the two go together? The guru, as noted above, says that even in Leloba, where they have a suku named Marang, this is not the praying suku at the rites. The chief of the Marang suku is merely a hander around of betel. In Vatter's time in Leloba the one who prayed was Laba, says the guru.

614 Note that an alternative term for Ama is Mela. Thus one can say, for example, either Ama Hurint or Mela Hurint.

693 Yesterday we met the chiefs of Wailolong.
624 They were at the kakang's office for a marriage
302 case. They were partly made up of short-haired Christians, but there were also pagan longhairs. I must get a photograph of all of them together with the information on who they are. Probably the administrative ones are the modern and the adat ones are the old pagans.

614 For the kepala suku they always have an old
887 man if possible. If no old man is available, however, they may have to take a younger one.

614 I must get on to the method of choosing the
622 & [See bibliography, cat. 113 —Analyst]

291 similarity. The ikat work and weave patterns
184 of sarongs especially show certain differences.
302 In Sikka the children have the front half of
482 their hair shaved. Here also the women and children usually employ a tumpline.

[527] We[1] had one day in Roworeke as December 27
123 was Independence Day. We left for Badjawa on the latter, after a ceremony. As appears to be usual in Roworeke, which is a most annoying environment with constant requests for jeep rides and a general lack of respect, the kapitan and a large group had to be taken first to kilometer 10 where they had a garden. The kapitan and the kepala kampong pleaded that we come to haul them to Ende for the ceremony tomorrow, but we refused firmly. Today the kepala kampong
[292] wore a woman's felt hat with a chin string.
304 His wife who is pregnant had a tattoo over her arm, but it consisted of a name and random marks. I see this sort of thing everywhere. The old patterns seem to have gone. Today the thing to have tattooed is your name. Then we went back to Roworeke and went to work in the "office" which was full of flies and people.

621 The kampongs in Roworeke are as follows (the
361 area extends from kilometer posts 5 to 8):

1. Nuamere (kilometer 7; the kapitan's area)
2. Bita (across the road, north of Watu Roga)
3. Kopoëdo (inside from Nuamere)
4. Puüdjambu (same)
5. Roworeke Asal (same)
6. Ae Boü (along the road below Nuamere)
7. Ae Utu (along the road below Ae Boü)
8. Wolomere (across the road from Ae Utu; the secretary's area)
9. Tana Ri (kilometer 6)
10. Ndetu (kilometer 5; many Ende folk live here)

1 [i.e., Kennedy and Kattenburg --Analyst]

574 He furnished us with fair food, rice and chicken, and coffee, and then fixed up the beds without mosquito nets in one room. The son of
872 the mandur of the pasanggrahan of Badjawa was with us, on his way to school in Ende, and he had a little packet of clothes, a canteen and a ukulele. The latter was in sad condition.
484 He slept on the floor on a mat. The next morning we just about made it across the river with our goods lifted by the men in order to lighten the jeep. This was a hard experience, and we decided to make the western run only once
132 more, at the end. This rainy season is too hard here and it is dangerous because there is always a risk of delay from floods or landslides. Ende seemed luxurious after this run to the west.

The assistant was in Ende for a tax meeting
124 of kapitan, and after noon I took him and the kapitan and the latter's servant to Roworeke. They had to work on taxation in the afternoon, so I decided to start in tomorrow morning. Roworeke, as usual, is always troublesome. The jeep was overcrowded with many riders. I took them out, and came back with a load.

Incidental notes on Flores: We saw the use
482 of a tumpline in Sikka. This is true also for Nageh and Ngada. They use this for carrying loads especially in Sikka and also for betel ingredients in Ngada. They use small plaited bags.

Girls in Ngada and Nageh have half-shaved
● 302 tonsures. This is not true of all, but certainly of many of the girls. There are variations in style, including topknots. I note the latter on boys too.

721 A Ngada man denied head-hunting at any time
346 and said that there is no head under the new
231 ndaru, but rather a red dog, a pig, and a cock, all buried alive. But ENI says that there was
[554] head-hunting and that Ngada heroes had goatskin bands under their knees formerly.

R

304 Formerly almost everyone filed his teeth
178 down to the gums. Now this is optional, although most of them still file their teeth down a little for evenness. No more do they file them down to the gums. Women do not file them until they are married. Then they may or may not file them. Before, it was required. There is no specialist to do this. It is simply done by a clever person, with a
●[302] stone. The teeth were blackened with varnish before, but now they let them color up with betel (and how they do). Tattooing was a matter of choice formerly as it is today. The tattooing of personal names, of course, is recent, and it is very frequently seen. There are no special beliefs in this regard. There was never any cutting here.

123 The next day I had to bring several people
181 to the hospital, and I became irritated and scolded at the way these people always pile in whenever I take any one of them anywhere. Even later today, just when I was thinking the assistant was going well, he made me the proposition that I should give him a tanda mata (remembrance, so he won't forget me) when I leave. He suggested a briefcase. He was very "sly" about it, but I can see that it is pure grasping. And they are too dumb to realize that I see through them. They think I can't see what they're doing.

We worked at the pasanggrahan and later took
164 the patients back to Roworeke. The assistant's wife has a three-week swelling, which looks like a bad bone condition, on the brow to the side. These are unhealthy folk. We brought
754 back the assistant's "foster mother," an old
756 woman who had been in the hospital for a week for some blood trouble. She is a bisa mari, a sorcerer, and the best one in Roworeke. She is also a dukun, and the folk call on her all

R

302 (Note: One thing he mentioned as brand new
178 is the matter of haircuts. In the old days they shaved the heads of the young, and some children still have these shaved heads. But the older people had their hair done in a long bob.)

624 All of the adat posts are the same today as they were before, and Migo said that indeed the most important man is the mosa laki mere, even now (aside from the kapitan, perhaps). The only post which is no longer kept up is the non-hereditary panglima perang, or atambani.

634 First there is the Radja of Ende. Then
565 come the families or lineages of the mosa laki,
614 which are strictly hereditary, in an eldest son
632 succession. Thus the eldest of the eldest of the eldest, etc. This forms a kind of hereditary nobility, although it is not considered such. Aside from this, the suku have certain prerogatives now, and even before this was probably the case. And this leads to an important correction: It is true that any male member of the suku Odja or Rewarangga, and of these only, can become kapitan. He is chosen for cleverness (!). The Reandona suku has been trying to get a man into the kapitan's post for a long time, but unless Odja and Rewarangga agree, this is impossible. It is their business. This is why he originally wrote that every member of the Odja suku is "bangsawan." He thinks this is true in the other districts, but he is not sure. Certain suku have the pre-eminence in each district.

622 The kepala kampong post also must be within
614 the suku Odja, and the best man gets it. He thinks this is the same for other kampongs. Thus in Worowai, the kepala kampong must be from the Rewarangga suku, etc. Thus even the elective offices must be within a suku which

We

241 plow came in only five years ago. Still,
178 there are no wheeled vehicles. They cannot
[493] make them.

291 Fifty years ago men dressed only in loin-
178 cloths. Only the rich had pants or sarongs. They also had shoulder cloths. There has been no change in the dress for women. They used the same kilt down to just below the knees as they use today. Now, however, more women dress in sarongs and kebaya. Pants, shirts, kebaya and sarongs are carefully kept for special events. They are really one's "best," and they are not plentiful. Nevertheless, nearly everyone owns something of this sort.

There is probably not a single pair of shoes in the two kampongs.

[287] Formerly, a long time ago, they used tapa. And in the Japanese time the people made tapa again. They also made wooden hats. The tapa making was pre-Dutch.

In remoter areas a few loincloths are still
[301] seen. So are earrings, rings, and bracelets
[304] (no leglets). Men never puncture the ear lobe.

● 302 The style of cutting the hair short for men came in only twenty years ago. Formerly the
301 men were great for beads. Now they are of little importance. The festive ceremonial
292 clothes I saw in Ruteng on the dancers are pusaka. They are mostly men's pusaka. The horns are made of buffalo hide.

304 Tattooing (tikam) is brand new. It came in
178 only ten to fifteen years ago and is now going out. It was done by men who learned how, that's all. However, it is just about gone, and there were not very many people who had tattoos at any time.

304 Women always puncture their ear lobes. Both
178 sexes file their teeth, and this must be done
562 before marriage. Some young people (for exam-
881 ple, the assistant) do not do this, but they

2: Wilken--278 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

New Guinea	OJ1	Savu	OF15	Malays	ANE
Borneo	OC1	Alor	OF5	Javanese	OE5
Mentawi	OD9	Flores	OF9	Lesser Sundas	OF1
		Timor	OF 20	Bali	OF7
		Java	OE1	Roti	OF14
		Redjang-Lampong	OD9	Sumba	OF17

[235 cont.]

I 304 In most instances, as far as the front surface of the teeth is concerned, the treatment of the surface is limited to grinding it down until the enamel is removed, sometimes for no other purpose than to facilitate the blackening of the teeth.

MI Js 304 413 Besides the methods named above, there is another, whereby the teeth are ground so as to be pointed or triangular until they look like a saw.

The tools for tooth-filing, at least among the Javanese and the Malays, are generally a little saw, a little chisel, a file, a little hammer, and a piece of stone, sometimes only the last. With the first, the teeth are shaped as desired, and the rough edges are ground flat with the stone. If only the latter is used, then the whole operation is completed with it.

T F A LS Bl R Sm SV 304 We want to discuss this subject in some detail.

Filing the teeth is quite common among the inhabitants of the Lesser Sunda Islands, for example, on Bali, Roti, Sumba, Savu, the Solor Islands, the southern part of central Flores, and Timor. Sometimes it is a matter of filing the teeth even, but then again, as on Savu and Sumba, the teeth are filed down to the gum.

J 304 Filing the teeth to a point, with or without treatment of the front surface, is found primarily in a few residencies of Java and here and there among various tribes, although it is not as common as filing the teeth even. On Java, filing the teeth to a point involves making the lower edge of the teeth pointed, while the front surface is treated in such a manner that the enamel is only partly removed, producing a relief that is called widji-timun = cucumber pip.

Mt Rl Ml Br I NG 304 The simple filing to a point, that is, filing the teeth down to a triangular point, is more common. It is found among the Oetanata on the southwest coast [236] of New Guinea, among some Negrito tribes, some Malayan peoples of the Philippines, fairly generally among the Dajak tribes of Sarawak, among the Malays of the region XII Kota, the Redjang of Lebong on Sumatra, and among the Mentawei Islanders.

I [241 cont.]
304 As for the rest, all the peoples of the archipelago have the custom of piercing the ears.

I Bt Bh F NG 304 Some peoples not only pierce the ear lobe, but also the rim of the ear. This is done, for example, among the Karo-Batak (5), the Kajan [Kayan] (6), the pagans of Flores (7), the

5. De Haan, Verh. Bat. Gen. v. K. en W., Vol. XXXVIII, p. 8.

6. Gerlach, op. cit., p. 302.

7. Weber, Ethnologische Notizen über Flores und Celebes, p. 18, Pl. IV, 3.

Papuans of Geelvink Bay (8), and others.

8. Goudswaard, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

I 301 304 482 The holes in the ear lobes, of course, serve for wearing ornaments of the kind we have already discussed. Sometimes the native uses the holes for a more practical purpose, for example, as we have noted, for storing cigars (9).

9. Chapter 2, pp. 45-50.

MP 304 171 The custom no longer exists in Polynesia. According to the old travel-accounts, however, it must have existed there in former times (10). In 1722 on Easter Island Behrens found that

10. Wyatt Gill, Myths and songs from the S. Pacific, pp. 126-127.

the ear lobes were provided with large holes and that they hung down to the shoulders. When Chamiso made his trip, [242] the custom no longer existed and only the old men had pierced ears. On New Zealand, Cook found that the ears of the Maori were pierced and the holes were as wide as a finger (1). In Melanesia

1. Waitz, Anthropologie, Vol. VI, p. 27.

R

291 for sarongs and slendangs [shawls worn over the
286 head or the chest]. I see plenty of tooth fil-
●304 ing here. And nearly all the women, young and
276 old, have the awful looking betel teeth. The
older men have the same betel teeth. The younger
men seem to chew betel less, and I can see that
their teeth are evened but are not filed down.

304 I saw a tattoo on the back of a woman and was
178 told that it is fairly common all over here. (I
later noticed a young girl in Roworeke with an
initial tattooed on her arm.) This tattooing,
however, is no longer significant here. The de-
sign I saw looked like a kind of anchor design

291 Many of the women here, mainly the old but
several of the young, go about with bare breasts.
When working this seems to be quite common.

252 I saw several women pounding corn. They use
412 a small round tree trunk mortar, and for a pestle
462 a mere pole. The corn is small and brownish.
They call it djagung Solor or mata kuching, and
it does look like small cats' eyes [the meaning
of the latter term, in Indonesian].

231 This area is full of goats. There are also
many pigs and a fair number of buffaloes, but I
saw no cattle. There are many small horses here
too. High in the mountains I saw an amazing
band of fine looking horses who had gone wild
after escaping. They can never be recaptured.
I was told that there are deer, wild pigs, and
wild buffaloes here.

776 At the lakes I asked if it might not be a
fine place for nitu and suwanggi, and they looked
sharply. They reverted to this cautiously and
asked me if I could see the spirits. They are
going to be cagey about pagan ideas, but when
they are caught off-guard they agree that there
are probably spirits in this mysterious place.

361 The plazas are of pounded earth, bare, with
houses scattered about and the most conspicuous
things being the stone graves.

Wae
000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass
thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in
area where there is a large bench for sleeping.
There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the
roof and often in front too. Here sit the women
while they work. If there are two families to a
house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
787 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel
as in other kampongs. The church to which every-
one here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamiä, but
since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are stan-
dard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are
nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have
brown hair or hair which is partly brown.
[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk
along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-
bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue
and black mostly. The designs are even poorer
than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used
for men and for women. They say that a cloth
takes a year to make.
463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many
men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
● 304 few old people, it seems especially the women,
have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

304 was more common formerly. The tattooing occurs on the arms, face, and chest. In Tandjung Bunga there is a lot of tattooing. Sometimes this is done on the back of the calves too. The young people do it no longer. However, the guru's daughter has her name tattooed on her arm.

342 The houses have upright sticks at the ridge ends, but the guru says this is of no significance.

764 Stones called nubanara are all over the kampong, lying flat mainly. I wonder if maybe these could have been used for graves in this kampong before, because the nubanara are scattered like the graves in Ende.

346 178 535 368 At the top of the kampong is the korke of the kampong, and in front is a nama, or rectangular dance place. This consists of a platform built up of stones. Some of the stones should stand (four, one for each of the main suku; but the guru says there may be more than four standing). This appears in Vatter's photo of another nama. These former uprights here have fallen down and he says the people do not bother to erect them again. This is a sign of the steady breakdown of paganism. On the dance place there is an old drum left standing. It is evidently no longer used. The korke is empty, and has merely a bale-bale under a roof. No walls are left. The roof has not been repaired, which again may show the breakdown. Near the korke is a large house of [614] the tuan tanah of the main suku, and near this is the korke of his suku. In addition to the kampong korke, there is one for each suku, but no nama in front of these. These korke are used by the kepala suku, who is also the tuan tanah of the suku, for suku rites regarding rain illness, etc. The main korke is used for kampong rites. [574] When a feast is thus given, the big men sit on the bale-bale in the korke, and the dancers per- [534] form in front to the music of a drum and gong.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

771 I see many old pagan men and women here, un-
301 like in Leloba. They wear necklaces, earbells,
291 and ikat sarongs. I saw one old man getting gin
with bamboos. Many women here go about bare
breasted.

304 Most people have their teeth filed. They are
flattened.

621 The kepala kampong, who has sore eyes, say
124 that Leloba and Wailolong were combined in the
negri lama. There is still much intermarriage
and a very close relationship between these two.
Later, when I got to work with the guru and he
saw that I needed to get every name, etc., he
was scared and said that it is easy if he has to
do this in his kampong but hard in Wailolong.
Thus there is a big gulf between even nearby kam-
pongs. This question took us until 7:30 to talk
over and we are still in trouble.

124 I knew this morning that I should not take a
123 man who is not a member of my kampong, but he is
115 so good in other ways that I yielded to the priest.
It is clear that the main rule in this kind of
research is: never take an assistant who does
not live in the kampong. If you do he will not
be received easily and he does not know the local
gossip and intimate personal matters which would
prove helpful. Also, I can't sit in his house in
the kampong, and this is important for impres-
sions. I may be able to work out a compromise
at greater cost by using the Leloba guru but an-
other assistant in Wailolong. This is a mess and
from now on I follow my instinct on choosing an
assistant. We finally left after dark.

797 At noon today I went to the mission headquar-
ters to get gas. It alone has any, because V.
and W. has no trucks here. I can see that the
mission has everything. It is really the admin-
istration here. The pasanggrahan boy said that
the Catholics here do not use the name "Christ"
because this is taken to mean Protestant. In-

000 of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

582 583 237 614 621 The next day I questioned the guru about this, and after a long talk about kinship, which revealed that the mother's brother's daughter type of marriage is a regular type of thing, he came out with the classic statement that usually the tusks come back to the original payer in three moves. Thus, ideally this is a three-class, mother's brother's daughter, rotating system. However, the route of the tusks may be longer, involving up to twenty moves before they return to the original giver. But they try to make the circle as fast as possible, doing it in three moves if they can. Naturally, this is not always possible. We examined some cases of possible long routes, and he said it might be true that it would take up to twenty moves before the tusks returned. They try never to let the tusks go outside the kampong, and this may be why probably there is not much extrakampong marriage. But even if they did, they could close the circle by careful planning. He said, just as Wouden[1] might, that the mother's brother's daughter marriage and the bride price and the sib system are all part of a complete system. We will have more of this later.

114 Today, Friday, December 23, we started in on the Vatter[2] book which the mission lent to me. It is amazingly correct.

Among the corrections, etc., are the following: [304] tattooing against illness is not done in Leloba; [775] a tattoo mark is needed to be recognized on entering the deadland; [301] feather decorations are used only festively; [302] the special woman's horsetail coiffure is not used here any longer; [755] cotton is not placed in the ears for illness (55)[2]; [614] one of the sibs from Sina Djawa is Lewonuhah; [784] the term suku wung is used here (74)[2] wung having the sense of taboo.

[1] [See pp.19-21, 85-88 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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291 similarity. The ikat work and weave patterns
184 of sarongs especially show certain differences.
302 In Sikka the children have the front half of
482 their hair shaved. Here also the women and children usually employ a tumpline.

[527] We had one day in Roworeke as December 27
123 was Independence Day. We left for Badjawa on the latter, after a ceremony. As appears to be usual in Roworeke, which is a most annoying environment with constant requests for jeep rides and a general lack of respect, the kapitan and a large group had to be taken first to kilometer 10 where they had a garden. The kapitan and the kepala kampong pleaded that we come to haul them to Ende for the ceremony tomorrow, but we refused firmly. Today the kepala kampong
[292] wore a woman's felt hat with a chin string.
304 His wife who is pregnant had a tattoo over her arm, but it consisted of a name and random marks. I see this sort of thing everywhere. The old patterns seem to have gone. Today the thing to have tattooed is your name. Then we went back to Roworeke and went to work in the "office" which was full of flies and people.

621 The kampongs in Roworeke are as follows (the
361 area extends from kilometer posts 5 to 8):

1. Nuamere (kilometer 7; the kapitan's area)
2. Bita (across the road, north of Watu Roga)
3. Kopoëdo (inside from Nuamere)
4. Puüdjambu (same)
5. Roworeke Asal (same)
6. Ae Boü (along the road below Nuamere)
7. Ae Utu (along the road below Ae Boü)
8. Wolomere (across the road from Ae Utu; the secretary's area)
9. Tana Ri (kilometer 6)
10. Ndetu (kilometer 5; many Ende folk live here)

1 [i.e., Kennedy and Kattenburg --Analyst]

487 of dirty, mixed kampongs, and then went up along
the cliffs over the sea to Nangapanda. Then
the road headed into the mountains, and after
[361] a long stretch which appeared to be practically
uninhabited (as usual between the coast and
mountain folk, here as in the Toradja country),
and finally we arrived in Badjawa. Before we
797 reached Badjawa we saw a large mission station
at Todabelu, where there were many modern
buildings, a seminary, and a model farm as well
as a trade school. All of these were notably
advanced over anything else we have seen in
Flores. As usual, it is connected with the
526 mission. In Badjawa there was a great crowd
for the day, and football games were held.
These are the great sport all over Indonesia
now, and it is coming even into the remote kam-
pongs. It is the national sport [i.e., soccer].

We saw here the dirty but spirited Ngada,
291 with dull clothes. The adat dress, however, is
striking, especially that of the men. It con-
sists of a dark blue cloak and a red headcloth.
● 304 We also noted that a lot of the people had filed
teeth, and in addition many had blackened them.
Earboring is a general practice here, but as
usual the younger men may have the holes but no
rings. (For example, the assistant in Roworeke
is like this and so is the younger guru in Le-
[771] loba.) This is a pretty primitive looking lot,
although most of them are Christian.

361 The Ngada kampongs are hard to see as they
342 are nearly all behind bamboo thickets. Ngada
houses are rectangular with low hanging hooded
roofs. They are built on piles definitely,
unlike Ende (or at least most of the houses in
[778] Ende) and Larantuka. In these kampongs there
are not many stones that I could see, but as
769 yet I have not seen a kampong fully. Notable
346 are the inverted pyramid-like ancestor houses
built on a single post. They are called nadu

771 the young folk are Christian. Most of the old
[624] people are largely pagan however. There are
no other obvious signs of pagan religion in
the lower kampong. The same goes for Weol.
342 Here there are more round houses, but the new
ones are all rectangular. At the entrance of
778 the kampong there is a mound which I must ask
about. It looks as though it might have been
a cult hill. Then there is the holy tree and
the stones around it. The photo of the stone
figure, Ine Amba, which Vroklage gives as from
Weol, is really from a kampong which can be seen
across the rice fields.

621 There are many old people here, including two
[624] remarkable old men, one of whom is one of the
two tuan tanah in the kampong. This is a double
kampong, with two main parts, and it has there-
fore two tuan tanah. The children here are
[515] dirty and so are the adults, for the most part.
[231] There are pigs all over. However, the houses
[361] are better spaced than, for example, in Laran-
tuka kampongs. The people here have poor clothes,
[291] and many, especially the women, were seen with
304 filed teeth and some of them with teeth beauti-
fully blackened. We noticed no tattooing nor
cutting.

243 Looking off from the high kampong one can see
the wet rice fields below. These are in wedge
shapes with a common center. There are many
adjacent, star-shaped arrangements. This is
unique in Indonesia. The priest says this is
because it is easier to fence them in this fashion,
but I suspect there is some cosmological signifi-
cance, perhaps reflected in the circular houses
too. The houses have all sorts of decorations
342 on top of them. The round ones seem to have an
531 upright wooden thing on them. The rectangular
ones have at the ridge ends a stylized pair of
wooden horns, often with a bird in the middle,
and some with two birds, one at each horn tip.
[See pp. 390-91 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography
cat. 113--Analyst]

We

534 drums and gongs were brought here from several
535 kampongs. They are the real tuan tanah articles.
[624] At one time three little girls danced with their eyes downcast and with very little movement of the feet. They wore slendang and nice dresses. The oldest man, looking like a nickel
[292] head Indian, had on an amazing costume with rich embroidery, and a silver fringe under his chin like a beard. For a head decoration he had a gilded horse. He also carried two kris, and each of the other men had one.

526 Now, at 6 P.M., after all day of it, taking turns, the men are still whipping. This is a tireless business.

609 We get the impression of real remoteness
178 here. These men are from the kampong nearby, and in this large bowl of distant mountains they are in their old dress doing the weird old practices and it has little to do with modern freedom and independence. When we go to such a place they look more at us than at the performers. We steal the show. But this is so all over Indonesia for whites. And they stare at us endlessly.

304 The tuan tanah of Weol has an elaborate set of patterns tattooed on his arms.

291 The Manggarai men often wear plaited, flat, songko-like headgear.

231 The horses here are important. Men and women
492 ride them, but mainly the former. The whole
[133] open land looks like the wild West. The priests use only horses here. They are small and spirited and bells are usually placed around their necks.

614 The next day we went again to Weol and asked
[624] if the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong were really brothers. If so, how could they belong to different panga. I found out that they are not brothers but merely distantly related.

The three panga names in Weol are the names

582 firm in stating that one had to marry within the
565 same class, of which there are three: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata hoö, but I forget the terms for the others.
[587] They say that a lower man may never marry up, but that a higher man may marry down for a
[567] second wife. They are more open here about slavery than I have found elsewhere.

142 The people are quite handsome and many of
144 them are of the proto-Malay type. There are relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay element predominates, and the East Flores Negroid types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars. There is also a great difference in the color of the skin, many people being quite light-skinned
[515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here
[197] say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not the Soa folk.

291 The clothes of the local people are shabby and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are
304 universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears.
[276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments
[301] in their ears today. Only the holes are noted. We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most men have their names or initials as well as figures tattooed on their forearms. This name
[177] tattoo is quite general.) (Perhaps this is the secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy tattoo.")

764 The burials here, I think, and certainly in
565 Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners, but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

632 The districts here are called kepala mereschappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan. This one is evidently Naru.

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243 he came back, he at once made a sawah, and the
177 others saw that it was good. Now, everyone
788 plants at least one sawah. Formerly there were no sawah. This is an excellent case of acculturation via the hadj.

412 Formerly the people here did not use hoes
177 or shovels. These came in at the time of the Dutch entry. Before that they had an iron tipped digging stick only. There are no carts.
493 They thought about my proposal for a group to buy one as an investment for hiring. Perhaps there is too little money even to pay for a bicycle here.

352 There are no tables, chairs, or lamps, ex-
354 cept in rare houses like the kapitan's. The
178 only new thing is the kerosene wick, not the lamp. It is called pelita.

542 The house type has changed here from a
178 larger to a smaller structure, and many of the old style roofs are still to be seen.

291 Women now use bought cloth to make thin
178 kebaya. Formerly they made blouses of homespun, but these are all gone. Men and women still wear homespun sarongs. Men wear this alone and are usually bare above the waist. If a man wears a selendang, he is a big man. If he wears a shirt, this is really very slick attire. There were no shoes here at all before, and few now.

301 Men and women wore earrings before, the men
753 ones of gold (look like silver) which the pagans still wear, and the women ones of a different
● [304] style. The assistant's ears are pierced, but this is no longer done to the boys, only to the girls. Beads are worn by men and women on festive occasions. These are great ceremonial objects and are worn by the people who are proud of them. If one is not entitled to them, he will become sick if he wears a string of beads.

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304 178 Formerly almost everyone filed his teeth down to the gums. Now this is optional, although most of them still file their teeth down a little for evenness. No more do they file them down to the gums. Women do not file them until they are married. Then they may or may not file them. Before, it was required. There is no specialist to do this. It is simply done by a clever person, with a stone. The teeth were blackened with varnish [302] before, but now they let them color up with betel (and how they do). Tattooing was a matter of choice formerly as it is today. The tattooing of personal names, of course, is recent, and it is very frequently seen. There are no special beliefs in this regard. There was never any cutting here.

123 / 181 The next day I had to bring several people to the hospital, and I became irritated and scolded at the way these people always pile in whenever I take any one of them anywhere. Even later today, just when I was thinking the assistant was going well, he made me the proposition that I should give him a tanda mata (remembrance, so he won't forget me) when I leave. He suggested a briefcase. He was very "sly" about it, but I can see that it is pure grasping. And they are too dumb to realize that I see through them. They think I can't see what they're doing.

164 We worked at the pasanggrahan and later took the patients back to Roworeke. The assistant's wife has a three-week swelling, which looks like a bad bone condition, on the brow to the side. These are unhealthy folk. We brought 754 back the assistant's "foster mother," an old 756 woman who had been in the hospital for a week for some blood trouble. She is a bisa mari, a sorcerer, and the best one in Roworeke. She is also a dukun, and the folk call on her all

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527 852 A small feast is given at the birth of a child.

●304 There is no supercision, except for Mohammedan circumcision, and this is done only in a few cases. (Evidently, in Indonesia, where supercision was in before, they may continue it under Mohammedanism, for example, in Makassar. But where there was no cutting before, they take on Mohammedan circumcision only.)

They say that they never had any cutting here. However, they say that they know of at least two kampongs in Lio where cutting did take place.

622 793 The mosa laki are of course religious as well as adat chiefs. The Catholic priest has a house here, but does not reside there. He makes periodic visits. There are two religious teachers.

771 I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements.

798 I wonder if the new bureaucracy, and also the Mohammedan majority, may cause trouble for the Catholic-oriented education of Flores. So far there has been no trouble.

798 There is very little discussion of religion here. They seem to let it slide by, and I get the idea that there is no great trouble in regard to paganism because (1) they never had any real resistance here, and (2) the pagans are too dumb, and so are the Christians, and (3) the Catholics do not evidently attack directly.

782 797 [231] There was no trouble here in regard to the acceptance of Mohammedanism from the standpoint of sacrifice, because they have plenty of non-taboo animals, for example, the buffalo, cattle, and goats. Therefore, it is not necessary to have a pig for pagan rites, and even the Mohammedans would get their share at a feast. This is different from Larantuka, where a Mohammedan would go hungry at the largely pork provided feasts. And also, in Larantuka, the all-essen-

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241 178 [493] plow came in only five years ago. Still, there are no wheeled vehicles. They cannot make them.

291 178 Fifty years ago men dressed only in loincloths. Only the rich had pants or sarongs. They also had shoulder cloths. There has been no change in the dress for women. They used the same kilt down to just below the knees as they use today. Now, however, more women dress in sarongs and kebaya. Pants, shirts, kebaya and sarongs are carefully kept for special events. They are really one's "best," and they are not plentiful. Nevertheless, nearly everyone owns something of this sort.

There is probably not a single pair of shoes in the two kampongs.

[287] Formerly, a long time ago, they used tapa. And in the Japanese time the people made tapa again. They also made wooden hats. The tapa making was pre-Dutch.

In remoter areas a few loincloths are still [301] seen. So are earrings, rings, and bracelets ● [304] (no leglets). Men never puncture the ear lobe.

302 The style of cutting the hair short for men came in only twenty years ago. Formerly the 301 men were great for beads. Now they are of little importance. The festive ceremonial 292 clothes I saw in Ruteng on the dancers are pusaka. They are mostly men's pusaka. The horns are made of buffalo hide.

304 178 Tattooing (tikam) is brand new. It came in only ten to fifteen years ago and is now going out. It was done by men who learned how, that's all. However, it is just about gone, and there were not very many people who had tattoos at any time.

304 178 562 881 Women always puncture their ear lobes. Both sexes file their teeth, and this must be done before marriage. Some young people (for example, the assistant) do not do this, but they

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304 say of such people that they "grew up in school."
178 This is still preserved by almost all others.
562 It must be done before marriage. Thus, the
881 kraeng did not have his teeth filed until he was twenty-five years old, just before marriage. Usually the teeth filing takes place much earlier, especially for the girls, who have theirs filed at about fourteen years. Formerly they filed the teeth down to the gums of both upper and lower teeth. Many of the people here still do this (I saw one young girl with only stumps left for teeth). The ordinary people do the filing. They used a stone before, but now they use an iron file. (I note that these people take to new tools very fast. They use all sorts at once. This means that there are no taboos on new techniques, and this should help.) Nowadays most people merely file their teeth even. And there is no feast.

There never was any cutting here.

439 Imports here include cloth, salt, tobacco and fish. Exports include stock, rattan and a few other wild products. There was not much business of this sort and never was. There are no markets. Formerly there was no money. Now it is plentiful. Formerly barter was the
436 only means of trade. Note: in 1942 the Dutch called in all silver and gave out only paper money. The Japanese thus easily took all the silver (the Dutch were invariably mistaken).

493 There are no cars here. There are three people in all Manggarai who could drive a car. None of these is here.

There is very little traveling done by car. The only autos are those of the traders (Chinese) and the government. Fifty per cent of the population have never ridden in an automobile.

178 The main change here is that formerly no out-
425 sider could buy land in the kampong. Now an

769 or ngadu. These and the bhaga, which I could
346 not see clearly but which are evidently merely minature rectangular houses for female ancestors, are notable features in just about all of the Ngada kampongs. Arndt[1] says the bhaga are empty, but I wonder. These two sorts of structures are erected by the prosperous folk to show respect and honor to their dead ancestors. Each one is given the name of the ancestor. Evidently, a person may build one for himself.

They are always built in pairs, one male and one female.

159 The very fat Radja of Ngada came to the
634 pasanggrahan in a uniform with shoulder epau-
224 lets, four stripes, and above this a cluster
[292] looking like a sunburst. The uniform was white and not unlike that of a KPM captain. He can't write, and is still a pagan, but he says that his children are Christian. He is very jolly and although tolerant I can see that he thinks little of the missions. He also criticized the forced labor which the Dutch demanded for road work when he was young. He said that anyone who wouldn't follow orders, including the radjas, was jailed or deposed. He is the man who joked about the Dutch and the "modern"
[595] Florenese. He never does much in administration, but likes to hunt and has many wives. He told us that he has many children and grandchildren. He gets in trouble with the government for burning the vegetation in deer hunts. He said it is necessary to kill deer as otherwise they would hurt the gardens. This land has practi-
311 cally no trees on it, but consists mostly of
[137] rolling naked hills as a result of overburning.
[133] Maybe the priest was right who said that he
[224] thought they were a hunting folk before and in those days they burned off the whole area in
[241] deer drives. Now they burn off the vegetable

[1] [See pp. 366-69 of Arndt as cited in bibliography, Cat. 113 --Analyst]

311 241 cover for agriculture too, and this causes a great[1] economic problem.

114 124 159 634 He said that much of Arndt's[2] and other scholars' findings were wrong as they use Christian gurus as assistants, and the latter do not tell them exactly what the old men say. The young assistants "doctor up" the information. They also misunderstand some of the old ideologies. This was one of many implications in his talk that showed he was not uncritical of the Christians. He has been radja longer than any other in Flores, thirty-one years and seven months. In his youth he was a Dutch army man too. He says that there was no road built when he was first made radja but the mission was already there. He also says that he is the most important radja in West Flores, although all of the royal families here are interrelated. He says he represents the older sibling branch, and Nageh and Manggarai radjas are the younger sibling branches. It is true that the Manggarai radjadom dates only from 1929, and before this there were only dalu, three of whom were most powerful.

194 The Radja speaks Malay with remarkable gutteral sounds which Arndt[2] says are characteristic of Ngada folk. They also have at least one implosive, as in bhaga. He has his house in the kampong Radja, not far from the town.

361 797 The town is notably modern in appearance, with the mission influence as usual. In the center there is a large plaza where the football field [485] is located, as usual. The pasanggrahan is a 622 good one, and the mandur looks like a nickel-634 head Indian. He was in the army once too and served in Sumatra, especially in Atjeh. He is evidently a friend of the Radja, as he enters [565] and talks with him freely. The Radja mixes 443 freely with the people here, as we noted at the pasar malam. The latter, to which we went at

[1] [i.e., the Radja of Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

[124] arrived after dark. We saw a very clear change
144 in physical type.[1] The Manggarai are clearly proto-Malay with a fair amount of Mongoloid blood in them.

● [311] We went down to the coast through the empty
361 land, being burned off in large part, to Aimere.
342 Then we went across the wild and jungled peninsula to Mborong. We picked up a small girl from the hospital in Mborong who was going to school in the mountains. She got sick on the way. Then, up in the empty hills again, we saw a tree house on the way. Underneath it were some Mongoloid looking men and they said they were iron workers who were working on a bridge. They sleep in the tree house, which they built
[137] against mosquitoes which are bad here. They were from Ruteng. Later we heard that they have been here for years, "working" on a bridge.

[132] We ran into a terrible fog as we went up and up toward Ruteng. In the evening we attended
[443] the pasar malam, and there in addition to the
[525] gambling was a play with a story about how in-
536 dependence means decency and not rowdiness.
177 It was full of Catholic influence. Between the
533 acts there were instances of poor singing and dancing by a little girl who sang and stepped around and by some sillily dressed boys who went through marching motions to almost inaudible
[534] singing. The orchestra consisted of a violin and a ukelele, nothing else. The band consisted of a few horns. A small child held up the music for the trombone player, who didn't use the slide. The play was incredibly bad. Thus they lose the fine old singing and dancing and drama rites and instead of them they now have these imitation things which are bad beyond belief.

The next morning we went to the mission and
793 met several priests, including the rector, van
124 Bekkum,[2] who wrote an article on Manggarai art. He was a bearded fellow and not bad. He said

[1] [i.e., the Manggarai vis-a-vis the Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Wac

462 and goats.

There is no shame, however, if one has to do
[887] the work of the other sex. The old people
putter about, for example, the old women make
mats, and the old men carve spoons, etc.

426 If one borrows corn or rice, which is done
686 for the most part, interest is charged at the
rate of one hundred per cent annually. This is
redoubled each year, and if it is finally un-
paid, there may be a court case and the person
may have to pay a horse (the present price of
[435] a horse is fl. 200 and for a buffalo fl. 350).

Money is not borrowed. The reason they bor-
row rice and corn and why they do this from
kampong fellows is that many families are too
311 large. Land is now all divided. The kampong
511 is full. Therefore there is actual hunger in
November and December, when the crops are grow-
ing. Thus if the population continues to in-
crease, some will have to move. The reason
the Dalong folk repossessed one of the Radja's
gardens was that there was an actual shortage
of land. I didn't realize this trouble before.
There are actually poor people here because
the land is all occupied. Therefore, not even
new gardens are possible here. But no one
starves. I asked what the main worry was.
They said getting cloth. It is very hard to
get. Food is a worry only for some people.

465 There are no wage earners except for those
who do a bit of work in other people's gardens.
The present wage is fl. 1.00 a day. Before
even this was not done.

634 In regard to political life there were Bima,
632 dalu, gelarang, and kraeng (some kampongs), and
622 the tuan tanah fifty years ago. In 1940 there
624 were the Dutch, the radja (since 1929), the dalu,
gelarang, tuan tanah, and kepala kampong. In
1950 there are the radja, the dalu, the gelarang,
the tuan tanah, and the kepala kampong.

We

527 the gardens are all set and growing. The date
574 is uncertain. Each panga must contribute one
241 pig. At the New Year ceremony they dance,
sing, pray, etc. And from what I saw in Anam,
[273] they drink plenty. The main feast is held in
the central kampong of the va'u, but there is
no set order as to where the successive feasts
are held in order.

(2) There are many garden rites: for a new
lodok, for a new clearing, for planting, for
the first weeding, if there are many mice, and
for harvest. The last mentioned is the big-
gest. Note that the ceremony for the mice is
not the regular pantomime one described by
[114] Coolhaas.[1] This is not held here, but only in
East Manggarai.

There is no rice mother here.

231 For the garden rites they usually sacrifice
527 pigs and fowls. A buffalo is sacrificed at
782 the rite for the new lodok, but it is killed
241 in the kampong at the tjompang (the animal is
tied to the tree, and thus there is a clear re-
lation between this and the peo of Nageh and
the ngadu of Ngada; and note that both of these
are forked as though they were cut-off trees;
I saw this clearly in Anam, where a tjompang
tree had had branches cut and it looked like a
rudimentary peo! and note that the buffalo is
tied here at the tree as at the peo or at the
ngadu). Usually, only one buffalo is killed,
and the buffalo is only for a new, main, round
garden, i.e., a lingko randang.

242 This raised an interesting point that with
● 341 the need for rotation of gardens a new lingko
randang must be planted every two years, because
the soil becomes exhausted and must then lie
fallow. At this time beasts graze there and
fatten the land with manure. But here in Veol
land is now lacking, and they must use the lingko
randang and other lingko constantly, which is

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We
242 exhausting the soil. Someday someone is going
311 to have to move away!

241 Then we talked of fertilizer. They have
242 heard of using manure here, and I told how the Japanese and Chinese forage for manure, following animals around, and using human wastes too. He said, however, that they have heard of this and that the idea is revolting to them. They wouldn't do it. This is curious. They call manure pupuk! (Note the Batak significance.) However, animals graze on fallow fields, so there is some profit from manure anyway.

241 A buffalo is sacrificed at the tjompang for
231 harvest too.

782 I am not clear as to whether it is necessary
527 to sacrifice a buffalo for every new round garden and lodok or only for the main one. I think the latter. Anyway, they do not sacrifice a buffalo every year for the garden, but only when a new one is opened and a lodok is set up. The following year or years no buffalo is sacrificed, because the same lodok remains.

Thus, I suppose that with the present constant use of the garden, there are few if any buffalo sacrificed for lodok. Also, the buffalo sacrifice accompanies only the first harvest from a new garden. There is no buffalo sacrifice in succeeding years for the harvest from the same field.

At the garden rites they pray, sing and dance.
[535] There is a harvest parade around the lodok and around the main post in the tuan tanah house, led by the tuan tanah. Note also that the sanda dance (as at the New Year feast in Anan) is done in the house, and this round dance goes around the main post. These are not only stone people but also circular people.

782 (3) New kampong. A buffalo is sacrificed at
231 the new tjompang.

527 (4) A new big house. Only pigs are sacrificed.
342

We.
511 as I see more of this country. This area is terribly poor and overcrowded, full of stones, and has little water. The girls and women have
●[312] to haul water for Leloba from the coast, which is three kilometers off. And there is little food in the town. They are really hungry.

Vatter told of great illnesses here, and I
164 can see many examples of this today. Sore eyes
511 are terrible and probably caused by lack of vitamins. There are many children with large bellies, skin sores, etc. Nowhere before have I seen such misery in regard to mere existence. Last year, a priest told us later, there was a famine here. And now I can see how vital the old rainmaking and the practices of the tuan tanah must be here.

797 At the mission headquarters in Larantuka we
634 were told that it is hard for the mission to
661 make plans here, because every time they get an
423 improvement, for example, in the land system,
427 the radja comes in and seizes the best land.
624 Also the tuan tanah stands up against all changes, and he is a "chiseler" also. Thus if they have a project which brings acres of improved land, the bigwigs wait until the work is done on it and then take the best part for themselves. The local people thus lose their land and many have thus been forced to work on the radja's land or for other big men as sharecroppers. Evidently the common division here is one-fourth of the crop for the sharecropper. The priests seem to regard the tuan tanah, who is the ritual and adat leader, as the worst.

622 We had some gin with the priest and then went
159 to the house of the guru Roy. He was Vatter's[1] assistant, and his house is the biggest in the kampong. He could be the kepala kampong, but because he is a guru, he passed the post on to his younger brother. They belong to the Hurin suku, which is different from the usual thing,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113—Analyst]

159 wherein the kepala kampong is a Kottang. This is
[622] all right according to adat, he says. The guru is
an old fellow, sick with a cough. He was not there,
and his daughter, who might be any age from eighteen
to thirty, talked with us. She seems to be a queer
type, and it is strange that she is not married. I
get the idea there is some friction between her and
her father. She had five years of schooling at the
sisters' school in Larantuka. A son of the guru is in
Makassar as a clerk (I think in a church office),
and he married a Leloba girl recently. The guru
[582] married a woman from the same suku, but the daugh-
ter says this is all right as she was from Laran-
tuka. If she were from any kampong behind the moun-
tain, this would have been impossible. The house
was adorned with holy pictures. The guru said he
[797] was converted in 1907, and as he is now perhaps
771 sixty, that was when he was about eighteen. There
178 are no more pagans in Leloba, a change from Vatter.
The old pagan stuff in a material form is all gone.

124 After our talk we decided that perhaps Wailolong
121 was the best community in which to work, because
Leloba is entirely Christian. In addition, Leloba
was done by Vatter. Wailolong is about the same
size as Leloba and at the crossroads below. We
talked a great deal about adat and then came back
to Larantuka with the guru, who wanted to visit
the children in the school there.

● 312 In the afternoon we picked him up and went to
Wailolong. On the way we picked up the kepala kam-
pong Leloba and a few others. They were at the
[515] other crossroad near the sea, and here there were
many women bathing (there is no water in the kampong
for this). Women were also hauling water from this
place. The guru said they had to go even farther
778 for water originally. It seems as though all of the
kampongs have a higher negri lama, as in Ambon.
There are holy stones here too.

361 Wailolong is along the main road and is located
161 on both sides of this highway. It may have as
many as one hundred houses and a possible population
of seven hundred.

[See bibliography, Cat. 113-Analyst]

Wa

533 In connection with special training for
871 individuals, the only thing they can think of is that the children have flute lessons in school and learn to read notes.

212 In Wailolong fifty years ago only one person was literate.

Everyone here can speak the local language.
191 Of the old folks, perhaps only one per cent
212 can speak Indonesian. The younger people are learning it in school. No one here speaks Dutch. No one here speaks any other language. About fifty per cent of the population here can read and write. At the most perhaps ten persons read regularly or at least look at the mission paper. This is the only "reading matter" except for prayer books.

There is almost no writing done locally. Perhaps about ten people have at some time written or received a letter. One guru can read and write Arabic.

There is no special instruction given in reading and writing. There are no aliens, and hence no foreign languages used in the area.
[207] There is no radio, and perhaps only the guru have ever seen movies.

178 There have been very few changes in the
412 technology here introduced during the last fifty
262 years. They are using shovels a bit, etc., but mainly the same old artifacts. In regard to food, there are a few changes. For example, there are new kinds of vegetables (in the old days they evidently had practically none), new varieties of bananas, etc. Evidently food was simple to the extreme in the old days.

286 The women spin and weave here, and this is perhaps the most important craft (in fact there
323 is no doubt about it). There is no pottery (they buy such items from the few places where pottery is made). Recently, a few people have
000 learned how to cook salt. There are about ten

We

415 the case. Dishes and forks and spoons have
178 come in to some extent. Formerly they used wooden things, gourds, etc. only. Kitchen stuff is now to be found in the area. Terrac-
241 ing is new. Irrigated rice fields came in
178 only twenty years ago. The use of buffaloes in agriculture and the plow are very recent (five years ago). All the people are still farmers, however.

436 Today the people have much more money than
178 they had, for example, twenty years ago. Fifty years ago there was no money here at all.

342 Formerly there were no tin roofs or nails.
178 Now there are a few. Houses are different in style. In quantity most of the stuff is not changed.

285 Rattan baskets for clothing are no longer
415 made. They prefer wooden containers. However, they still make mats and baskets. The women make these, and the men make their plaited songko.

286 There is no spinning or weaving. This is
784 taboo except in the northeast quarter of Manggarai (Coolhaas is incomplete on this) and Todo-Pongkor and Labuan Hadji. It is beginning to come in in the west.

323 Pottery is made in a few kampongs (Puruk,
784 Mungges, Bolong). This is taboo except in these places. The penalty is the same as for weaving: bad crops, illness, etc. In Pongkor, only one kampong can make pottery, and only one in Todo. Usually one or two kampongs can make pottery in an area.

326 Smiths are new. There was no iron work here
178 before. Formerly they had to buy instruments made from iron. Now they have equipment to do some forms of iron work in Rai and a few other places. Todo-Pongkor has had smithing for perhaps three hundred years (they brought it in evidently). It is not taboo, but they just

[See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All
727 of them were sold or taken during the Japanese
436 time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese
563 time too, but new ones are being made by
● 326 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from
metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked
up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and
families. They had been in the mountains making wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They
use the natives' gold. Much silver is now
mixed in with the gold. They both had complete
[142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large,
and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they
611 use money and animals for the bride price, but
591 they may also work it off, although it is not
237 really a case of ambil anak because the children follow the father's suku anyway. The girl
must stay with the parents until the bride
price is paid. Also, residence remains matrilocal until the bride price is paid. Thus we
have an illustration of this in the case of a
Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several
children, because the bride price has not yet
been paid. The children belong to his suku,
however. Thus there is bride service, matrilocal residence, but the descent remains patrilineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally,
has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to
get the assistant to say that they still had
tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the
624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before
632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evidently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the
local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases
[691] are concerned only with land and marriage questions.

R

178 In terms of technology and occupation, there
463 have been very few changes. They still farm
in the old way, and there have been no new jobs
342 created. There are today such houses as the
178 kapitan's, with a bit of cement work. This is
354 new. And every house has a pelita [a kind of
lamp] for which they buy kerosene. Few of
them have any real lamps like the kapitan's.
The assistant has one, but it is typically out
291 of order. Shirts here are new, but they are
178 rare and cost much. Shoes are new here and
[413] are very rare. Pens, etc., are extremely rare.
The women no longer wear the homespun blouses.
They wear homespun sarongs like the men do,
but buy kebaya of thinner cloth today.

286 They cannot make thin cloth with their
looms, and this is a great handicap. What
they make is too heavy. This is mainly a mat-
ter of thread. They can't spin thread any
thinner than they do and have it strong enough
so that it will not break in the loom. Thus,
if they could get trade thread, they might be
able to weave thinner cloth (?).

[346] The only tin roofs are on the grave-bone
shrines of Odja and Wanda.

Every woman spins thread and weaves. There
are no specialists, however, who sell cloth.
This is done only rarely.

463 There are no smiths or specialists of any
•326 kind. There were about twenty men who worked
563 at making pots here, and this started evidently
about two years ago. It was a Chinese company
(evidently tied in with the Radja some way),
and these lads worked in their spare time. As
there are no orders now, they are working
there no longer. It is not a native craft.

241 The most important local agricultural crop
and food source is maize, by far. Then come
rice, vegetables, and yams. There is no sago;
000 they have never heard of it. Little meat is

Wa. There are about ten
●326 smiths (are they full time? I doubt it).

241 As before, rice and corn are the staple
177 crops. There has been practically no change except for the introduction of new kinds of bananas, peanuts, and a few vegetables, in
[433] the diet. The local community is still almost one hundred per cent self sufficient.
283 They even make their own thread from their own cotton, although they may buy some thread today.

178 There has been practically no change at all since Vatter's book was written. In Wailolong they still have a tuno wudjo.

[852] Fifty years ago there were no tables or chairs, and there are only a few now. There
291 has been a little change in regard to cloth-
178 ing, especially in that a few men now wear shirts. And a few men also have shoes; there were none before.

A few women wear European dresses; no one wore such dress formerly. They could not sew at all fifty years ago, and there is still not a single sewing machine in Wailolong.

438 A few of the women sell some vegetables and some arak. They buy small quantities of thread, salt, hairpins, soap, medicine, and tobacco. The mountain people sell some of their forest products.

443 There has been no change at all in the mar-
178 ket system here except for the disappearance
437 of the Delang pasar. This was mostly or entirely a barter pasar. Cash is used at the Okka pasar. Up until seven years ago the Delang pasar was still used. There are no toko or warong here.

483 Very few people have ever ridden in a car here. Roy guesses that at the very most one per cent of the population has had such an experience.

423 The kinds of property in terms of land here are the following: kampong (which is "owned"
1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

We

415 the case. Dishes and forks and spoons have
178 come in to some extent. Formerly they used wooden things, gourds, etc. only. Kitchen stuff is now to be found in the area. Terrac-
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[See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

Wae

326 do not know how to do it.
178 Formerly there was no gold or silver work here. Today there is some. However, it was in Todo-Pongkor for a long time. Only a few people have learned this trade recently. The
[656] Dutch forbade any metal work in any kampongs because it resulted in metal theft (what fools!).
262 There have been very few changes if any in the local diet. There is a little flour, tinned milk, etc. today. However, these things exist in very small amounts. The local people eat almost entirely their own food. The staple foods here are corn and rice, of about equal importance. In most of Manggarai, corn is more important (remember that the pastor said there was more rice now, but as a result of the wet irrigated rice fields there are more mosquitoes and more malaria). Meals are
[264] served three times a day. The people eat vegetables but almost no fruit. Meat is generally reserved for feasts, and this applies even for fowl. They may cut a fowl if there is a guest, but pigs and the like are reserved for feasts. There is no longer much hunting
[224] at all. There is some bird snaring. A lot of
[223] dry fish from the coast is eaten. This they have to buy. There are almost no river fish. The use of milk is new. Cheese and butter are said to make people sick. However, they eat all kinds of animals if they can get them, including cats, pythons, dogs, horses, etc.

The situation regarding food is much better today than it was. There are now many gardens, whereas formerly there were few. Today they
[438] must buy salt, tobacco, fish, betel ingredi-
[435] ents, and in particular, cloth. (This is dear; an ordinary sarong costs fl. 60.00 now.)
241 Irrigated rice fields and terracing tech-
178 niques came in only twenty years ago. Farming tools have been introduced. The buffalo and

R

000 children. It is remarkable that there is so
858 much freedom exhibited by the children all over here. They do as they please evidently.

463 Nearly everyone is a farmer here, but to
212 be kepala kampong, kapitan, secretary, or
622 the like, an individual must be literate. There are, however, illiterate kepala kampongs, but they must use a literate mandur to help them with the work. There are no openings for clerical people or the like.

[874] The only seminary here is for priests, and
787 as yet there are no students there from here.
[154] The bisa mari (sorcerers) are not trained. They get their call in dreams. They are about
[156] equally male and female. The dukun also get
[844] their call in dreams. However, the ones who are midwives learn from mothers.

463 There are no specialists at all. The local
438 population must buy even its ironwork elsewhere.
335 They do not even have carpenters here. Anyone can build a house. This place exhibits a very low level in all such things except weaving. They now learn music in school.

873 Many children who are clever and would like to advance in school cannot do this as it costs fl. 10.00 per month for a higher education. There is plenty of heartache here. Perhaps there is not so very much yet, actually.

212 Fifty years ago no one could read or write, not even in the Ende script.

197 One hundred per cent of the people here speak Ende, including the foreigners from Savu and the Chinese. The latter did not speak Ende when they came in, but after a year they could.

Only about one hundred can speak Malay. No one speaks Dutch. The children are starting to learn a bit of Dutch in school now, but this is evidently only in the higher school.

There are no other languages spoken, except of course, Chinese and Savu. They say that they

We.

778 high hill, which is otherwise bare, like most
776 of the land here. It is taboo, as special
824 darat dwell here. And now I see many such sacred groves in the hills, carefully left when the land was cleared. It is as though they have to leave places here and there for the darat whose trees have been largely cut away. One has to watch out for feelings of the spirits always. The assistant also uses the word roro for spirits in general.

As the big timbers are carried in, the bear-
346 ers sing all the time, moving about slowly, and
776 telling the setan not to sit on the timber and
533 make it heavy. A small girl, elaborately
824 dressed, sits on the timber, showing the setan that someone is already sitting there, so that they won't. A flag is set on the timber (now usually a merdeka, red and white flag) to show the kampong folk from two to three kilometers away that they are coming. In the kampong, they begin to beat gongs and drums "to receive the wood" into the kampong. They may not be quiet as the wood enters. There is much singing, etc.

[335] While the carpenters are at work with modern tools on the house, the gongs and drums are beaten constantly (technology and adat). There has been trouble here in Tjantjar with the tukang from Ruteng. The timbers were already set
[578] when an argument started over the contract, etc. Tempers rose, and the carpenters picked up their tools and left for Ruteng. I saw them on the road two days ago. Now the kampong folk are worried stiff because there lies the wood and there is the wood in the half-finished house, and nothing is being done. The wood may get impatient or angry, and if so they will always have trouble with the house. And this is important, as it is the main house, the cult house,
[753] of the kampong. Also, if the wood gets angry, there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.

We

624 gendang (the aradjang pattern) from the head tuan tanah of the original kampong.

166 609 [443] [335] The groups of people who visit the village more or less regularly (actually only occasionally) are as follows: (1) pastors, (2) traders to buy stock, Chinese, Arabs, etc., (3) a Chinese pedlar who comes with a coolie carrying a pack, (4) government men, and (5) specialist carpenters who come to build houses.

They stay for a short time only, except for the carpenters, who stay for about two months.

One other class is important. It comprises the outsiders who have gardens in the kampong. They come to work in their gardens, stay awhile and leave. They sleep with the kampong folk as their guests.

[584] Family relationships are definitely interrupted by migration. Usually one starts the ball rolling by marriage or by buying a garden, and then relatives follow. This is important in regard to marriage because the young folk become acquainted in this way. It is a case of "propinquity".

166 609 578 The immigrants must follow the local adat absolutely. They take part in the same rituals, pay the tributes of the land, etc. Thus there is no trouble. However, there are occasional difficulties in managing the gardens. For example, the local people become jealous of the outsiders who have big crops, or argue one way or the other. There is not much trouble, however, and usually things are quite serene.

[783] There are no specific ideas about the outside world. Still, when one returns after a long stay in some other place, they have a rite to "clean the dirt." I am informed that there is no opposition shown toward those who accept the outsiders. However, I wonder if there may not be at certain times. Evidently there is no policy of "exclusion," and my guess is that if outsiders are not welcome they are told so and that is all.

TIMOR OF20 Flores OF9
JAVA OE1 Nias OD11
Buru OH8
Bali OF7
New Guinea OJ1

I 342 174 [397 cont.] the houses in North Tëtoen (Bëloe) in particular are oval in form.

In the western part of Flores (Manggarai), too, the original F 342 [398] form of the houses was that of a large-sized cone. The main support runs through the center of the circular floor of split I 342 174 bamboo or planks, which lies half a meter to a meter above the ground. The rafters run from the top of the central support to the edges of the flooring. The roof covering of dried leaves, split rattan, etc. is fastened down by circular bamboo laths. In the newer kind of house the roof does not run down to the floor, but rests upon a little wall of pressed bamboo around the edge of the floor. Larger houses with elliptical floors are also found here.

I 342 174 N [342] Northern Nias also has oval houses, while those of southern Nias are square. Since housebuilding on southern Nias is undoubtedly much superior to that in the north of the island, there is further evidence here that the square form is a higher development.

With the above exceptions in mind, the square house is the rule throughout the archipelago. The chief differences are in size, the shape of the roof, the partitioning of the interior space, the kind of material used, and whether the house is built on the ground or raised on piles.

J [342] To take the last first, this is the principal difference between central and eastern Java, where the houses are not raised on piles, and practically all the other peoples of the archipelago, among whom pile-dwellings are found (1), built on the shore, on the

BQ BU T N [342]

1. Exceptions are the above-mentioned houses of the dwarf Papuans, the round dwellings on Timor, the dwellings on Buru, and the houses on Bali; the last will be dealt with separately.

banks of a river above the water, or, in the interior, above the ground. The height of the floor above the ground varies greatly, J [342] from several feet in western Java to several meters in central Borneo and other places.

1:Alkema & Bezemer--447 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Batak	OD5	Toradja	OB11
Sumatra	OD1	Flores	OF10
Makassar	OB6	Nias	OD11
Atjehnese	OD4	Bahau	OC5
Moluccas	OW1	Borneo	OC1

I 342 N P T 342 [399 cont.] among the Toradja now, six small families; on western Flores there is one kampong, Tjeremba, which actually consists of only one dwelling that houses about 60 small families, or nearly 200 persons. On Nias, too, a number of small families are housed in one dwelling.

Bh 342 This living together in one house, however, is not to be viewed as everyone living higgledy-piggledy with everyone else. Among the Kajan-Dajaks [Kayan-Dyak], for instance, where the greatest number of persons live under one roof, the front part of such a long clan [stam] house, which at the same time forms a village, is a communal veranda for the household activities of all the inhabitants, for gatherings, etc. The rear part of the house, however, which is separated from the front veranda by a wall with doors, is divided into rooms for the small families [gezins]. One could imagine it as a village with the houses built consecutively under one roof, with the village street, covered by the same roof, running in front of it.

All the so-called family houses are partitioned in much the same way: [400] a communal part, either as a front veranda, a side or interior passage, or interior room; and the rooms for the small families. Only among the Toba-Batak is there no actual partitioning of the space by means of a wall or curtains; there are just the four corners of the room, intended respectively for the head of the house and his immediate family, the married daughter, the married son, etc.

Bt [342]

The adult youths, and frequently guests, sleep in the communal part of the large family-houses.

Ml MK A S Br 342 As has already been said, the houses of the various peoples of the archipelago differ primarily in the form of the roof. The simplest form of roof consists of two slanting pieces and two vertical pieces, which are more or less a continuation of the side walls. Such roofs are found on the long houses of the Dajak [Dyak], among the inhabitants of southern and eastern Sumatra, on Atjeh, among the Buginese and Makassarese, and on most of the islands of the Moluccas. It is the most obvious form of roof, merely serving to drain off the rainwater and having no architectural goals.

1:Alkema & Bezemer--452 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia
Minangkabau OD10
Toradja OG11
Flores OF9

[404 cont.]

monotony of the grey-black idjoek covering. The walls of the dwellings are often decorated with delicate carvings and paintings and are inlaid with pieces of mirror glass. M 342 [531]

The houses of the Toradja west of Palopo resemble the Toba- T 342

Karo-Batak Village
Coll. Bezemer

Batak houses as far as the protruding roof is concerned. Here, too, the saddle-shaped curve of the roof runs up very high and protrudes far out over the front of the house, so far indeed that a vertical supporting beam and various crossbeams are necessary to shore it up. The front wall of the house and the supporting beams are covered with delicate carvings in various colors, and carabao horns with an imitation carabao head are added to a vertical support. Even the rice granaries here have such handsome roofs, as have the bridges, for example, in the Rantépao valley (see illustration on p. 454). T [531] T [343]

As a fairly high type of dwelling from the more easterly areas of the archipelago, the houses of the Ngada of central Flores should F 342

F [404 cont.]
342 be mentioned. Here the house stands on piles 1.50 to two meters above the ground and has vertical walls about 1.50 meters high. Above this there is a very high roof which, except in front, drops to the height of the floor, offering double protection inside
F [132] against the often very cold winds in these areas. [405] An inner gallery is built against the house on the front, with the floor lower than that of the house; it is partially closed off at the front by a wooden or bamboo balustrade. In front of it and somewhat lower still is an outer gallery that is not closed off. [Illustration appears here.] This is often attached to the galleries of the adjacent houses, so that a number of houses in the same row are con-
F [531 554] nected with one another. The houses of prominent persons often have three galleries. Woodcarvings are common around the door and in other places. The houses of the Ngada serve as dwellings for only one or two small families [gezin]. During the day peo-
F [512] ple stay in the front gallery and at night inside the house where a fire always burns.

I 342 From the foregoing description it is already obvious that the building materials are always wood and bamboo, never stone. An exception to this general rule is found in the houses on Bali
B and a part of Lombok where clay and natural stone are used.
L 342 "The typical Balinese dwelling is an oblong rectangle divided into three parts. The front part includes the rice granaries, or in some cases the cattle shed, and accommodations for guests; the second, the [406] sleeping rooms and the kitchen of the
B family; and the third, the house temple. The living rooms are
[316] of clay and covered with thatch or atap. In the stony areas of Karangasem and Bangli, which are poor in clay, natural stone is used for the walls and bamboo laths for the roof covering. Well-to-do Balinese divide their compounds, which cover a greater area, into more sections, each of which is used for a particular purpose" (1). [Illustration appears here.]

1. Encyclopaedie van Nederlands Indië, Vol. I, p. 121. See also the detailed

361 jagged mountains rising all around the town.
[133] There are also two amazing, high, flat topped volcanic peaks. One is called Gunung Medja. The town stretches along the shore, with plenty of red and yellow flowering trees. There is a large impressive alun-alun [field, plaza] going down to the beach in the center. Behind this are a number of good houses. On the east side is the market and on the west side are good
[342] houses too. The houses are well constructed and there was evidently not much bombing here.
[346] As usual, the high church is but a shell, as it was bombed, this time by the Australians.

485 I found that the town of Ende has practically nothing. There was no running water in the pasanggrahan except for a trickle in the morning.
[377] Electricity is weak and tends to break down.
443 The toko have very little in the way of merchandise. It is impossible to buy beer because the stores are out of it. The cigarettes from the distributie have all been used up and one now has to buy such items on the black market.
495 There is no gas pump, and I have to get gas at the V & W, which pours it out dirty from the tin. Because of this I have had trouble with the jeep for the first time. This is a real end-of-the-world-like place, although the appearance is
[132] rather nice. It is also extremely hot and humid, in fact it is the worst I have experienced yet. At midday it is like taking a Turkish bath here.

485 As usual, the pasanggrahan is not arranged for people who work or read. This is the Indonesian style.

634 The town of Ende is the only main town in the state. There is another state in the mountains, Lio, with a radja at Wolowaru. Then to the east is Sikka, with a radja, and east of that Larantuka, also with a radja. To the west of here is the Radja of Nageh Keo, and to the west of that the Radja of Ngada, at the capital

764 kampongs with plazas and tombs all over. The latter are usually rectangular stone piles with flat covers, which are evidently lifted in
342 order to put in more bodies. Some of the houses have high pitched roofs coming down to the floor on all sides. They appear to be hooded, and are rather ragged inasmuch as they use alang-alang grass for thatch. Some houses are simpler and follow a more usual design, but all have a different look from those in, for
[531] example, Celebes or Ambon. I saw no gaba-gaba here, but rice stalks are used in the same way and they look like narrower gaba-gaba strips. I
[778] asked at one kampong if they had pusaka houses, and the answer was yes.

[782] I have seen no offering posts yet. I stopped
797 to talk with the priest at Ndetosoko. He was named Nalles and has a church and school and is starting to plant coffee for the church. The nearby kampongs look pagan to me, but he says that about half of the population in these villages have been converted. It is the usual story: the older ones stay pagan. I talked
121 quite a while with him and he advised my choos-
124 ing a kampong near Wolowaru. We then went back toward Ende, and at 7 km. out we stopped at Roworeke. It is on the side of the road, and then we stopped at another kampong, Watu Roga. The whole place looked ideal, with old style houses, tombs in the plaza, primitive looking folk, etc., and it is all very near Ende. We talked with a couple of the men, and they said that the kapitan (district chief) was in the garden at kilometer 10. We said we would come back later. I decided to take this kampong, or rather this double kampong.

634 In the afternoon we went to see the Ende radja.
124 There was a large gathering there including five Chinese, two hadjis (one kapitan of Nggobe, the northern half of Ende town, and the other from

632 The kapitan of Ambu Nggobe, whom I met in a new hadji costume before, is a rather oldish one. Arriens says he has the most power of any-
123 one in Ende. The guru is a hard, pushing, Christian type, who has lost the old respect forms and feels superior to all the others. This guru kept trying to find out whether we[1] were Catholics, but we didn't tell him.

At last we went back to the kampong but stopped
191 off in a fine village near where the Kilimutu road leaves the main road. I forget the name. It has
[142] handsome women, proto-Malay type, who are ruined
[276] by betel. The men too are pretty good looking. Some of the children are very intelligent. I asked about the language situation and the guru said that only the schooled ones speak Malay anywhere in Ende. Thus the old ones do not, but this is not entirely so as some of the old ones who were never schooled are able to speak Malay.

342 In this kampong the houses as usual are roofed
343 with alang-alang thatch. There are many barns, which are small and have roofs which go to the
764 floor. The graves are in the plaza. One was
178 very large and of massive stone situated under a roof. It was the grave of an important ancestor. Others were of usual stone piles and slabs. One burial was set up last month, as it said on a wooden cross set up on top of the old style stone slab grave. The bodies here are laid out in a lying down position in the stone cists. From later evidence in Roworeke I think that many individuals may be placed in one grave. They lift the slab, move over the old bones, and set the new body in. In the old days they would put the body wound up with gemutu ropes in a tree until the whole thing rotted. Then the bones were placed in a box which in turn was placed in the cist. A rather long time ago the government made the people here dispose of the bodies at once.

[1] [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg--Analyst]

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778 They agreed that Ndoeria had rebuilt many rumah pemali. I must go there sometime.

574 Back in Roworeke, the kapitan gave us sweet soft drinks and port wine (Chinese). Then he put 291 on his adat dress, including a batik headcloth 386 which was winged in front, and a fine ikat slen- [287] dang, and a woven sarong. There seems to be no more tapa around here. The colors of the woven and ikat stuff are dark, including blue, black, and dull red. They are not very attractive, and the cloth is quite heavy. I saw women with baskets full of leafy stuff (small leaves) and I asked what was inside. They said tarum [indigo] and that it is used to make the blue and black dye. Thus they still use locally made dyes, but in Roworeke the red dye is bought in a store.

126 I took a picture of the kapitan and his wife and family including the fine type old mother. 621 We then started on a tour of the kampong. We went first across the road to Watu Roga. It is small and evidently most of the Wanda suku are. 342 There is one large house, but most of the others 178 are rather small. They are not of the high pitched roof type. I was told that before the war there were more of the old high roof type, but the Japanese leveled many of them to make the people move into the hills as they said the population was too dense near the town. I can't quite get the point, but new houses tend to be low, four sloped roofed, rather long and squat in type, but still look primitive because of the alang-alang thatched roof and many with the coconut leaf midrib walls. The walls, however, are usually low or invisible because they are under the low-hanging roof. Hence they are hooded.

349 In Watu Roga there is a high concrete struc- 769 ture looking something like a watchtower with 614 steps leading up. It has a four-sloped tin roof. 766 There is a low wall around a small rectangular space under the roof. The flooring is of tile,

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349 set on the rafters a similar chest with bones of
766 the old ancestor of the Odja suku. I was told
769 that this has been there for hundreds of years,
614 but then it was reckoned that it had been there
621 for at least seven generations. It too was covered with ikat clothing. There was no drum in this one. They said that when the ancestor suku feast is held, hundreds of people gather here and buffaloes are killed, as was true in the other place. All around are many other stone cist tombs, all graves of descendants of the big
342 Odja. There are some high houses here, but most of them are lower in construction.

286 In Padjambu we saw many women spinning and weaving. One girl was pressing cotton fluff on a primitive wooden wringer arrangement in order to flatten it before spinning. It looked just like an old-fashioned clothes wringer. We saw an old woman preparing the loom threads in the first stage of ikat work. The white threads were wrapped with fiber windings. We saw several ikat sarongs, all of which were heavy and dull in
[435] color. The kapitan said that I could buy one for
[181] fl. 150.00 and another for fl. 250.00. This again shows the grasping character of these folk.

123 I forgot to say that the kapitan wants to go to Larantuka with us. I refused to let him go along. Also, at the Odja ancestral bone bundle tower an old mother said we had to leave an offering. We left some cigarettes. Perhaps they wanted money.

286 These ikat things are all over. I don't like
386 them very much, but they are genuine. The cotton
531 is grown locally and is pressed and spun. The dyes are blue and black and are made from indigo leaves. The ikat work is done with ties of fiber.
[438] Indeed, the only trade material used here is the red dye they buy in the stores. They also weave regular cloth, but the colors are always dull. The designs are small and indecisive.

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778 I asked if there were no rumah pemali here. They then called it rumah berhala and said that there was none in either Watu Roga or Roworeke. They said there is one at kilometer 17, two kilometers up on a hill. It is the rumah berhala of Wolofea. They said that in it are many pictures painted by the ancestors and that it is big. The people who care for it live nearby. I would like to see this and may have the time to do so.

142 On this tour we saw plenty of good looking folk, especially the proto-Malay female type. Some were handsome. Many were bare to the waist.
736 Many were children. The kapitan said there are many orphans here, perhaps ten per cent of the children, because so many die. They are taken care of by others.

721 They said there used to be lots of wars here.

Then we went back to the kapitan's house and
●342 thence took the secretary along the road to Ende, and along this road are Aibod and Aiutu. The latter is a magnificent place with high houses. They said that this is because the Japanese did not level them in this place. This is the best
634 house area. The secretary went to his section,
621 Wolomere, on the Watu Roga side of the road.
578 Just beside the kapitan's house is an upright stone. It is said to be the boundary marker between Watu Roga and Roworeke. However, it is in from the road on the Roworeke side. Evidently, from his statement, although the road is the boundary of Lio and Ende states, Watu Roga has a slice on the Roworeke side of the road in Ende territory. This shows again the senselessness of putting any of Watu Roga in Lio. He said that there were many disputes, and when he ascended to the kapitan post he would put a marker up and then put his house half in Watu Roga territory and half in Roworeke. Thus he is "neutral." This again
[181] seemed to show up rivalry and the disputatious nature of these people.

Wae
000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass
thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in
area where there is a large bench for sleeping.
There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the
roof and often in front too. Here sit the women
while they work. If there are two families to a
house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
797 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel
as in other kampongs. The church to which every-
one here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamiß, but
since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are stan-
dard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are
nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have
brown hair or hair which is partly brown.
[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk
along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-
bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue
and black mostly. The designs are even poorer
than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used
for men and for women. They say that a cloth
takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many
411 men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
304 few old people, it seems especially the women,
have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

was
304 was more common formerly. The tattooing occurs on the arms, face, and chest. In Tandjung Bunga there is a lot of tattooing. Sometimes this is done on the back of the calves too. The young people do it no longer. However, the guru's daughter has her name tattooed on her arm.

342 The houses have upright sticks at the ridge ends, but the guru says this is of no significance.

764 Stones called nubanara are all over the kampong, lying flat mainly. I wonder if maybe these could have been used for graves in this kampong before, because the nubanara are scattered like the graves in Ende.

346 At the top of the kampong is the korke of the
178 kampong, and in front is a nama, or rectangular
535 dance place. This consists of a platform built
368 up of stones. Some of the stones should stand (four, one for each of the main suku; but the guru says there may be more than four standing). This appears in Vatter's photo of another nama. These former uprights here have fallen down and he says the people do not bother to erect them again. This is a sign of the steady breakdown of paganism. On the dance place there is an old drum left standing. It is evidently no longer used. The korke is empty, and has merely a bale-bale under a roof. No walls are left. The roof has not been repaired, which again may show the breakdown. Near the korke is a large house of
[614] the tuan tanah of the main suku, and near this is the korke of his suku. In addition to the kampong korke, there is one for each suku, but no nama in front of these. These korke are used by the kepala suku, who is also the tuan tanah of the suku, for suku rites regarding rain illness, etc. The main korke is used for kampong rites.
[574] When a feast is thus given, the big men sit on the bale-bale in the korke, and the dancers per-
[534] form in front to the music of a drum and gong.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Wae

614 the boys' house in Wailolong, Then we went to which turned out to
882 be a windowless house with sleeping benches in-
562 side. Here the boys from about twelve years on
●[342] sleep. Thus there is a real men's house here. There are three, I think, in Wailolong, because some of the suku share houses. Normally the rule is one house per suku. It is taboo for the girls to enter these men's houses.

124 Then we went to Leloba and began on the Vatter[1] social organization material. They were delighted to see the Vatter book, especially Roy who noticed his name in it.

614 I started with the usual outline of groups and got the following list of suku and subdivisions and sub-subdivisions of the suku. I had told the guru yesterday that there must be a sub-subdivision, but he said no. He said he had thought it over and understood what I meant. The names
[171] often have direct references to parts of a house, and thus it looks like, as in Ambon, there used to be one suku to one house. Thus Ama Marang Do(ng) Lau(ng) means (the last words) bale-bale laut, i.e., in the old days the ancestors used to sleep on the bale-bale part on the sea side of the ancestral house they shared with the other division. Therefore, Ama Marang Do(ng) Rae(ng), which means bale-bale darat, or the bale-bale on the land side, was for the other division. The former has more power than the latter.

614 As for the recurring Lango' Bele', it means
565 big house, while the twin term Lango' Kene'
788 means small house. The former is the section of the subsib or ama, with more power. The latter is the section with less power. Maki(ng) means descendants. The whole system has reference to the rank of the sibs, which is symbolized in ritual animal killing. Thus Kottang holds the head and is the chiefly or head suku normally. The symbol is the head. Keleng holds the feet, and they are the assistant suku to the head.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We. The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof,
are easier to keep clean and are better in
general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the
kampong, and even fewer move out of or into
the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration
from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas
beyond Larantuka.

20 The kakang has the only telephone here.
There is no telegraph. There is no mail ser-
vice. There is no postman. The priest has a
battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië.
Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not
Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to
change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few
people have much knowledge about the world.
This is really the lowest place I have been in
yet. Most of the people are strongly attached
to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is
very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong
is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they
had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at
war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an
enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

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796 done in an excited pagan style, although on the
535 occasion of a Christian festival. We saw
144 clearly the difference between East and West Flores as far as racial composition is concerned. As you pass into Lio hills the proto-Malay becomes much more marked, though the Negroid element is still there. Some of the women are remarkably white. Such women are seldom or never seen in East Flores.

797 About the Malay here: When they want to say someone is converted, in Larantuka, they say that he "ikut Rom" [follows Rome]. The titles
554 are interesting: the territorial priest of
793 Flores is Tuan Regionale; then there are the Tuan Boswesen, Tuan Landbouw, Njonja HPB, Njonja AR (Assistant Resident), Njonja and Tuan Bestuur (Bestuurshoofd), and for a nun
[792] they do not use Njonja, but Tuan Zuster.

647 Note: The Controleur here is C. B. Arriens.

Although there is a general similarity in
342 house style all over East and Central Flores, there are differences. The tremendous high roofs are typical of Lio and Ende. The flat and large four-sloped ridges are found in Larantuka, and in between, in Sikka and Tana Ai, there is an intermediate form, with the four-slope ridge a bit on the rounded off side, and the whole thing appears to be smaller.

411 In East Flores especially the bow is still
224 used. We met a large band on Christmas not far
126 from Larantuka with bows and spears. They were coming up from a kampong with a large church. I asked if they were going to war or to hunt, and they said they were going to hunt deer. I took a photograph of them. They are always glad to be photographed. I can hardly take photographs, however, because they all rush in to be included, especially the children.

291 The style of clothing changes from place to
184 place, though here again there is a general

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693 632 624 [622] tions. Murder, theft, etc., come to the kepala kampong or kapitan. Such cases are not within the adat sphere. These officials do not interfere with each other's spheres.

632- 624 622 The situation in regard to the offices is as follows: The Big Four of the gemeente who are also the Little Four of Roworeke (combined with Worowai) are respectively from Rewarangga, Odja, Rewarangga, and Rewarangga. All except the giri tumba are from Worowai, and here there is a rumah berhala. Only an Odja or a Rewarangga man (and he must be a resident of Roworeke) may be elected kapitan or kepala kampong of Roworeke. In each of the other kampongs there are families in which the Little Fours are hereditary posts. This position is inherited from father to eldest son.

[796] There are no set ritual functions associated with these offices, but the mosa laki mere of the Big Four (I think) must always be there for a big ceremony, and he must receive the lower jaws of the animals slaughtered. I note that an alternative term for the four mosa laki is tuan tanah.

771 796 Some of the people here are Catholics, and I asked if they still did the ritual and prayed when they held a big ceremony. He say yes, and that Catholicism makes no difference in this matter. He was firm in stating that there are Catholic things and adat things. They are separate. 796 The two main feasts of the year are 241 those held at planting and at harvest time, 574 when the crops are brought in ritually to the 527 kampong. At these feasts the mosa are the leaders and the big leader is the local mosa laki mere. There is animal slaughter, dancing, singing, and praying. They wear festive clothes. [614] And there is also a big suku feast when the [341] bone house of a suku is rebuilt. Thousands at- 000 tend. Smaller private rites are held for such

R Smaller private rites are held for such
755 cases as illness. A medicine man or woman (and in the example given they said woman; perhaps they are more frequent than men) is called in and magical rites are performed.

582 We got onto the suku exogamy matter, and
614 they said at first that one could marry within
178 the suku if the relationship was at least three generations off. But I pressed this a little further and they seemed less certain. I looked over the list which is now up to No. 190, and I noticed only a single case of endogamy. This proved to be a man from the outside who had been "adopted" by the Odja (he was originally from Lio) long ago. He was still separate, however, and I noticed that although he is still trying to find the name of his suku in the old place, the assistant left the suku slot blank for him and his children. This proved to be a case of no bride price and hence matrilocal residence. Thus there is not a single case of suku endogamy. I suspect that they
[124] are either trying to fool me into thinking they follow only Catholic rules, or else they know the latter and talk about them. Or perhaps they just don't phrase the old rules in the same way any more, although they follow them actually in practice.

124 We got onto the schedule as he has written a few short answers already. They are not bad, but it is evident that thinking and writing are painful for him.

342 Formerly the kampong was much larger than it is today and the houses were bigger by far. They are still large. In regard to migration
166 the situation is not too clear, but it is quite evident that very few people leave. Most of the individuals who go away are police or soldiers who serve in other parts of Flores. There are also a few teachers who serve elsewhere in Flores. They nearly all come back later. Their

487 of dirty, mixed kampongs, and then went up along
the cliffs over the sea to Nangapanda. Then
the road headed into the mountains, and after
[361] a long stretch which appeared to be practically
uninhabited (as usual between the coast and
mountain folk, here as in the Toradja country),
and finally we arrived in Badjawa. Before we
797 reached Badjawa we saw a large mission station
at Todabelu, where there were many modern
buildings, a seminary, and a model farm as well
as a trade school. All of these were notably
advanced over anything else we have seen in
Flores. As usual, it is connected with the
526 mission. In Badjawa there was a great crowd
for the day, and football games were held.
These are the great sport all over Indonesia
now, and it is coming even into the remote kam-
pongs. It is the national sport [i.e., soccer].

We saw here the dirty but spirited Ngada,
291 with dull clothes. The adat dress, however, is
striking, especially that of the men. It con-
sists of a dark blue cloak and a red headcloth.
304 We also noted that a lot of the people had filed
teeth, and in addition many had blackened them.
Earboring is a general practice here, but as
usual the younger men may have the holes but no
rings. (For example, the assistant in Roworeke
is like this and so is the younger guru in Le-
[771] loba.) This is a pretty primitive looking lot,
although most of them are Christian.

361 The Ngada kampongs are hard to see as they
are nearly all behind bamboo thickets. Ngada
342 houses are rectangular with low hanging hooded
roofs. They are built on piles definitely,
unlike Ende (or at least most of the houses in
[778] Ende) and Larantuka. In these kampongs there
are not many stones that I could see, but as
769 yet I have not seen a kampong fully. Notable
346 are the inverted pyramid-like ancestor houses
built on a single post. They are called nadu

[124] arrived after dark. We saw a very clear change
144 in physical type.[1] The Manggarai are clearly
proto-Malay with a fair amount of Mongoloid
blood in them.

[311] We went down to the coast through the empty
361 land, being burned off in large part, to Aimere.
● 342 Then we went across the wild and jungled peninsula to Mborong. We picked up a small girl from the hospital in Mborong who was going to school in the mountains. She got sick on the way. Then, up in the empty hills again, we saw a tree house on the way. Underneath it were some Mongoloid looking men and they said they were iron workers who were working on a bridge. They sleep in the tree house, which they built
[137] against mosquitoes which are bad here. They were from Ruteng. Later we heard that they have been here for years, "working" on a bridge.

[132] We ran into a terrible fog as we went up and up toward Ruteng. In the evening we attended
[443] the pasar malam, and there in addition to the
[525] gambling was a play with a story about how in-
536 dependence means decency and not rowdiness.
177 It was full of Catholic influence. Between the
533 acts there were instances of poor singing and dancing by a little girl who sang and stepped around and by some sillily dressed boys who went through marching motions to almost inaudible
[534] singing. The orchestra consisted of a violin and a ukelele, nothing else. The band consisted of a few horns. A small child held up the music for the trombone player, who didn't use the slide. The play was incredibly bad. Thus they lose the fine old singing and dancing and drama rites and instead of them they now have these imitation things which are bad beyond belief.

The next morning we went to the mission and
793 met several priests, including the rector, van
124 Bekkum,[2] who wrote an article on Manggarai art. He was a bearded fellow and not bad. He said

[1] [i.e., the Manggarai vis-a-vis the Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Weo

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[798] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here, and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

771 We the young folk are Christian. Most of the old
[624] people are largely pagan however. There are
no other obvious signs of pagan religion in
the lower kampong. The same goes for Weol.
342 Here there are more round houses, but the new
ones are all rectangular. At the entrance of
778 the kampong there is a mound which I must ask
about. It looks as though it might have been
a cult hill. Then there is the holy tree and
the stones around it. The photo of the stone
figure, Ine Amba, which Vroklage gives as from
Weol, is really from a kampong which can be seen
across the rice fields.

621 There are many old people here, including two
[624] remarkable old men, one of whom is one of the
two tuan tanah in the kampong. This is a double
kampong, with two main parts, and it has there-
fore two tuan tanah. The children here are
[515] dirty and so are the adults, for the most part.
[231] There are pigs all over. However, the houses
[361] are better spaced than, for example, in Laran-
tuka kampongs. The people here have poor clothes,
[291] and many, especially the women, were seen with
304 filed teeth and some of them with teeth beauti-
fully blackened. We noticed no tattooing nor
cutting.

243 Looking off from the high kampong one can see
the wet rice fields below. These are in wedge
shapes with a common center. There are many
adjacent, star-shaped arrangements. This is
unique in Indonesia. The priest says this is
because it is easier to fence them in this fashion,
but I suspect there is some cosmological signifi-
cance, perhaps reflected in the circular houses
too. The houses have all sorts of decorations
342 on top of them. The round ones seem to have an
531 upright wooden thing on them. The rectangular
ones have at the ridge ends a stylized pair of
wooden horns, often with a bird in the middle,
and some with two birds, one at each horn tip.

[See pp. 890-91 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography cat. 113--Analyst]

We

592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more people in many of the houses. The complex ar-
243 rangement of rice fields stretches out far below and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but perhaps this is done merely by flooding. I must ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly situated on rises and they are small, for example, Weol has only about thirty houses in it. The priest says that there are many of the stones in kampong Ruteng located about 1½ km. outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each day, and the guru will bring the table and chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel. The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary, which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
197 houses were introduced here by a priest. The guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the
55 folk here, including the priests. Bathing is not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the relationship between partners is distant enough. Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans, called panga, and one may marry within these in the same way, according to the guru. I must find out more about this and also get the kin system. We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in the center of the town where they were playing football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

We

614 maybe it is a matter of the older and younger
582 lines. I must check on this. The mandur said
[624] there was no tuan tanah in Ruteng kampong.
Later the assistant said they must have one.

124 In the evening the assistant came to the pasanggrahan and talked with us. He seems to be the best one yet. He knows plenty about the old customs, and Christianity has not caused him to scorn the old ways. He is so enthusiastic that it was hard for us to stop him. We got onto the question of Weol.

178 He said that in the old days there was only
342 one large round house per kampong. The diameter
614 was perhaps twenty meters. If you saw two
624 houses, it meant that there were two va'u. And
582 up until twenty years ago (1927) all tuan tanah
778 lived in round houses. After that, however, a
801 change took place. For example, the tuan tanah of Weol now lives in a rectangular house. In the old clan house there were nine posts, in rows of three. The very center pillar was the main one and here sat the tuan tanah at religious rites. Others ranged around the walls in the front half of the house. The rear section of the house was for the tuan tanah and his family. Other panga had sections around the walls. In the center, behind the main post, was the kitchen. Later, when more than one round house was built in a single kampong, the tuan tanah occupied the main house, and here the main pillar of all was located. This pillar is especially holy, and the setting of it in place requires certain rites, sacrificial animals, etc. Other round houses had nine pillars too. Each house was inhabited usually by one panga, and in each there was a kepala panga, and smaller rites were held at each main pillar.

243 The circular rice field arrangement shows
782 certain similarities here. He says that even
778 now when they begin planting or have some other

We
842 too uncommon. If relatives help out in this
583 matter,[1] they must be repaid. The assistant
[602] said that if there are no children or if there
[597] are very few children, it often happens that a man buys a child, who then becomes one of his own. (From whom does he buy?)

565 The ranks are:

582
595
1. Radja bangsawan
2. Dalu bangsawan (he says, since 1880) (Kraeng)
3. Gelarang bangsawan
4. Leke (commoners)
5. Mendi (slaves)

The first three may intermarry, either way. The last two may intermarry, also either way. Polygamist marriages are possible, and this goes even for the Christians who do so in order to have more children. He talked as though polygamy, if done for this purpose only, was not so bad. He is of the gelarang and his wife of dalu. The children are of gelarang.

624 Then we got onto the subject of the social
621 organization of Weol. He said that there is a
342 tuan tanah and also a second man, whom he will
534 explain later, as it is a long story. There is also a medicine man, and he is important in ceremonies. He will give me the posts of the kampong later on the sheets.

Weol has two offshoot kampongs. One is Tjantsia (where he lives) and the other is Tjara, on the next hill. The former has a tuan tanah tjabang (a branch tuan tanah). Incidentally,
[178] the present tuan tanah of Weol lives in a rectangular house, which was an unknown thing here before ten years ago. Even in this rectangular house, there is a main post or rather a place which serves as a main post, and here the tuan tanah sits as the center of rituals. The tuan tanah must have in the house a gong and a gendang

[1] [i.e., meeting the bride price --Analyst]

We
621 or drum. Thus they may speak of his house as
624 the rumah gong-gendang. These instruments are
534 used in the rites, and as tuan tanah he must have
342 them. If there is a branch kampong, the tuan tanah tjabang must get a gong and a gendang from the mother kampong tuan tanah. Thus the gong-gendang is a symbol of power, like the Celebes aradjang.

There have been men who from time to time try to become tuan tanah-like by getting a gong and a gendang. This is not possible, however, as they must come directly from the old tuan tanah. Sometimes a tuan tanah tjabang is not happy in the branch kampong and he may come back to the mother kampong, taking his gong-gendang with
621 him. I think he said that a branch is often
614 caused by the fact that there are two va'u in a kampong, and one may split off and move to a new location. Evidently there is a tendency to keep the rule of one va'u per kampong. Thus I note that he says that the Ruteng kampong, which has two va'u, is having internal trouble between the two. There might be a split off in such a case.

797 He said finally that Catholicism has made
178 just about no change at all in the adat. It stands fast. Maybe here we have a case of greater technical change than in Larantuka or Ende where there has been practically no technical change, but on the other hand, there has been very little change in the adat here, which has been much modified in Larantuka and Ende.
[242] Thus one can see beautiful farming techniques here, and the mission is strong in this type of development. There are also wooden houses with nails (cost about fl. 2000.00 in meat and gift salaries and materials). In Larantuka and Ende the economic conditions remain at the same old miserable level. Thus the mission changes adat and religion a lot in Ende and Larantuka, but only technical changes have occurred here.

000 only technical changes have occurred here.

592 I noted that as we were walking out of Weol, and I asked the priest how many families there were per house, he asked a man and the fellow said there were five in one of the big round houses nearby. Another man rebuked him and said no, there were only three in it. The priest said this is because the government has the law that only three families may live in a house, for health reasons. However, the folk secretly manage to have more. The first man was giving the folk away.

541 697 I forgot to say that at the whip fights (main tjatjih)[1] there was a band of extra gay fellows who did a lot of the sideline chanting and chorusing. They had red and white banners and at one time when we were taking photographs they came dancing en masse and singing across the field like a slow moving army. At 5 P.M. they raised the banners, singing lustily, and marched off. I asked who they were, and the Radja said that they were the prisoners of the jail, who had been given the day free, and that they were now marching back to jail!

463 462 231 The assistant says that all or nearly all men in Weol are farmers. Some, but very few, have specialist skills, but even those farm too. Not one woman has any other job than that of helping in the fields and making mats or weaving in her spare time. Nearly every man has a few to many horses, and some have other animals.

354 A bad feature of the old houses is the smoke from the fire which coats everything with soot and makes for additional darkness, but on the good side is the warmth which comes with the smoke.

769 718 342 173 614 Theory on reading Coolhaas:[2] The Ngada nadu which is for the male ancestors is a small replica of the conical houses of Manggarai. The small bhaga houses of the female houses are

[1] [See pp. 91-92, cat. 116 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

769 rectangular. Now, Coolhaas[1] says that in Mang-
778 garai there are two native forms, and he gives
342 the native terms. One is conical and the other
173 rectangular, or perhaps a bit oval in shape.
614 However, the latter is not related to the for-
mer. There are areas of the one and the other,
and evidently some areas have both. Now, the
conical ones seem older, and on any surmise be-
cause round houses are simply older in Indonesia.
Note then, that Ngada legends say that Djawa had
seven daughters who became the ancestral mothers
of the seven main voi. And they married men of
the land, aborigines, here. The men are the
[174] ancestral fathers of the bhou. Could it be that
the conical male ancestor houses reflect the
patrilineal aboriginal culture and the popula-
tion stratum which lived in round houses, and
the rectangular bhaga represent the incoming,
matrilineal population and culture? If so, this
says much about the double descent of Ngada, the
peculiar legend, and the strange double ancestor
houses. Now I think I know why there are those
amazing conical male ancestor posts in Ngada.

173 The legends of Minangkabau immigration may
611 be foolish, and the priest says he thinks it is
built up more recently, by the younger folk who
342 hear a name of an ancestor who came in and it
563 sounds like "Minangkabau." But the surface evi-
dence looks as though Manggarai and Ngada are a
mixture of aborigines and immigrants. And there
are also many evidences of double descent. I
remember now that the priests talk much of en-
claves of "autochthonous" folk in East Manggarai
and East Nageh. They say that the people in these
places are neither Manggarai nor Nageh. The
Nageh enclave is originally from Soa, says Mom-
mersteeg. I wish I knew whether these enclaves
were patrilineal. Anyway, I doubt that they were
unmixed. This may be a pretty good theory and
may explain the umbrella houses.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

Wo
614 get larger and split. Thus there are many panga
173 in the va'u Weol (are they grouped under the original seven sons?).

614 The three panga of Weol kampong are: Lambar
621 (the tuan tanah is chief of this), Rinteng (the
592 kepala kampong is chief of this), and Rundu. It happens that there are two houses in each of the three panga in Weol, making six houses in all. Thus each tu'a panga has two houses under
342 him. The houses of the tuan tanah and the
178 kepala kampong are built in the new style, as are two of the others. There are then two old round houses, one with old non-wood walls. Most of the present round houses have wood walls and are built with nails. The roof does not reach the floor as in the real old time houses. The new style houses are all the same pattern, which was introduced by a certain priest. This is the only new style they know, and all new ones are exactly the same.

592 Often the whole panga will live in one house.
621 Ndung, which originally was linked with Weol, is
614 now a separate kampong and is even located in
624 another gelarang. The border is the mound above the small house area of Weol. They are
[778] continuous, but each has its own sacred tree. The kepala kampong of not only Ndung and Meler, but of the other four kampongs in the gelarang as well, lives in Meler. Thus there is only one kepala kampong for all the six kampongs. But each kampong must have a tuan tanah. The tuan tanah besar, however, lives in Ndung, just as the tuan tanah besar of Weol gelarang lives in Weol (this is our host). The big kepala kampong and the big tuan tanah of each gelarang has the rank of gelarang. In the gelarang Weol there are three kepala kampongs only, for the seven kampongs. Thus the Weol kepala kampong is also kepala kampong of Tjantjar.

614 The Ndung folk are all of the va'u Weol and
784 have a taboo on lusa.

000 614 592 842 178 have a taboo on lusa. There are two panga here: Rosong and Nggurus. Each panga has two houses, and thus there are four in all. There are more houses, however, and these are of the non-Wol newcomers, especially those from Ruteng. In addition to the four old houses of which two are built in the old style and one in the new style, there are: one round house belonging to the newcomers, mixed; three new style houses of newcomers, mixed. The reason that there are only three original houses is that one of the pangas has people living in a temporary, awful long tumbledown shack, wherein live also some newcomers. This is to be torn down as soon as two new style wooden houses, now under construction, are finished. In one of these will live the newcomers of the shed, and in the other the panga folk now living in the shed. Thus the houses are:

1. Tuan tanah house, new style, panga.
2. Round house panga.
3. Round house panga.
4. Small shed with one family who should live in number 3. It is beside the latter.
5. Round house newcomers.
6. New style newcomers.
7. New style newcomers.
8. Small shed newcomers.
9. Long shed mixed panga and newcomers.

Number 9 will split when the two new houses are finished, and the newcomers will go to one and the panga folk to the other.

342 531 554 624 I asked about the roof ornaments. The horns are pretty clearly a sign of the tuan tanah's house. The other type, the straight upright rod, is an ordinary decoration. Some of the horns have a bird head in the middle, and I have seen birds on the horn tips, but not here. The tuan tanah of Ndung has the horns, but in the center there is a human face.

We

624 In the house of the tuan tanah of Weol there
342 are four households. The tuan tanah has a sec-
592 tion to one side, since the old place in the
554 rear, as in the round house, is impossible be-
534 cause the rear door is located there. He keeps the gong-gendang, which is the symbol of his being tuan tanah. One might even call the tuan tanah house the drum house. These drums are important, as they are used in agricultural rites.

778 There are no holy stones (yet see later) in the kampong here. I hear that there are some in kampong Ruteng, which I must see. In each kampong there is a tree (the Weol one died some time ago and was replaced; the new one is rather small). Around these trees (the assistant knows nothing of the significance of the tree) are placed stones. He says they have no magic power, but in sacred rites animals are sacrificed there below the tree. In the cleansing of the kampong rite these stones are rearranged nicely.

178 Nowadays it is possible to marry in or out
582 of the clan. It is also possible to marry
614 within or without the kampong, and the kampong
[621] usually consists of one clan. But even now one may not marry in the same panga. Thus there is lineage exogamy.

Formerly clans too were exogamous, but in special cases one might marry in, for example, if the girl became pregnant. Evidently there were other cases too. But since about fifty years ago endogamous marriages within the clan have been possible. Nevertheless, most marriages are outside of the clan. The first case of clan endogamy in Weol kampong involved the parents of the present tuan tanah. This occurred fifty yeargs ago. He said that they cannot remember what trouble was caused if any. The assistant has heard tales of evil following such cases of endogamy. I must follow this up. What has

524 In the afternoon on the alun-alun in Ruteng we saw a bamboo-clapping game. Two parallel bamboos were placed on the ground, and squatting behind them, facing each other, were two pairs of women. Each pair held two bamboos in their hands. These bamboos were placed athwart the lying bamboos. In unison they banged the bamboos three times against the sticks which were lying down, and on the fourth beat clapped them together, sliding them across on the sticks. Then the girl tried to hopscotch between the moving bamboos so that her ankles would not get caught on the clapping together of the long horizontal bamboos. The clapping went faster and faster--one, two, three, four --until she got caught. A man tried it too, and then some others. This is unique [actually [171] rather widespread in southeast Asia, for example, in Hainan, Philippines, Indo-China]. The mandur said they usually do this in moonlight with long rows of clappers, and with several pairs, male and female, doing the hopscotch stuff. They also have this in Larantuka and Ende.

824 Teno does not mean tanah, the latter being the same in Manggarai. Teno means the kind of wood used for the lodok post. Hence, tu'a teno.

342 531 237 [171] On the house ridge of the tuan tanah of Ndung between the wooden buffalo horns is a human head of wood. Could this be related to the Toradja use of human heads berween horns, and also connected with the horn headdresses of the dancers and whippers here? The horns are used only on the houses of the tuan tanah. On other houses different decorations are used. The horns indicate that there is a drum located in the house on which they are placed.

114 Notes from Mennes (Koloniaal Tijdschrift, XX, 1931; (1), 384-390): λ

λ [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
614 living on the level of the road and the other
621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they
are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo.
[211] At the road border of the kampong a bit in from
the road, standing against the skyline, is a
row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars
looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe
heads. They are thin and tall. They are set
on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
[417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical
of all kampongs in this region, so that the
kampong itself is located down in a stone wall
enclosure.

Below the first row of stone pillars there
346 is another with just as many stones. It is also
769 set on a mound. Just below this stands the
531 umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on
one side there is a living tree with Y-branches
at the fork. Stones are heaped around the
ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet
high, and consists of a single pillar with
thatched cap. The pillar is made of hebuh wood
and is carved in fancy designs which are hard
to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a
mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were
made of white shell). Looking under the cap I
could see that the pillar forks were in the
shape of a U, and so it is really about the
same as the Nagch peo, but less clearly Y-shaped
and covered with a cap.

342 To either side of the plaza, which was of
361 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small
and had rather low roofs. These houses are set
on piles. On one side was the house of the
624 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
769 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
346 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
565 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
554 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in
574

624 565 554 769 346 574 [782] order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase his fame. However, a common man cannot do this. Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions. Also, buffalo sacrifices are needed for putting a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger" mori ndaru who lives on the other side of the plaza. This has some relation to the elder and younger brother stuff mentioned in the manuscript report on Soa by a priest. Mommersteeg[1] 342 624 532 has lent me this report. The mori ndaru house has a wood post in front, on either side beside the steps. They are rather thin and low and are carved in a human form. This is known as the ata deo, or rather these are the ata deo.

342 531 [171] Also, beside the door of the house and on the porch are two richly carved wooden rectangles measuring about 3x2 feet. This looks like the Balinese stuff and consists mainly of scrolls so far as I could see.

237 342 531 Not only on the houses of the mori ndaru but also on others, we noted many lower jaws of pigs, wild pigs with tusks, deer horns, and buffalo horns. These are partly ranged along a rack under the roof eaves and partly, especially true of the buffalo horns, stuck in beside the wall of the porch. We later found out that the ata deo may be used by others than the mori ndaru, but evidently the carved wood slabs are only for him. I saw some especially elaborate lower jaw carvings on a barn in Brova.

346 231 [624] In the lower kampong, Lodo, which has a low stone wall between it and Naru, there is the house of the mori ndaru (thus each suku, voi, has a mori ndaru, and there may be more than one per kampong) and the rest of the things just mentioned. The ndaru there, however, has a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had been no renewal they said that they would do so, but they would have to get the buffalo first.

[1] [pastor at Soa -- Analyst]

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 237 224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him 776 784 about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh 124 tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must 824 have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read 769 that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo [789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
361 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
515 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
574 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

243 where around the earthen plaza there are Every-
251 corn drying racks set upright on tall piles. They
looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the
peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it
were two great slabs set upright. In the cen-
ter of the plaza was a finely carved peo with
shelleyes. It was set in cement.

From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
132 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However,
124 when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from
Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of
two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we
had to stay overnight at the house of a former
kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
the present scribe. The former kapitan has the
[181] oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see
the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of
Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan.
He constantly brings up the case with the govern-
ment, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and
his cronies are taking everything. There is
only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewar-
anga). He said the great majority of gemeente
Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed
from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And
now they are asking the Christians to move up

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000 since then there have been no wars.

614 The great suku feasts are a kind of re-
574 fresher of the gemeente bond, as all the suku
632 of the area come and feast and pledge friend-
624 ship. Thus, if Odja has a suku feast for re-pairing the grave-bones shrine, the other five big suku (and also others who are invited) attend. (The five are Rewarangga, Nggonggora'ba, Reandona, Wanda, and Gusa-Tibo). Thus the suku feasts are gemeente affairs as well as of a genealogical group. The mosa laki mere must be present at all such feasts, even though it is not of his own suku. Incidentally, he is the same man as the kolu, mentioned by Suchtelen[1] as the "tuan tanah." This kolu word is evidently used especially in his function as an agricultural priest. Thus he is an adat judge and agricultural priest at the same time. The mosa laki mere involved is the mosa laki mere of the kampong involved; thus here he is the big one, as the kampong mosa laki mere of Worowai-Roworeke is also the mosa laki mere of the gemeente.

[237] He gets the lower jaws of all the sacrificed
[342] animals. Nowadays he throws them away after
[178] eating, but formerly all bones from such occasions were kept and were put on the houses. Thus there is a clear relation involved between the jaws on the Ngada houses of the tuan tanah there and such occasions (and distantly to the Mentawei and Punan animal jaws). Note that he gets the lower jaws.

538 As for legends and stories of the past, at
533 first they said that they have none, or rather
[124] that they had forgotten what they might have had. I prodded on and told them about the Balai Pustaka man getting stories of Indonesia for schools. They loosened up a bit, and it seems that they do have plenty. I instructed the assistant to get a few as samples. They said

[1] [See p.70 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography cat. 13 - Analyst]

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614 barn rites, with only the ama tuno wudjo and
796 members present. All of this is done in order
247 to make the rice in the fields perfect. The
343 other great ritual complex of an agricultural nature is at harvest time, and they may have a third type if there is an especially good harvest (like the thanksgiving feasts of the Toradja).

778 I asked about the saoniwang, the magic stones
789 which are in front of the houses of all suku
342 and ama chiefs. Some have disappeared in Le-
614 loba and have not been replaced, but most of
823 them are still there. For example, the guru has the mother stone before his house, and one child stone, but other child stones are used for foundations of houses. They are inserted with many other stones in the masonry, but he pointed to the specific ones. These saoniwang, like the nubanara, which are placed in front of the korke, are the big ones in the heap, the mother, and the little ones, her children. They hold the magic power of the chiefs, and without them there is no power. Nevertheless, in Leloba, even when the chief has no more stones, he still holds some power, as if they were still there. The guru has three for his house, for war power, marriage power, and power among suku, respectively. One of these is in the hills behind. This, he says, has tremendous power. He says such things seriously.

[773] These stones suddenly appeared long ago. They came down from heaven after, or rather with a heavy rain. Thus they are like the descendance stones of, for example, Goa. Sao means anchor and so does niwang. Thus the meaning is that the power and with it the group or man holding it are firmly and inextrically tied to this land. However, all sorts of stones are believed to have power. Many of them are very little. Thus the kakang has a

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178 In terms of technology and occupation, there
463 have been very few changes. They still farm
in the old way, and there have been no new jobs
● 341 created. There are today such houses as the
178 kapitan's, with a bit of cement work. This is
354 new. And every house has a pelita /a kind of
lamp/ for which they buy kerosene. Few of
them have any real lamps like the kapitan's.
The assistant has one, but it is typically out
291 of order. Shirts here are new, but they are
178 rare and cost much. Shoes are new here and
[413] are very rare. Pens, etc., are extremely rare.
The women no longer wear the homespun blouses.
They wear homespun sarongs like the men do,
but buy kebaya of thinner cloth today.

286 They cannot make thin cloth with their
looms, and this is a great handicap. What
they make is too heavy. This is mainly a matter of thread. They can't spin thread any
thinner than they do and have it strong enough
so that it will not break in the loom. Thus,
if they could get trade thread, they might be
able to weave thinner cloth (?).

[346] The only tin roofs are on the grave-bone
shrines of Odja and Wanda.

Every woman spins thread and weaves. There
are no specialists, however, who sell cloth.
This is done only rarely.

463 There are no smiths or specialists of any
326 kind. There were about twenty men who worked
563 at making pots here, and this started evidently
about two years ago. It was a Chinese company
(evidently tied in with the Radja some way),
and these lads worked in their spare time. As
there are no orders now, they are working
there no longer. It is not a native craft.

241 The most important local agricultural crop
and food source is maize, by far. Then come
rice, vegetables, and yams. There is no sago;
000 they have never heard of it. Little meat is

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243 he came back, he at once made a sawah, and the
177 others saw that it was good. Now, everyone
788 plants at least one sawah. Formerly there were no sawah. This is an excellent case of acculturation via the hadj.

412 Formerly the people here did not use hoes
177 or shovels. These came in at the time of the Dutch entry. Before that they had an iron tipped digging stick only. There are no carts.
493 They thought about my proposal for a group to buy one as an investment for hiring. Perhaps there is too little money even to pay for a bicycle here.

352 There are no tables, chairs, or lamps, ex-
354 cept in rare houses like the kapitan's. The
178 only new thing is the kerosene wick, not the lamp. It is called pelita.

342 The house type has changed here from a
178 larger to a smaller structure, and many of the old style roofs are still to be seen.

291 Women now use bought cloth to make thin
178 kebaya. Formerly they made blouses of homespun, but these are all gone. Men and women still wear homespun sarongs. Men wear this alone and are usually bare above the waist. If a man wears a selendang, he is a big man. If he wears a shirt, this is really very slick attire. There were no shoes here at all before, and few now.

301 Men and women wore earrings before, the men
753 ones of gold (look like silver) which the pagans still wear, and the women ones of a different
[304] style. The assistant's ears are pierced, but this is no longer done to the boys, only to the girls. Beads are worn by men and women on festive occasions. These are great ceremonial objects and are worn by the people who are proud of them. If one is not entitled to them, he will become sick if he wears a string of beads.

No.
217 statistics are available for all of the people), but the pastor puts names down in the church book. There is not even a registry of births and deaths (as I think there is in Larantuka and Ende), but each year for taxes a census is taken, by asking how many children there are in a house, etc. I see that one could easily have a continuous census in most parts of Indonesia, as the units are so small, and the hierarchy of administration is so close knit. The kepala
[622] kampong knows everything in his kampong, and the kepala kampongs could report to the kepala district, and so on up.

583 I noticed a case of a little girl of seven living in a house with her father's sister, who has a son. I asked, could this be a case of having already paid the price for this little girl? That is, has he already "taken possession of the goods"? He said that he didn't know, but said that this happens here (i.e., an early payment of the bride price for a little girl). This happens even when the girl is as young as five years. I must check on this case.

178 I talked with van Bekkum[1] about Kattenburg's
● 342 notion that in Manggarai, economy has advanced, but adat holds, whereas in other parts, economy has not changed but adat has changed. He thinks this is not a bad idea. And then he gave cases of how houses are rapidly becoming changed to the new type, and the old round ones are almost dying out. Also the way wet rice fields are
[241] spreading is most rapid, as is the spread of the use of the buffalo in agriculture. Note how, even in the new rectangular houses, if there is a rite held, the tuan tanah sits in the high spot, and although there is no more a center post, they put a stick up where it should be. (I can't help but think that the lodok must be linked with the center post of the old round houses, and I wonder if perhaps the wedges of

1 [i.e. pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

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178 the fields might not have been arranged like the
●342 places of the various panga or families in the old round houses. If so, it is beautiful.

592 The assistant says that in the old days when
614 perhaps all of one kampong lived in a single house, the panga were like families therein. That is, since then the panga have expanded into subclans.

632 I asked if perhaps, before 1870, the tu'a
622 tenu gelarang might not have been the highest
152 chiefs except for the alien Bima sultan. He thinks that this is probably so, as there was no dalu until 1870. Then I asked if maybe even yet the tu'a tenu gelarang might not really be more of a real head to the people than the dalu. He said that in the district, in all adat matters, especially land cases, the tu'a tenu was indeed supreme. And even the dalu would not dare to tread on his power in these respects. Then I asked if the dalu were all of Bima origin. He said he thinks so, but that the people are afraid to say so. I asked if any of them have family trees, and he said they must have them. Then I caught him, as I reminded him that his wife was of the "dalu" bangsawan! I asked if her ancestors were aliens. He, embarrassed, said yes, they are said to have been. She is of the Rahong dalu bangsawan. I pressed the case by asking whether her ancestors came from Bima. He said that it is said they were from Pulo Rintja! This is a practically uninhabited island between Flores and Komoda!

This remark about being afraid to say anything about the dalu led me to remark that Manggarai seemed to be a part of Flores which was always under alien rule. He looked a little startled, but saw the point. Evidently, any mention of these "imperialist" matters causes a fear reaction. This came out when I asked if perhaps the tuan tanah was really more powerful

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632 622 152 than the dalu. This, it seems, is the kind of thing that is not discussed!

I must get the dalu relationship straight.

634 I asked if there was really a Radja of Riung, and he said yes. He is on the same level as, for example, Nageh. He said that there has been a radja there for a long time. The radja there now is a Ngada, but the folk there are mainly Manggarai. The houses there are mostly 342 178 the old rectangular type (not the new style rectangular type which is coming in now) of East Manggarai. The round house area is West Manggarai, although there are round houses in East Manggarai too.

I noted that one of the three round houses in Ndung is going to be torn down shortly. Thus the new type house, which came in only about ten years ago, is swiftly replacing the round ones everywhere. I asked if, since originally Ndung 622 was a branch kampong of Weol, the tuan tanah there was not less in prestige than the tuan tanah of Weol. He said that in theory they are the same, but indeed the tuan tanah of Weol was like the older sibling.

614 114 It seemed to me that the va'u here are very large (e.g., va'u Weol has over two gelarang), and I told him so. He agreed and in fact said that he has found that there is a still larger genealogical unit (I must ask[1] about this; maybe it is like the isi that Arndt[1] denies, but that Staveren[1] says is found in Ngada above the voi 685 there). On the way back to Weol I saw a buffalo with one of its rear legs hanging nearly off with a deep cut behind the knee. I was shocked and asked how it had happened. He said that the buffalo had broken into someone's garden and that the owner of the garden, who had become angry, had crippled the buffalo. He said that this is done frequently here. I can see how a feud could be started in this way.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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346 there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.
824 They beat the gongs and drums to keep the wood
533 satisfied and I suppose to make it think that
776 the work is going on. Also, I notice that a few men carry planks up now and then to the rafters, perhaps making as though they were carrying on the work. Meanwhile a delegation is in Ruteng to persuade the carpenters to return. The situation is desperate, and perhaps the folk regret having argued with the tukang in the first place. They must "make the wood cool," they say. This is dramatic.

I also noted that a pig was being skinned in the shed nearby. This is for the workers, but it had been ritually killed with prayers, etc. The drum and gong rhythms constantly changed, and the girls are really clever. This
[562] is beautiful stuff. There are beats which are peculiar to men and women, and also some which are used by both. These people are really virtuosos. All day the women sit thus, doing their duty by the wood spirit.

There is a main post in the rectangular house too, and when it is set in, animals are killed and blood is placed in the hole.

342 Until about ten years ago all houses here
178 were round. Today there are very few of the
346 old round houses left. Cornelius[1] says there is scarcely a single tuan tanah round house left, because everyone must contribute to the cost of a new one, and when they build one they want one that will be a strong rectangular type so that it will last for a long while. The cost of
[435] this new type tuan tanah house is nearly fl. 3000.00 in addition to the free labor contributed. Each family contributes to the cost and also gives animals for the workers, ceremonies, etc. It is a big thing.

342 I went into one of the two round houses left
178 in Tjantjar. It is a bit different from the

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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342 old type, because it has low wooden walls, where-
178 as the old ones had the walls to the floor. The first change was thus, and within ten years the rectangular house is sweeping the country.

342 Inside this house (and before we entered the
[592] man worried as he said perhaps I would tell the police that there were more than three families living in it; indeed there were eight! and the law says only three), everything was dark, and several fires were burning on the floor and smoke was everywhere. There were a couple of low windows in the low walls, but even these were lacking before. All over men, women and children were sitting or reclining. The planks of the flooring were roughly worked with big cracks in between, but they were worn smooth by years of bare feet. In the rear was the apartment of the tu'a mbaru, set off by a low wall. Other spaces were not set off until night, when mats were hung up between them. There is not much privacy here. Looking up I saw the intricate network of rafters, with ropes binding the whole thing. And above this were the big mat holders for food. Long rows of ear corn, unshucked, were hung on the beams. The main post was the center of everything, but I did not see the food shelf for the naga, as I did not hear about this until later.

342 The conical roof is beautiful. This was an
531 ordinary house, with merely an upright stick
178 above the tip. Formerly, only the tuan tanah house could have horns, but I note that now many houses, rectangular ones (but I haven't seen any round ones that use the horns illegally) use horns illegally. Some horns are accompanied by birds. One set here has a bird in the middle and a bird on the tip of either horn. Another has a human head with horns like arms (looked like the human figure atop the Ngada ngadu).

614 I found that the Tjepang va'u is the main one

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621 rang Veol was run between the two kampongs. This was because if it had included in the Veol gelarang all the kampongs inhabited by va'u Veol, it would have been very large. And Bima wanted to have as many gelarang as possible, because thus a greater tax yield was made certain.

342 592 656 178 Fifty years ago all houses were round. There were three of them, two in Veol and one in Ndung. These houses were about two times as large as the present round ones, that is, about twenty meters in diameter rather than about twelve meters in diameter. In one such house there might live up to three hundred people!

The assistant until about five years of age lived in a house in Pau with three hundred people. There were only two in the Pau kampong, one for each of the two va'u there. Then, in 1926, came a law stating that not more than three families could be housed in a single dwelling. It took some time before the houses became smaller.

In 1927, came a law stating that all houses had to be rectangular, not round (the paternalistic Dutch!). The people were willing to make their houses smaller, but they refused to make them rectangular. Also, they didn't know how to build a rectangular house. They had to call in specialists, carpenters. It is notable here that a really complex style of building, the round house type, was known to the primitive folk, but not the simpler rectangular type! Anyway, the law about having to build rectangular houses was rescinded after three hopeless years. Since then, houses until very recently were mostly round but smaller.

342 178 The next change was to have low walls on round houses, and also they began to use nails (I noticed that in the new rectangular house

342 in Tjantjar they use some nails, but also many
178 wooden pegs; perhaps the nails are expensive and hard to get).

Now comes the last stage, when the rectangular houses are coming in all over. A certain pastor went around showing how to build the rectangular type houses, and now everyone follows his model exactly. They do not know any variations! Until 1948 all houses in the Veol--Ndung area were round. Now there are only three left, and Number 11 is to be torn down this month, and they intend to tear down Number 8 soon. In the old days, and now, a round house lasted only ten years, anyway.

166 Usually, when they build a new house the
178 whole population of the old one moves out and
[342] into the new one en masse. This took place every ten years. They seldom move from the kampong. An exception was the mass move of Tjepang to Tjantjar twenty years ago.

In the past fifty years the only movement he knows of was the Tjepang one. Before this there were many moves out of Veol, and Veol
[614] va'u kampongs are found all over the area, as well as families from Veol. But this was all before fifty years ago.

The places to which Veol folk have moved are all in Manggarai, and only in the two or three nearby dalu or gelarang, for example Rahong and Tjibal.

166 Families move because of four causes, accord-
578 ing to the assistant: (1) arguments over whose pigs are using the troughs and when, (2) arguments over pigs getting into gardens, whereupon the pig would be cut (like the buffalo I saw yesterday), (3) arguments between women over the use of pestles, and (4) marriages of men who went to live with their wives, taking the Veol name with them. Thus it seems that the main cause or causes are arguments, and they

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776 because it was new. This is because it was
778 planted when they moved (or maybe it was a
361 second new one, as they said the old one died).
Anyway, there is no tree on the old site, just
an empty place and some stones. The old tree
has evidently died, as he says they do not cut
them down. No one would dare live in that
place again. They may go there occasionally
if there is a reason to do so, but they do
not remain there. It is a cursed spot. The
vatu Veol is a man, but he does not yet have
the story. When the kampong moves, they get
a new stone heap and tree (tjompang).

[166] Many kampongs have moved because their naga
have turned bad. Aside from Veol he mentioned
Meler and Ladja. They must keep the naga
happy, or the situation may become dangerous.
Thus the rites held at the tjompang have real
meaning. They are for the kampong naga.

342 The house naga lives in each house. His
776 place is the main post. High on this is a lit-
782 tle shelf hung from strings. On this place
from time to time the occupants place eggs,
rice, and bits of meat. Also, each family
apartment or section has a little hanging shelf
for the house naga's food. The main post is
especially important, and that is why at cere-
monies they must give it blood from animals,
etc. (There must be a link here with the giv-
ing of food to the posts of the Larantuka korke;
note that Roy said they must "feed" the posts.)

342 If there is much trouble in the house, the
776 mbako may say that it is because for one reason
[786] or another the house naga is no longer any good.
Then they must dismantle the house and build a
new one. Many and many a house has been torn
down and the folk have then built a new one for
this reason. And when they do this, a great
expense is entailed, because they may not use
the old wood. They sell it to another family

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342 or another va'u, who will not carry the naga
776 with them. They buy entirely new wood, even to the very small pieces. They can use no part of the old house. I can see a house built with modern tools being torn down because the naga had turned bad (here again is an interesting case of technique and adat, the new and the old).

124 This is all good information, but it came entirely through questioning, and I had to drag things out a bit, because he is very slow in giving information on his own. Here again I see the secrecy, the reluctance, and the fear which is exhibited so often here. He is under a strain, I think. He sets his jaw and almost groans as the information is pulled out.

This is all new material. I doubt that much of it if any has been published.

166 In the past fifty years I do not know how many people have come to live in this kampong area, but right now the entrants are as follows:

Ndung: 29 women have married in.
9 men have married in.
14 couples have moved in from the outside.

Veol: 27 women have married in.
4 men have married in.
4 couples have moved in from the outside.

None of the people who have come into these kampongs from other areas has come from far away. The farthest that any of them has come from is Todo. I made a list of every case, but there is no use to keep it, because there is no pattern. They are all from nearby places. The suku information is more important in order to see what suku have married in.

The incomers are of three types: women who normally marry in; men who abnormally come to live matrilocally, either because they have paid

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763 There was a death in Veol, and from the hill there came the sound of weeping and howling. I asked if someone had died recently, and he said after listening that the person had died this morning. He could tell by listening, so it seems that there are evidently stages of howling. The next day there was no drumming in the kampong, because of the death, and evidently the dead takes precedence over wood.

186 Everywhere in Indonesia now, as this morning from the school, one can hear Indonesia Raja sung. They all know that it was taboo before.

●342 I saw the Radja's house in Ruteng today. It is a complex of three round houses, with one big one in the center. Of course, it was made of fine wood, which was about octangular, but the roof was made of grass thatch. It was impressive.

766 The Radja's daughter of about ten years of age died today, and there was a constant coming and going of cars, police jeep and others, bringing the local kraeng to Ruteng. I took one of the kraeng along at noon. I also took 515 a lot of others, and the smell was strong in the car. I think they never bathe. The pretty head guru's wife got sick, and also one child. They vomited because of carsickness.

194 The mandur said the Ngada can never get over their accent, which is full of gutturals. It is like Dutch. I heard this in the Radja's Malay in Badjawa. The guttural g is here a bit too, as noted in the place name Ndeges, with the g pronounced as in Dutch.

756 683 The assistant agrees that several mbako were jailed from time to time. The charge has been magic murder, but they can't get a conviction because they have no "witnesses." Still, this is a big reason why they no longer tell outsiders who the mbako are.

In regard to the radja and the land matter,

We

415 the case. Dishes and forks and spoons have
178 come in to some extent. Formerly they used wooden things, gourds, etc. only. Kitchen stuff is now to be found in the area. Terrac-
241 ing is new. Irrigated rice fields came in
178 only twenty years ago. The use of buffaloes in agriculture and the plow are very recent (five years ago). All the people are still farmers, however.

436 Today the people have much more money than
178 they had, for example, twenty years ago. Fifty years ago there was no money here at all.

342 Formerly there were no tin roofs or nails.
178 Now there are a few. Houses are different in style. In quantity most of the stuff is not changed.

285 Rattan baskets for clothing are no longer
415 made. They prefer wooden containers. However, they still make mats and baskets. The women make these, and the men make their plaited songko.

286 There is no spinning or weaving. This is
784 taboo except in the northeast quarter of Manggarai (Coolhaas[1] is incomplete on this) and Todo-Pongkor and Labuan Hadji. It is beginning to come in in the west.

323 Pottery is made in a few kampongs (Puruk,
784 Mungges, Bolong). This is taboo except in these places. The penalty is the same as for weaving: bad crops, illness, etc. In Pongkor, only one kampong can make pottery, and only one in Todo. Usually one or two kampongs can make pottery in an area.

326 Smiths are new. There was no iron work here
178 before. Formerly they had to buy instruments made from iron. Now they have equipment to do some forms of iron work in Rai and a few other places. Todo-Pongkor has had smithing for perhaps three hundred years (they brought it in evidently). It is not taboo, but they just

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

242 311 exhausting the soil. Someday someone is going to have to move away!

241 242 Then we talked of fertilizer. They have heard of using manure here, and I told how the Japanese and Chinese forage for manure, following animals around, and using human wastes too. He said, however, that they have heard of this and that the idea is revolting to them. They wouldn't do it. This is curious. They call manure pupuk! (Note the Batak significance.) However, animals graze on fallow fields, so there is some profit from manure anyway.

241 231 A buffalo is sacrificed at the tjompang for harvest too.

782 527 I am not clear as to whether it is necessary to sacrifice a buffalo for every new round garden and lodok or only for the main one. I think the latter. Anyway, they do not sacrifice a buffalo every year for the garden, but only when a new one is opened and a lodok is set up. The following year or years no buffalo is sacrificed, because the same lodok remains.

Thus, I suppose that with the present constant use of the garden, there are few if any buffalo sacrificed for lodok. Also, the buffalo sacrifice accompanies only the first harvest from a new garden. There is no buffalo sacrifice in succeeding years for the harvest from the same field.

At the garden rites they pray, sing and dance. [535] There is a harvest parade around the lodok and around the main post in the tuan tanah house, led by the tuan tanah. Note also that the sanda dance (as at the New Year feast in Anan) is done in the house, and this round dance goes around the main post. These are not only stone people but also circular people.

782 231 (3) New kampong. A buffalo is sacrificed at the new tjompang.

527 342 (4) A new big house. Only pigs are sacrificed.

527 We
782 Drums, etc. are set up.
231 (5) A new ordinary house. There is a small
[342] feast, and pigs are killed.

(6) If there is an epidemic, a big feast is
[731] held, like the tjutji kampong of Ambon. The
[783] mbako decides when it is needed. It is called
[756] kaba erba golo, which means "buffalo (kaba) makes young or renews (erba) the kampong (golo)." Thus the word for young seems to have the sense of making young or cleaning or renewing. There is a buffalo sacrificed, I suppose at the tjompang.

[697] (7) When a man returns from jail. A buffalo is sacrificed.

[585] (8) A wedding. For such rites only pigs are sacrificed. Buffaloes which are killed at this time are for food only, not for ritual use.

[764] (9) Funerals. If such a rite is for an up-
[565] per, a buffalo is sacrificed; if a funeral is for a lower, only a pig is sacrificed.

(10) Birth. A bigger ceremony is held for
[844] a first child, and all the kampong folk attend. Later children are given smaller rites, and only the family attend. Pigs or fowls are sacrificed. Such ceremonies are held five to ten days after birth. There is no special touching the ground rite. However, at this time the baby's hair is cut and a name is given.

844 This led to a discussion of birth. In each
[756] kampong the mbako are also midwives, i.e., at least some of them. A male mbako may be a midwife, and Cornelius says that some are very clever at this. Evidently all mbako are medicine givers and sorcerers and soothsayers, etc., but not all of them are midwives.

843 There are no food taboos for pregnant women, but there are restrictions. If a pregnant woman goes out at night, she must carry a knife (like Ambon). An expectant father may not make bamboo water holders. Neither parent may work at the graves or go to funerals

We

124 sistant, Cornelius, was fine. I left him a stamped envelope and paper to get information on the bride price and mother's brother's daughter marriage frequency.

Van Bekkum[1] showed me a great volume typed
114 before the war by an assistant of his on
124 Manggarai marriage customs. It was only two-thirds done, and he needs another year to complete it. It is all planned out and indexed. It is monumental and should be translated and published. Van Bekkum says that only Cornelius could do the book. He also went on a several months field trip for the mission to Pulu Island, off the Maumere coast, where there was said to have been an aboriginal population. He has a manuscript on the buffalo sacrifice there.

He is a remarkable fellow and importuned me only a little for palm wine and tobacco for the old men.

574 The last day we went along to the near end
123 of the road, to kampong Anam, one of the dalu kampongs. Here there were plenty of kraeng with
[273] hangovers, and some still a bit drunk. This is a very large kampong, with perhaps a population of six hundred. There is a tjompang in it and several tuan tanah. At the tjompang, which had stones newly and nicely arranged, were sticks stuck with wood chips on them with rice and bits of other types of food, offered at the New Year feast. I was invited into the main tuan tanah house, and there I sat with lots of men in a circle, on mats and on mat cushions. Women played fine drum and gong music, and men sang fine sanda songs, with solos and choruses.
[782] Hanging on the rafter near the center was the main naga bamboo food shelf, and in each family section along the walls were similar ones. Food was placed on them. The house was rectan-
[342] gular (there are no more tuan tanah houses in

1 [pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

342 this area which are round, because the rectan-
574 gular ones last longer and the people like
123 them on this account, because all of them
must pay for a new one). They gave me roasted
bits of pork (tough and with plenty of fat),
and the palm beer, which was milky and strong.
I took photographs of them and they were
amazed.

342 This is a new kampong, and is merely named
[103] six (Anam). There are plenty of round houses,
but all of them with partly wooden walls. The
assistant says that there are still a fair
number of the real old style round houses with
no walls, especially in Tjibal.

574 In the afternoon I went to the mandur's house,
592 where he served a fine dish of ear corn, fresh
from the garden, and also some corn cooked by
steam in the leaves. We also had rice, etc.
He is a real host, and his old father talked
some. I took photographs of the family, includ-
ing his handsome wife. She is from Pongkor.
Plenty of her sisters seemed to be about, and
he said something about how this is quite usual
for a wife's sisters to live with her.

114 Finally we pulled out of Ruteng in the morn-
ing on January 31, expecting to ship out of Reo
that day. I stayed in Reo waiting two days.

[487] Going down the mountains I noticed that the
567 land was largely empty. The road led through
the dalu Tjibal. Down this road used to come
the slaves for shipping to Bima from Reo.
They were sold especially for firearms. Many
Manggarai descendants must be all over Indonesia,
because so many slaves were exported. Thus
there is a section "Manggarai" in Batavia. And
of course there are plenty in Bima.

114 In Reo, which is a poor place, I went to
Kedindi, the port, or rather the beach with
sheds of palm. There was no ship. Therefore
I went back to Reo and stayed at the pasanggra-

Flores OF9
Javanese OE5
Bali OF7
Lombok OF12
Gorontalo OG4

[414 cont.]

000 important festivals and the ancestors.

F 361 Finally, we wish to mention, as examples of the orderly village arrangement in the more easterly areas of the archipelago, the villages of the Ngada (central Flores), which are notable for their regularity. The houses stand in strict alignment around a square; on sloping terrain, the square has several terraces which F [351 231] are carefully tended. Pigs are kept out by means of a bamboo fence along the front of the houses. Clumps of bamboo are found 343 around the village, while the rice and maize granaries are built outside the villages. Furthermore, in every village there are F [778 532] one or more copies of the nadoe and the baka, dedicated to, or the symbol of, respectively, the ancestral father and the ancestral mother of a noi, or family [familie] unit.

The nadoe is a heavy wooden pole, often artistically worked, ending in a fork at the top, with a circular excavation between the prongs, and covered with a cone-shaped alang roof. The baka is a little house, commonly made of finely worked planks and like the ordinary house in form, but usually without the front veranda. The villages here, too, cover only a small area, since practically nothing is planted inside the village.

I 361 The third type of village in the archipelago is completely different and is found, as a rule, in the more highly developed areas where wars are far in the past, and hence the village no longer needs to be a complex of dwellings huddled together as closely as possible and surrounded by walls and barricades. An J outstanding example of this type of village is the Javanese dèsa. 361 Every house is surrounded by a yard, which in many cases is 351 quite large, where all kinds of fruit trees and other crops are planted, so that such a "village cluster," as Veth calls it, [415] rises out of the sawah sea like a kind of island. Even though the G number of inhabitants may be small, such a Javanese dèsa covers L quite a large area.

B 361 636 797 Similar villages are found on Bali and Lombok, in central Sumatra, among the Minahasa (northeastern Celebes), and, more recently, under the influence of the Government and the

632 The kapitan of Ambu Nggobe, whom I met in a new hadji costume before, is a rather oldish one. Ariens says he has the most power of any-
123 one in Ende. The guru is a hard, pushing, Christian type, who has lost the old respect forms and feels superior to all the others. This guru kept trying to find out whether we[1] were Catholics, but we didn't tell him.

At last we went back to the kampong but stopped
191 off in a fine village near where the Kilimutu road leaves the main road. I forget the name. It has
[142] handsome women, proto-Malay type, who are ruined
[276] by betel. The men too are pretty good looking. Some of the children are very intelligent. I asked about the language situation and the guru said that only the schooled ones speak Malay anywhere in Ende. Thus the old ones do not, but this is not entirely so as some of the old ones who were never schooled are able to speak Malay.

342 In this kampong the houses as usual are roofed
● 343 with alang-alang thatch. There are many barns, which are small and have roofs which go to the
764 floor. The graves are in the plaza. One was
178 very large and of massive stone situated under a roof. It was the grave of an important ancestor. Others were of usual stone piles and slabs. One burial was set up last month, as it said on a wooden cross set up on top of the old style stone slab grave. The bodies here are laid out in a R lying down position in the stone cists. From later evidence in Roworeke I think that many individuals may be placed in one grave. They lift the slab, move over the old bones, and set the new body in. In the old days they would put the body wound up with gemutu ropes in a tree until the whole thing rotted. Then the bones were placed in a box which in turn was placed in the cist. A rather long time ago the government made the people here dispose of the bodies at once.

[1] [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg--Analyst]

Wai
000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
●343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass
thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in
area where there is a large bench for sleeping.
There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the
roof and often in front too. Here sit the women
while they work. If there are two families to a
house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
797 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel
as in other kampongs. The church to which every-
one here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamiß, but
since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are stan-
dard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are
nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have
brown hair or hair which is partly brown.

[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk
along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-
bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue
and black mostly. The designs are even poorer
than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used
for men and for women. They say that a cloth
takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many
304 men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
few old people, it seems especially the women,
have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

511 sing a little and then go to sleep. The only
461 time they work hard, and this consists of
185 bringing in coconuts and other stuff to the
[273] Chinese, is when they want to get clothes for feasts and when they have to pay taxes. Their only thorn is taxation. Without taxes they would be completely happy. I heard later, in
237 regard to the tusks, that there are very few
438 in Wailolong, perhaps only ten. However, they
556 circulate and keep the system going. The assistant said that many have been sold because the people need money so badly. Many were sold to the people in Tandjung Bunga.

Wa. When we went to Wailolong we met the assis-
614 tant on the section of Wailolong which is on
241 the side road near Leloba. He was there getting
796 census material. We went off there and at-
231 tended a rite of the Leworita suku, or rather one of the ama of the suku. It was the rite for the beginning of the agricultural season. The big kampong rite was held first, and here it was held on Christmas. Then, each suku has a similar rite, and then again each ama. They are just now getting around to the ama rites.
[343] In this section there are two kebang (lumbung or barns) adat, i.e. suku or ama barns. The big kepala barn is that of the Number One suku (here Ama Dotang [usually Ama Kottang] which is near the main korke). The two suku represented here are Lewodoreng and Leworita. This rite was held under the adat barn of Leworita (where jaws of sacrificed pigs hang), but the land is owned by Lewodoreng. This is why the men who played the roles of Kottang and Kelen (head and feet) were not from Leworita but from Lewodoreng.

The old pagans (some were not so old) did the rites, but the Christians stood all around, and they ate what they could get later, probably. A small pig was brought in and then the prepa-

178 After the ancestors are called, the pig is cut,
562 first sawed through the neck until the windpipe
796 is cut, and then with one blow the head is cut
241 off. The assistant said that if it is a big
887 pig, a strong blow is required to knock the
769 head off with a single sweep.
614 Note that the two old men who prayed were from Leworita and Hurint. Evidently this makes no difference, but they do choose old people who know prayers (however, they have one from the suku giving the rite, as he must recite the names of their ancestors).

[276] Then betel was prepared and passed around. As the pig bled, blood splashed on the tusk which was lying on the ground beside one of the posts. This is a ritual tusk and is not very large. It is owned by the ama and is not used for bride prices. The second part of the rite--to give the food to the ground and posts --came next. The tuno wudjo and other old women took the rice and heaped it on a plate like a hillock. The men cut out the liver of the pig and chopped it up. The mixture was put on the ground, or rather a bit of it was, and also smeared on the four posts of the barn. Gin was
[273] meanwhile passed around (we got some), and it was also poured on the ground and sprinkled around under the barn. We left after this as the rite was over, but they went on to cook and eat the pork with the rice. This is a relatively small rite, although it was a part of the entire planting ritual complex.

614 One can say that each grouping (or, as the
241 assistant says, each barn) must have agricul-
796 tural rites. Thus, the system runs down from
● 343 the big kampong-barn-suku Kottang rite, with all the suku there and all the tuno wudjo (of all suku and ama); to the suku rites at each suku barn, and all suku and tuno wudjo at these too, in all five rites; and finally to the ama-

Wa

614 barn rites, with only the ama tuno wudjo and
796 members present. All of this is done in order
241 to make the rice in the fields perfect. The
343 other great ritual complex of an agricultural nature is at harvest time, and they may have a third type if there is an especially good harvest (like the thanksgiving feasts of the Toradja).

778 I asked about the saoniwang, the magic stones
789 which are in front of the houses of all suku
342 and ama chiefs. Some have disappeared in Le-
614 loba and have not been replaced, but most of
823 them are still there. For example, the guru has the mother stone before his house, and one child stone, but other child stones are used for foundations of houses. They are inserted with many other stones in the masonry, but he pointed to the specific ones. These saoniwang, like the nubanara, which are placed in front of the korke, are the big ones in the heap, the mother, and the little ones, her children. They hold the magic power of the chiefs, and without them there is no power. Nevertheless, in Leloba, even when the chief has no more stones, he still holds some power, as if they were still there. The guru has three for his house, for war power, marriage power, and power among suku, respectively. One of these is in the hills behind. This, he says, has tremendous power. He says such things seriously.

[773] These stones suddenly appeared long ago. They came down from heaven after, or rather with a heavy rain. Thus they are like the descendance stones of, for example, Goa. Sao means anchor and so does niwang. Thus the meaning is that the power and with it the group or man holding it are firmly and inextrically tied to this land. However, all sorts of stones are believed to have power. Many of them are very little. Thus the kakang has a

Wa

123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

We discussed a certain rank which appears in
614 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
343 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
562 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala
243 suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

We also noted a possible error in Vatter.[1]
[114] He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
614 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
796 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
831 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
784 gins, but now with so few young girls still
241 pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[857] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost
[887] babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic
[797] note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

1 [See bibliography, at 113 -- Analyst]

Wac

578 land disputes, head-hunting, and women. Or
721 perhaps the latter two should be reversed. Another cause was molesting a child if done by a neighboring kampong. There were also radja wars, in which the people served, but this was involved in high politics. Finally, there were also the early wars against the aborigines, the Padji folk.

721 The reasons for head-hunting were linked
346 with the new korke (this is still a reason for
796 the largest feast, when all kampongs come to-
782 gether. Nowadays, the feast for the new church takes over this function). When a new korke is built, if the six posts do not fit into the rafter posts, it is a sign that the posts are not happy because they are in need of food, so they are pledged food. Formerly the people then went out and got a head and hung it in the korke. Then everything was all right. Note that nowadays at such rites they give food to the posts. For example, yesterday they smeared rice on the four barn posts. The korke must have six posts.

346 The korke was the center of the war cult and
769 the ghost cult (ancestor cult). The barns were
●343 the center of the agricultural cult. The little
241 kebang (barn) of the suku and the ama is called sebua.!

582 Relations between villages are kept up by
621 marriages. In fact, they are almost the sole
602 reason for such relations. This shows that genealogical relationship is nearly everything here. It shows also why descent is the basis for the whole organization of power, etc., and why marriage rules are so complex and strongly held to. There have even been marriage relations with Riang Kamiё, although they have not been too pronounced.

476 Another reason for relations with other com-
582 munities is work. That is, there is mutual aid
602
621

! [See cat. 116, p. 202 -- Analyst]

621R
578 nature of these people. He said there are many
632 boundary disputes and have been many in the past.
144 Now I see the truth of the racial mixture zone here. All types are represented.

614 I get the impression that the suku were originally localized largely if not entirely. This is still so. Thus one part will be all or nearly all Odja, another similarly Wanda, another Tibo, etc.

591 I met a lad in Roworeke proper who is from a kampong which is rather far off. They said he had married a woman of Roworeke, and I thought perhaps this might be a case of ambil anak. This is not the case, however, and he had merely come there for a day, because his wife has land here. They live in his kampong. Residence is patrilocal usually. Kattenburg remarked that in
178 material culture and in level of living the young
578 people are not much different from the old. They
561 do wear different clothes, however, and as he says, in general outlook, religion, knowledge of and adherence to old thoughts and ways and religion, they differ. There must be an intergenerational conflict here, especially as they are so disputatious anyway. I must check on this.

344 The next day we[1] set out early and got them to
217 let us work in the office. This is an amazing
124 place, with cocoanut stalk walls and a dirt floor. In one room (they are all empty of furniture), scattered on the floor, are the "files" of the kapitanschap. Some of them are in paper boxes and others are just on the dirt. They call the kapitanschap the "gemeente." We sat on the front "porch" on chairs that almost collapsed and at a table that leaned loosely at an alarming angle and slowly leaned more and more until it seemed impossible that it would keep from collapsing.
124 With us was the giri tumba of Rewarangga and later the kepala kampong (ata nggaeh nua) of Woro-

[1 [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg --Analyst]

F
793 if they do anything against Catholicism, the guru
178 tells the priest, and the latter or the bearded
797 bishop will condemn them to hell. Thus the threat of hell fire keeps them in line, and the priests are no better than the old witch doctors. This is why so much of the old religion is dying
F out fast.

634 In the afternoon, at the Radja of Sikka's house, we met the wakil radjas of Ngada (the old Radja has many wives and hunts all the time), Manggarai (a Hindu type, the man with two wives, a Catholic), and Nageh. These plus the new Radja of Lio and several others will meet tomorrow at the pasanggrahan.

F Note on the "office" of the kapitan at Rowo-
●344 reke: While we were talking a horse entered the office from the rear and stood there attracting flies. After a long while the secretary went out and chased the horse away.

A Note on Ambon: In Makassar, I met Drop, who
753 said that he had never heard of Baier, former
789 Controleur of Piru, Ceram, having had a matakau cause trouble for him, as I was told in Ambon. I remember it was said that old Gaspersz met him and his face was twisted and his eyes crossed after he unsuspectingly ate a bit of a snake which was cooking in the Ceram hills. The story in Ambon was that within a week he was stricken agonizingly and had to be removed to Makassar where the doctors could not tell what the cause was. Evidently, the truth is, or at least seems plausible, that he was sick when Gaspersz met him and looked bad. He was then told the story about the snake, and Gaspersz with true superstitious Ambonese imagination, filled in the whole business, which then grew with each retelling. I got it from Rehatta finally. Drop said there was nothing wrong with Baier now. Of course, this is a couple of months later, and he may have been worse before.

361 jagged mountains rising all around the town.
[133] There are also two amazing, high, flat topped volcanic peaks. One is called Gunung Medja. The town stretches along the shore, with plenty of red and yellow flowering trees. There is a large impressive alun-alun [field, plaza] going down to the beach in the center. Behind this are a number of good houses. On the east side is the market and on the west side are good
[342] houses too. The houses are well constructed and there was evidently not much bombing here.
[346] As usual, the high church is but a shell, as it was bombed, this time by the Australians.

485 I found that the town of Ende has practically nothing. There was no running water in the pasanggrahan except for a trickle in the morning.
[377] Electricity is weak and tends to break down.
443 The toko have very little in the way of merchandise. It is impossible to buy beer because the stores are out of it. The cigarettes from the distributie have all been used up and one now has to buy such items on the black market.
495 There is no gas pump, and I have to get gas at the V & W, which pours it out dirty from the tin. Because of this I have had trouble with the jeep for the first time. This is a real end-of-the-world-like place, although the appearance is
[132] rather nice. It is also extremely hot and humid, in fact it is the worst I have experienced yet. At midday it is like taking a Turkish bath here.

485 As usual, the pasanggrahan is not arranged for people who work or read. This is the Indonesian style.

634 The town of Ende is the only main town in the state. There is another state in the mountains, Lio, with a radja at Wolowaru. Then to the east is Sikka, with a radja, and east of that Larantuka, also with a radja. To the west of here is the Radja of Nageh Keo, and to the west of that the Radja of Ngada, at the capital

632 told me that his mother is from this area, and
later I had her kampong pointed out (Lewoleda).
It is the twin kampong of Watuwiti. As we
passed every kampong the children came out in
droves shouting greetings and then running after
and hanging on the rear of the jeep, just as
Vatter! described them almost twenty years ago.
[178] Indeed, many things of his are still the same,
but some are different, for example, Catholicism
has finally destroyed the nubanara, nama, and
the korke of Leloba.

346 At Wailolong we went off on a new side road
797 to Leloba, and the road ended at the kampong,
583 barred by a fence. As we were talking here, a
438 priest, Krol, came up on his motorcycle and in-
vited us to his hut. He is temporarily here
because the church and pastorie in Riangkamiē
was burned two months ago. The people there
caused the fire by burning the hills on the wind-
ward side, and the kampong elders voted to give
a percentage of the bride prices for quite a
long while in order that they might have the new
church. This will be paid in elephant tusks,
[435] which the mission will sell for cash to the
Mohammedan traders (eight tusks of varying
lengths will sell for about fl. 2000.00, and the
priest knew the exact price). The Mohammedan
traders will then resell the tusks to the people
in Larantuka who need them to pay a bride price.
They will probably sell them in the Tandjung
Bunga (Cape Flores area).

797 The priest told how the Catholics work here.
197 They try to keep as much of the old culture as
177 possible. For example, he and others are learn-
ing all about the Solor language, which is the
local language here, so that they can make
prayers in it. They also make prayers in the
797 old style, as though praying to Lerawulan. They
177 use native songs with words in the native lan-
533 guage and in the native style, too. He, musical,

! [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

000 notable.
797 The church in Riangkamiö is built with refer-
177 ence to the four ritual sibs of Kottang, Hurin,
●346 Keleng, and Marang. This is an example of the
[614] rule used: anything of a social nature is all
right, but if it is of a religious nature and
related to the old spirits or ghosts, etc.,
Catholicism won't take it. This is like the
[171] death feasts in the Toradja country, where the
Protestants will let the Christians go to these
social rites but not to the great exorcism
rites. Thus the Catholics here are not allowed
to go to the old rites on the nama in front of
the korke, but as the priest admitted, it is
hard for the folk here to see the difference,
and they tend to regard these retained aspects
of paganism as full paganism because they are
symbols of the whole pagan system.

797 He told much that was interesting. There is
178 in paganism here a need for a girl to be the
243 rice maiden for the fertility rites (Vatter[1]
796 tells the story too), and the old adat chiefs
insisted in one kampong that at least one girl
should not be converted, as at least one is
needed to be the rice maiden. This shows the
desperate plight of paganism. They must beg to
have something vital allowed to remain. "Give
us one only," they ask. He said it is true that
just about all of the young people are Catholic,
but many of the old remain pagan.

Wae Later, in Wailolong the guru Roy said there
[771] are few, but very few young people who are pagan.
578 He told us about a war in which a man was killed
411 yesterday. It was a border war between Leloba
and Waibalun and the police had to stop it.
They fight these wars all the time, with bow and
spear and knife. I asked if maybe it were not
511 because they were hungry and need land. And
[578] hunger and misery cause aggression anyway. He
denied this, but I think it is true, especially

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Wai
000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass
thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in
area where there is a large bench for sleeping.
There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the
roof and often in front too. Here sit the women
while they work. If there are two families to a
house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
797 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
● 346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel
as in other kampongs. The church to which every-
one here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamiö, but
since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are stan-
dard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are
nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have
brown hair or hair which is partly brown.
[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk
along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-
bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue
and black mostly. The designs are even poorer
than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used
for men and for women. They say that a cloth
takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many
304 men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
few old people, it seems especially the women,
have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

304 was more common formerly. The tattooing occurs on the arms, face, and chest. In Tandjung Bunga there is a lot of tattooing. Sometimes this is done on the back of the calves too. The young people do it no longer. However, the guru's daughter has her name tattooed on her arm.

342 The houses have upright sticks at the ridge ends, but the guru says this is of no significance.

764 Stones called nubanara are all over the kampong, lying flat mainly. I wonder if maybe these could have been used for graves in this kampong before, because the nubanara are scattered like the graves in Ende.

346 178 535 368 At the top of the kampong is the korke of the kampong, and in front is a nama, or rectangular dance place. This consists of a platform built up of stones. Some of the stones should stand (four, one for each of the main suku; but the guru says there may be more than four standing). This appears in Vatter's[1] photo of another nama. These former uprights here have fallen down and he says the people do not bother to erect them again. This is a sign of the steady breakdown of paganism. On the dance place there is an old drum left standing. It is evidently no longer used. The korke is empty, and has merely a bale-bale under a roof. No walls are left. The roof has not been repaired, which again may show the breakdown. Near the korke is a large house of [614] the tuan tanah of the main suku, and near this is the korke of his suku. In addition to the kampong korke, there is one for each suku, but no nama in front of these. These korke are used by the kepala suku, who is also the tuan tanah of the suku, for suku rites regarding rain illness, etc. The main korke is used for kampong rites. [574] When a feast is thus given, the big men sit on the bale-bale in the korke, and the dancers per- [534] form in front to the music of a drum and gong.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

797 stead they nearly always use the term Orang Katolik or Orang Serani. The usual pattern seems to be recurring, the Protestants not being accepted as of the same religion in any way.
797 The mission headquarters has a large building
●346 for priests (there are always three here, but
874 others come to rest and get supplies), several
793 workshops (where boys who are dormitoried on the grounds learn woodworking, machine work, etc.), a lower and a following school of five grades with one thousand pupils in which boys and girls are kept separate (boys and girls from other islands sleep in dormitories), a household school, a laundry, a library, etc. It is really a great plant. There are four brothers of a "working" type here, who run the workshops and handle the technical education, including one Pole who was interned during the war. He speaks
[792] Dutch with an accent. There are many nuns here, and they also help in the small government hospital. Evidently all or nearly all the schools in this area are "government," but they are really run by the mission. I haven't found out exactly how the system works yet. The Mission is ingenious. There is an old tractor which is used for lathe power, an old Japanese machine used for electricity, etc. They have a very large coffee plantation on the road to Maumeri and it looks good.

797 It is remarkable that such a great number of priests and nuns are here in this miserable spot, which can never be any good. Maybe they regard it as a sure foothold in a Mohammedan area, a foothold which may later be expanded.

244 There are practically no vegetables except
262 tubers here, and fruit is rare. So is all other food.

582 The suku marriage custom is evidently still
614 in force, and I will work on it in detail.

578 It is notable that there are so many border
721

487 of dirty, mixed kampongs, and then went up along
the cliffs over the sea to Nangapanda. Then
the road headed into the mountains, and after
[361] a long stretch which appeared to be practically
uninhabited (as usual between the coast and
mountain folk, here as in the Toradja country),
and finally we arrived in Badjawa. Before we
797 reached Badjawa we saw a large mission station
at Todabelu, where there were many modern
buildings, a seminary, and a model farm as well
as a trade school. All of these were notably
advanced over anything else we have seen in
Flores. As usual, it is connected with the
526 mission. In Badjawa there was a great crowd
for the day, and football games were held.
These are the great sport all over Indonesia
now, and it is coming even into the remote kam-
pongs. It is the national sport [i.e., soccer].

We saw here the dirty but spirited Ngada,
291 with dull clothes. The adat dress, however, is
striking, especially that of the men. It con-
sists of a dark blue cloak and a red headcloth.
304 We also noted that a lot of the people had filed
teeth, and in addition many had blackened them.
Earboring is a general practice here, but as
usual the younger men may have the holes but no
rings. (For example, the assistant in Roworeke
is like this and so is the younger guru in Le-
[771] loba.) This is a pretty primitive looking lot,
although most of them are Christian.

361 The Ngada kampongs are hard to see as they
342 are nearly all behind bamboo thickets. Ngada
houses are rectangular with low hanging hooded
roofs. They are built on piles definitely,
unlike Ende (or at least most of the houses in
[778] Ende) and Larantuka. In these kampongs there
are not many stones that I could see, but as
769 yet I have not seen a kampong fully. Notable
346 are the inverted pyramid-like ancestor houses
built on a single post. They are called nadu

769 or ngadu. These and the bhaga, which I could
346 not see clearly but which are evidently merely minature rectangular houses for female ancestors, are notable features in just about all of the Ngada kampongs. Arndt[1] says the bhaga are empty, but I wonder. These two sorts of structures are erected by the prosperous folk to show respect and honor to their dead ancestors. Each one is given the name of the ancestor. Evidently, a person may build one for himself.

They are always built in pairs, one male and one female.

159 The very fat Radja of Ngada came to the
634 pasanggrahan in a uniform with shoulder epau-
224 lets, four stripes, and above this a cluster
[292] looking like a sunburst. The uniform was white and not unlike that of a KPM captain. He can't write, and is still a pagan, but he says that his children are Christian. He is very jolly and although tolerant I can see that he thinks little of the missions. He also criticized the forced labor which the Dutch demanded for road work when he was young. He said that anyone who wouldn't follow orders, including the radjas, was jailed or deposed. He is the man who joked about the Dutch and the "modern"
[595] Florenese. He never does much in administration, but likes to hunt and has many wives. He told us that he has many children and grandchildren. He gets in trouble with the government for burning the vegetation in deer hunts. He said it is necessary to kill deer as otherwise they would hurt the gardens. This land has practi-
311 cally no trees on it, but consists mostly of
[137] [133] rolling naked hills as a result of overburning.
[224] Maybe the priest was right who said that he thought they were a hunting folk before and in those days they burned off the whole area in
[241] deer drives. Now they burn off the vegetable

[1] [See pp. 366-69 of Arndt as cited in bibliography, Cat. 113 --Analyst]

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
614 living on the level of the road and the other
621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo.
[211] At the road border of the kampong a bit in from the road, standing against the skyline, is a row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe heads. They are thin and tall. They are set on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
[417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical of all kampongs in this region, so that the kampong itself is located down in a stone wall enclosure.

346 Below the first row of stone pillars there
769 is another with just as many stones. It is also set on a mound. Just below this stands the
531 umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on one side there is a living tree with Y-branches at the fork. Stones are heaped around the ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet high, and consists of a single pillar with thatched cap. The pillar is made of hebuh wood and is carved in fancy designs which are hard to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were made of white shell). Looking under the cap I could see that the pillar forks were in the shape of a U, and so it is really about the same as the Nageh peo, but less clearly Y-shaped and covered with a cap.

342 To either side of the plaza, which was of
361 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small and had rather low roofs. These houses are set on piles. On one side was the house of the
624 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
769 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
346 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
565 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
554 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in
574

624 565 554 769 346 574 [782] order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase his fame. However, a common man cannot do this. Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions. Also, buffalo sacrifices are needed for putting a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger" mori ndaru who lives on the other side of the plaza. This has some relation to the elder and younger brother stuff mentioned in the manuscript report on Soa by a priest. Mommersteeg[1] has lent me this report. The mori ndaru house has a wood post in front, on either side beside the steps. They are rather thin and low and are carved in a human form. This is known as the ata deo, or rather these are the ata deo.

342 624 532

342 531 [171] Also, beside the door of the house and on the porch are two richly carved wooden rectangles measuring about 3x2 feet. This looks like the Balinese stuff and consists mainly of scrolls so far as I could see.

237 342 531 Not only on the houses of the mori ndaru but also on others, we noted many lower jaws of pigs, wild pigs with tusks, deer horns, and buffalo horns. These are partly ranged along a rack under the roof eaves and partly, especially true of the buffalo horns, stuck in beside the wall of the porch. We later found out that the ata deo may be used by others than the mori ndaru, but evidently the carved wood slabs are only for him. I saw some especially elaborate lower jaw carvings on a barn in Brova.

346 231 [624] In the lower kampong, Lodo, which has a low stone wall between it and Naru, there is the house of the mori ndaru (thus each suku, voi, has a mori ndaru, and there may be more than one per kampong) and the rest of the things just mentioned. The ndaru there, however, has a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had been no renewal they said that they would do so, but they would have to get the buffalo first.

1 [pastor at Soa --Analyst]

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 237 224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him 776 784 124 824 769 about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo [789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
361 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
515 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
514 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

243 where around the earthen plaza there are Every-
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They
looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the
peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it
were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with shelleyes. It was set in cement.

132 From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
124 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However,
when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we had to stay overnight at the house of a former kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the
oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see
the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan. He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and his cronies are taking everything. There is only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And
now they are asking the Christians to move up

574 He furnished us with fair food, rice and chicken, and coffee, and then fixed up the beds without mosquito nets in one room. The son of 872 the mandur of the pasanggrahan of Badjawa was with us, on his way to school in Ende, and he had a little packet of clothes, a canteen and a ukulele. The latter was in sad condition. 484 He slept on the floor on a mat. The next morning we just about made it across the river with our goods lifted by the men in order to lighten the jeep. This was a hard experience, and we decided to make the western run only once 132 more, at the end. This rainy season is too hard here and it is dangerous because there is always a risk of delay from floods or landslides. Ende seemed luxurious after this run to the west.

The assistant was in Ende for a tax meeting 124 of kapitan, and after noon I took him and the kapitan and the latter's servant to Roworeke. They had to work on taxation in the afternoon, so I decided to start in tomorrow morning. Roworeke, as usual, is always troublesome. The jeep was overcrowded with many riders. I took them out, and came back with a load.

Incidental notes on Flores: We saw the use 482 of a tumpline in Sikka. This is true also for Nageh and Ngada. They use this for carrying loads especially in Sikka and also for betel ingredients in Ngada. They use small plaited bags.

Girls in Ngada and Nageh have half-shaved 302 tonsures. This is not true of all, but certainly of many of the girls. There are variations in style, including topknots. I note the latter on boys too.

721 A Ngada man denied head-hunting at any time ● 346 and said that there is no head under the new 231 ndaru, but rather a red dog, a pig, and a cock, all buried alive. But ENI says that there was [554] head-hunting and that Ngada heroes had goatskin bands under their knees formerly.

000 bands under their knees formerly.

R Roworeke: On the next day we saw some pro-
582 gress made in making out the census. There are a couple of cases of endogamy, but they are seven "layers" distant.

I asked about the oro pesangga, which Such-
782 telen says are offering posts set before each
●346 house in Ende. They said that oro is merely a more polite word for ata, man. And pesangga means merely to stab. Thus it means only a man who stabs, i.e. the one who does the sacrifice. This is very unclear. I got no further with it. Perhaps it is only in the mountains.

The central offering post, tubu musu, mentioned by Suchtelen, is found in Roworeke Asal. I must see it. Suku Gusa has one in Wolowaru,
[361] the deserted kampong lama above here. There the original settlers were Odja and the Gusa folk came in later. Then they both moved down to the present Roworeke.

The Ende folk who live in the border areas
166 of Ndetu and Tana Ri are papalele, i.e., people
361 who have no land generally but who buy and sell.
[441] They have mere huts to live in, and they come for awhile and then leave. However, many of them have been in their huts for four to five years, so all of them will be entered in the census. They are not full members of the kampong, and indeed are regarded as mere "people who have arrived."

632 The list of gemeente in Ende is as follows (and the proper spelling is Rewarangga):

1. Nggobe (town and inland).
2. Rodja (town and peninsula).
3. Rewarangga (five to eight kilometers).
4. Pulo Ende (island).
5. Rukuramba (km. 8 on the way to Badjawa).
6. Berai (km. 6 on the way to Badjawa).
7. Numba (km. 18 on the way to Badjawa).

[See p. 133 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

R

632 8. Nangapanda (km. 28 on the way to Badjawa).
9. Tana Djea (km. 31 on the way to Badjawa).

632 173 Thus Rewarangga is the easternmost of the gemeenten, on the border with Lio. It is half surrounded by Nggobe. I asked about the ancestor stories which make Rodja and Nggobe the first and greatest gemeenten. The kapitan said that this was because of the manner in which Suchtelen got his stories. The people who gave him his information were nearly all illiterate townsfolk. I retold the story of the five sib-
[186] lings from Java. He agreed that every area had its own version in order to make themselves appear greatest.

632 He said he got along all right with the Mohammedans and that the former Christian Rukuramba kapitan was merely inefficient. Arriens said so too, and that the present Mohammedan kapitan there is the best of all.

Then I checked the place of origin of the
614 361 suku in the census and got the following information. Odja came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Meo came from Ndetuko'u (Nggobe). Djawa came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Ndoru came from Ndungga (Lio). Reandona came from Woropau (Nggobe). Wanda came from Waturoga (Lio). Tibo (Gusa) came from Koavena (Rewarangga). Ndosi came from Wolotole (Lio). Rewarangga came from Worowai (Rewarangga).

Note: This suku (Rewarangga), the real old one of this region, originally lived in an even higher kampong, Wawotonda. It was located two kilometers above here on the road into the hills. Worowai is only a half to one kilometer above the road. A few people live in the Wawotonda area, but it is no longer a kampong. It is in the territory of the kampong Worowai. In Wawo-
[778] tonda there are stones and cannon. But the
● [346] ruma berhala of Rewarangga suku (a bone house like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

R

443 basis. They obtain products by purchase in the backland and sell them in Ende. They also sell gewgaws which they bring along with them.

186 829 Interest in local, foreign or international news is at a very low level. They insist that nearly everyone here knows just about nothing in regard to anything outside of the kampong. They are even ignorant of Rewarangga.

614 621 They said that originally each kampong consisted of only one suku. Then others moved in. Thus, at one time Wawatonda was the kampong of suku Rewarangga. Then they came down to Worowai. Here today there is a rumah berhala, [764] but it is a mere bone-grave hut, like Odja in Roworeke.

Rabu is now in three kampongs. It was one at some former time. It is ten kilometers from here. This is the place where the original kampong of the Odja suku was located. But they have now lost contact, and indeed, so complete was the move to Roworeke that probably no Odja folk are left in Rabu today.

124 829 The kapitan said an interesting thing when I was pressing him to give information in this regard. He said that only since I came here had he learned very much about the culture and the past of Rewarangga.

778 614 346 764 These rumah berhala, with images and a real house, or merely with the grave-bone shrines, are suku shrines. There are four real rumah berhala houses in Rewarangga. These are as large as a real old style high roofed house, [753] and in them there are images (ana deo) and per- [782] haps bone bundles too. These run as follows: (and anyone who visits them and looks into them must leave an offering, for example, money or cigarettes, etc.; otherwise he may get sick):

1. Volofeo has a real house and in it there are four ana deo, wooden images. There are no bones. This house was used by all four suku

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346 here, and perhaps each ana deo is of one of
614 the suku. They are uncertain about this, but
778 thought that this was perhaps right. They
764 did know that the house was used by all four
suku. It is a kind of cooperative venture in
the ancestor cult. They got together and
built it. It is at kilometer 17, one kilometer's walk up.

2. Bu'ube'i, the most remote of the Rewarangga kampongs, is at kilometer 17 plus a ten kilometer walk. There is a real house there, but the kapitan does not know if there are any bones. They do not know what suku it belongs to. He was there, but was afraid to
[753] look inside. They fear illness. I asked why
[782] he didn't give a gift and thus insure his
safety. He said it would be no use to take
[152] the chance. Thus he is a Catholic and thus he fears both outside magic and ancestral ghosts at the same time. It does have an ana deo.

3. Ratebedi has an ana deo, and bones too. The suku is unknown. This is at kilometer 13 plus a four kilometer walk.

4. Vavoëü has an ana deo, but with no bones. The suku is unknown. It is at kilometer 13 plus a one kilometer walk.

All others have either nothing or merely a grave-bones shrine.

5. Worowai has a shrine of the suku Rewarangga.

6. Roworeke has a shrine of the suku Odja. It is in a section of Roworeke Asal.

7. Worowaku does not even have a shrine.

8. Arereke has a shrine of suku Urureva.

9. Pu'uperi has a shrine of suku Rea (a different suku from Reandona).

10. Information is lacking for Kekawi'i.

11. Koavena has a shrine of the Gusa suku.

12. Kekamberu does not even have a shrine.

13. Nioreko has a shrine, but the suku is

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614 unknown. Nioreko also has a rumah berhala, an
778 actual house, but it is merely temporary and
● 346 lasts only seven to eight years. Then it is
764 rebuilt. It has no ana deo. This is a kind of intermediate type of situation.

14. Manunggo'o has no shrine. Thus suku Reandona evidently has none.

15. Pu'umbindi has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

16. Mbago has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

17. Pemodjera has a shrine, but the suku is unknown. Also, like Nioreko, Pemodjera has a temporary rumah berhala house, which is rebuilt when it collapses.

18. Sokopedji does not even have a shrine. It is a new kampong.

This is interesting and goes to show that
614 the suku were localized before. I asked why
178 there were so many in the census for which the
829 suku were unknown. They said that if their parents did not tell them, they never learned this information. It shows a breakdown in the system, but it is still very important. Real disintegration is just beginning. I scolded them to the effect that they as government men of Rewarangga did not even know the suku of the kampongs in their district. I said that the people in the United States would think that they were poor administrators. They said that this suku business was adat only and that they were concerned with government only. I pointed out that even the giri tumba besar seemed vague about all of this outside of his own kampong, and he is a leader of adat. They begged off saying that perhaps he didn't understand what I was after.

778 It is notable that only the four kampongs
769 with real rumah berhala (Volofeo, Bu'ubedi,
346 Ratebedi, and Vavoëü) have annual ancestor
574

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778 feasts. Thus it is like Barupu in Toradja.
769 (Ratebedi is one of the Rabu kampongs.
346 Vavoëü is another, and so is the non-shrine
574 kampong Kekamberu. The others which have merely the grave-bone shrines have a feast only when they need to fix up a shrine.

632 The next day we went to Roworeke again. Note an error in the preceding notes: The sikesani besar, who lives in Worowai, is of the suku Nggonggora'ba. Thus the Big Four are as follows: Mosa laki mere of Rewarangga, Giri tumba of Odja. Ndeto au of Rewarangga, and Sikesani of Nggonggora'ba. The names of these posts mean: mosa, male (animal); laki, male (human); mere, big; giri, around; tumba, spear (he walks around with a spear); ndetu, many colored; au, bamboo; sike, here; sani, there.

181 I am always impressed by the combination of
124 lack of courtesy and the cringing servility of
576 these Endenese. They constantly talk to each other when I am talking, pass remarks about me in Endenese, etc. At the same time they keep on "tuaming" and bowing. They are grasping too. For example, the kapitan looks steadily at my gold watch and band and asked me to sell him U.S. gold pieces. The assistant asked me to give him personally a ring-spiral notebook such as used for the work. He can't answer questions on the schedule, so I have to do it all. The kapitan is a bit better, and the guru is smarter, but I get the idea that these folk are a rather poor lot.

784 Again we got on to the subject of totemism.
262 The word for such taboos is pire. I doubt that
614 I got the whole story, but as far as I can see
562 there are three kinds of totem taboos and they apply to foods:

(1) Suku or pu'u taboo. This is called pire ngguëh, the latter term meaning "descen-

Wo
621 call the people from the Blakang Gunung region
173 "blake").

Lewoneda is now mixed, as people came in later from Sina Djawa. Riang Kanali is a branch of Lewohala. Riang Kamië is very mixed. It includes people of the original (that is, Lenurat descended suku) and others. However, it was evidently founded by people from Kroko Putang, the island which disappeared, and whose refugees are all over Larantuka. For example, this is true of the radja kedua here. These folk are called Tenemau (meaning "sailed here in a prau"). Riang Kamië is the largest of all the kampongs. Formerly there was plenty of war between it and Leloba.

578 Lewowitin is the term for a traditional
721 enemy kampong. Formerly heads were exchanged
●346 for the korke. These heads were not buried but hung in the korke (like animal jaws today? I also thought as I saw a pig killed, how easy it would be to imagine a human sacrifice instead).

614 In Riang Kamië there are many suku. The as-
621 sistant cannot list all of them, but he remembers
173 Kottang, Marang, Molang 1, Molang 2, Belowen,
829 Lowalia, Lolamaki, Keleng, etc. There is no Hurint.

He says there are four kinds of people here, according to their origin:

1. Padji. They were here in plenty before, but they were all driven out by the Lenurat people, who are here called the Ili Djadi (Ili means emerged), the second group. The Padji were driven to Tandjung Bunda where they are still numerous, and also to the islands, for example to Adonara. They were evidently the aborigines, but he says there was no physical difference, even in the legends.

2. Demon or Ili Djadi. They drove the Padji out after emerging from the mountains, or rather after their father's emergence. The Demon or

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578 land disputes, head-hunting, and women. Or
721 perhaps the latter two should be reversed. Another cause was molesting a child if done by a neighboring kampong. There were also radja wars, in which the people served, but this was involved in high politics. Finally, there were also the early wars against the aborigines, the Padji folk.

721 The reasons for head-hunting were linked
346 with the new korke (this is still a reason for
796 the largest feast, when all kampongs come to-
782 gether. Nowadays, the feast for the new church takes over this function). When a new korke is built, if the six posts do not fit into the rafter posts, it is a sign that the posts are not happy because they are in need of food, so they are pledged food. Formerly the people then went out and got a head and hung it in the korke. Then everything was all right. Note that nowadays at such rites they give food to the posts. For example, yesterday they smeared rice on the four barn posts. The korke must have six posts.

346 The korke was the center of the war cult and
769 the ghost cult (ancestor cult). The barns were
343 the center of the agricultural cult. The little
241 kebang (barn) of the suku and the ama is called sebua.!

582 Relations between villages are kept up by
621 marriages. In fact, they are almost the sole
602 reason for such relations. This shows that genealogical relationship is nearly everything here. It shows also why descent is the basis for the whole organization of power, etc., and why marriage rules are so complex and strongly held to. There have even been marriage relations with Riang Kamiĕ, although they have not been too pronounced.

476 Another reason for relations with other com-
582 munities is work. That is, there is mutual aid
602
621

! [See cat. 116, p. 202 -- Analyst]

We.

789 even the rice, animals, iron and trees have it. If an animal lives for a long time despite many blows, he is in possession of a lot of this power. Men differ in the amount of this power they may have. The radja has lots, and so on down the line. Thus power is a combination of ancestor sanction and real, indwelling power which comes with the blood of legitimacy. The stones and other fetishes linked with office reinforce and symbolize this power. One can even have power from animal familiars, as is the case with the assistant's father.

769 This led to a talk about how to reconcile
797 the ancestors, who were pagan, with the abandon-
182 ment of the rites they were used to. They have rationalized that God is more powerful than their ancestors, and the latter are in heaven anyway. They call on them rather than call them in person. The pagans, however, still do the latter. This is usual, and I think it is a real problem to them. Roy told how Laba, the last powerful pagan of Leloba, gradually took on Christianity after swearing that he would not. He tried it and his crops were still good. He decided that maybe it was all right. What would have happened if his crops had failed? And what if his crops failed steadily now or there was a great calamity? Could there be a nativist revival of paganism? The Catholics are working fast to kill everything before there is any chance of this.

346 I asked why the korke of several kampongs were
[656] in such bad repair. He said that this was because
[796] of the great cost in animals, etc. needed for a feast at the time of rebuilding. And, the government will not allow "wasteful" rites to be held. They say that it is a waste because so much food is consumed and so many beasts are killed. But why, then, let them build a new church
346 for the one which is now burned in Riang Kamiö?
797

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946 This costs money, at least. With cleverness,
797 Pastor Krol told how the scheme is working to get the folk to sell their tusks in order to get money to contribute to the new church. This works on the grounds that the people were careless with their fire in the fields when there was a high wind, and this caused the burning of the church. It is all a wily game, and the pagans are lost.

797 This whole religious matter is endless. It
182 is the most powerful acculturation thing here,
769 and the whole weight of Catholicism is on the last few pagans. The guru is full of the propaganda of rationalization. For example, he says, how do we know where the ancestors are? If they led good lives they are in heaven; and if not, they are in the sea (hell). And if they were good they must be in heaven, even though they were not Catholic, because they knew nothing of the Word when they lived.

632 The next day we started by clearing up a point
614 about the radja tuan. He may come from another ama than the No. 1 or waru'ing ama. Thus in Ama Datong suku the present Radja tuan is the kelake of Ama Radja, which is the No. 3 ama.

789 Roy said that not only officials have magic
565 power, but that also all members of the noble
171 families have some, though not so much as the
865 chiefs. They definitely have more than common folk. This is why one must show respect to the uppers. It is like Bone in Celebes, but less so perhaps. For example, they are very much afraid of hitting a noble child.

756 A sorcerer (molang) receives respect too,
754 even though his post is not hereditary. Some
[462] sorcerers, however, are noble. Sorcerers may be male or female, and indeed Roy thinks most of them are women. I asked how one got to be a molang, and he said that in general they get a call while dreaming. It is a matter of getting

797 ever, he says that this was not caused by mis-
178 fortunes. I asked about the Catholics trying to kill all of the old culture, and he said that they use no force. I gave the case of
[34] the church and the taboo on the expense of rebuilding a korke, and how the Catholics allowed for the great cost of a new church in Riang Kamië. He saw my point, but then when I asked about the sale of tusks in order to pay for the church, he said that this was a suggestion of the Riang Kamië folk themselves (no urging by the priest?) and that this was to be done only by a few families or groups which set the disastrous fire.

583 This led us on to a talk about the tusks.
452 He says that they do not need many to keep the marriage system going. Thus both in Wailolong and Leloba they have about twenty-five left today. This is enough. But they must have at least five, as this is the minimum price for a girl. As long as they have the price for one girl they can keep the system going on a credit scheme. This is amazing. It is necessary, and absolutely so, to keep five.

I told about Roworeke, which has lost all their tusks, and he said haggardly that this might possibly happen here, but he didn't want to think of the results. The minimum number of five holds for this part of the district, but in the Riang Kamië sector it is only three, so they could keep the system going with a minimum of three. The reason Roy is so firm on this matter concerning the tusks is that he insists that one cannot get married without tusks, or at least credit for tusks. There is nothing else that can be used for the bride price. Thus there are no animals, gold, money, or anything else used.

684 Error: I said before that the animals killed
231 in the incest cases were part of the bride price.

Wae

832 those rascals. They scolded them, saying that
684 if they wanted women, they should ask about
628 them, and speak up about it. That is, they were willing to hear a request, but it had to be done through regular channels without chiseling. ("If you had come to us decently, etc.")

582 In regard to the relative ages of the couple when marriage takes place, the ideal is to have a couple whose ages are nearly the same. If either is older it is better for a boy to be a bit a girl's senior. If there is too great a discrepancy in age, it is not good.

595 183 His grandfather had four wives. I note that he does not seem to regard polygyny as very bad, even now. And he does not hesitate to tell me that other Christians do this. It is simply that they do not get the sacramen for the second, or third, or even later wife. That's all. Dispensation is called isin.

582 836 He says that the people in Tandjung Bunga marry when they are very young, and that they begin their sex life as early as nine years old.

178 513 882 [346] [614] In the old days, the boys in Leloba and Wailolong slept regularly in the korke or sebuang (the ama korke, and this is a correction: sebuang does not refer to the barns of the ama, but to the cult houses).[A] I think he said that this is not done any more in Wailolong. It was not required, but they just did it. This took place after a boy reached the age of about sixteen. Roy did it himself. They liked this because it was more fun. They could talk, sing, discuss girls, etc. (I think it was practically a rule, and I wonder what they would have said if a boy did not go there.)

178 513 882 171 What has happened now is peculiar. The boys sleep together in groups, wherever it seems good. They get in the habit, for example, of sleeping on the benches of a certain house, or in a vacant house, etc. (Thus I see that the

A [See cat. 116, p. 166 -- Analysis]

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624 465 like the marinyo of Ambon. I asked what the secretary got, and he said cigarette money only. The pay is evidently very little.

583 614 611 784 Correction: Although he says there is no case here now, he has found out that if the bride price is not paid, the children are of the suku of the mother. And the bride price must be paid at marriage. There is no post-marriage payment in order to get the children back. Thus there is real ambil anak here. The man remains a member of his own sib, and the wife a member of hers. Thus she assumes the "married woman" totem taboos of her own sib, not those of her husband's sib, as is the more usual thing.

346 778 614 I asked about the rumah berhala of Wolojeo. This group has a real house, and in it there are four ana deo, two in bad repair. There is one for each of the four suku. There are no other suku in the kampong. There are also plenty of belongings in the house. It is rather large, about twelve meters on a side. There are baskets and other objects therein. This old kampong is only one kilometer off the road in the hills at kilometer 17. I may go there one day. The four suku are Mbonggi (the kepala kampong is from this), Djo'bi, Soa, and Woro. The oldest suku is Mbonggi. There is also a grave-bone shrine here, of the suku Djo'bi. [769]

791 769 The folk here are now mostly Catholic, but they do have an annual ancestor rite, and the Catholics attend too. The kampong Ratebedi, far off in the hills, has fewer Catholics, as is the case with the far off Bu'ube'i. The distant ones remain pagan longer.

872 178 212 000 Fifty years ago there was no school. It came in 1921. No one went to school before this. They were totally illiterate (this shows how recently the schools came in here). They were

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178 In terms of technology and occupation, there
463 have been very few changes. They still farm
in the old way, and there have been no new jobs
342 created. There are today such houses as the
178 kapitan's, with a bit of cement work. This is
354 new. And every house has a pelita [a kind of
lamp] for which they buy kerosene. Few of
them have any real lamps like the kapitan's.
The assistant has one, but it is typically out
291 of order. Shirts here are new, but they are
178 rare and cost much. Shoes are new here and
[413] are very rare. Pens, etc., are extremely rare.
The women no longer wear the homespun blouses.
They wear homespun sarongs like the men do,
but buy kebaya of thinner cloth today.

286 They cannot make thin cloth with their
looms, and this is a great handicap. What
they make is too heavy. This is mainly a mat-
ter of thread. They can't spin thread any
thinner than they do and have it strong enough
so that it will not break in the loom. Thus,
if they could get trade thread, they might be
able to weave thinner cloth (?).

• [346] The only tin roofs are on the grave-bone
shrines of Odja and Wanda.

Every woman spins thread and weaves. There
are no specialists, however, who sell cloth.
This is done only rarely.

463 There are no smiths or specialists of any
326 kind. There were about twenty men who worked
563 at making pots here, and this started evidently
about two years ago. It was a Chinese company
(evidently tied in with the Radja some way),
and these lads worked in their spare time. As
there are no orders now, they are working
there no longer. It is not a native craft.

241 The most important local agricultural crop
and food source is maize, by far. Then come
rice, vegetables, and yams. There is no sago;
000 they have never heard of it. Little meat is

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796 story is clear in their minds.
241 Note also that a Sumba girl was sacrificed
782 for dry springs and fertility. The pieces were sent all over the island. Here we clearly have a pattern. I wonder if perhaps the proto-Malay
[174] strength in Lio may show a Sumba link, and human sacrifice of this sort may not have come into Flores with an eastward migration. There is a fair chance, I think, that they had at least two migrations into Flores: one from the west, the proto-Malay (and thence perhaps the stories in regard to Sina Djawa); and the other from the east, the Negroid migration, and thence the stories in regard to Kroko Putang and other ancestors from Timor, etc.

The tuno wudjo, ideally one for each suku and ama, are still used in ceremonies of all the kampongs here except Leloba and Lewoneda. Wailolong still uses them. The Catholics do not make much fuss about this. The Catholics must allow the rites. The tuno wudjo must fast for half a year or thereabouts, that is, there is a taboo on animals sacrificed for agriculture for them (could it be because they are substitutes for the tuno wudjo themselves, or is this too wild a guess?). It is notable anyway that only two kampongs have discontinued the tuno wudjo so far in this largely Catholic area. It shows how recent and relatively partial the Catholic hold on the population is here. It also shows how strong the agricultural base of paganism is and how important food can be in these terribly poor areas. The people cannot afford to take a chance, even with the old gods.

[771] I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements here at all.

[346] The korke is the kampong temple. In addition,
[614] each suku and each ama has its barn for the "adat" rice, corn, etc. This is like a kind of temple too, and ceremonies such as I saw were

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796 held under the ama kebang.

241 Note the food symbolism in these most impor-
782 tant rites. They take place under the barn.
[887] There are present at these ceremonies the old women (in the old days young virgins) who act as tuno wudjo and food divider. The high point is the killing of a pig, and the meat is mixed with the rice and the blood and the four posts are smeared with this food. Everyone eats. The whole thing is completely linked with fertility. And the ancestors are summoned in the litany and are invited to come and eat.

778 There are plenty of holy places, such as the kampong lama, the place where the tuno wudjo is
●[346] (what does this mean?), the place where they used to assemble before a war (did they do this before the recent war against Waibalun? Perhaps the few who did the active part of the warfare did). Then there are also holy stones: nubanara, and saonivang. There is also a church or rather a chapel!

The stones are especially important, and this is a real stone cult area. He admits this, and if I had time I could get much about the stories, beliefs, etc., in regard to these stones. I told him about the Stonehenge, the dolmens, etc., and he caught onto this fast.

241 The festival calendar is largely one of agri-
527 cultural feasts. The main ones are at planting and harvest. There are other agricultural feasts too, at all stages. For example, there are festivals at the time of burning the fields, clearing the fields, etc. In all, the agricultural cycle includes thirteen rites. At the thirteenth the harvest comes, and a big time is had by all. Everyone eats and there is a lot of noise. During the growing period everything
[824] is quiet in order not to disturb the spirit of the crops. This is a period of danger and much

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527 risk, and one must tread warily and devoutly.
241 Observing all the rites and showing respect for the most important thing of all, food, is the proper thing.

[782] There are also feasts to ask for rain (held at the korke), and against widespread illness (also at the korke), for a new korke, for a new kebang, and for a new "big house."

Note that most of the agricultural rites occur in the fields.

Once in about every nine to ten years they have a great thanksgiving feast, if the crops are good.

A small feast is given when a child is born, [851] but there is no animal sacrifice. If twins are born, however, an animal is cut. Note the gladness displayed at the increase or income of any kind whatsoever, including an additional human being.

[585] There is no marriage feast at all in the old adat.

The biggest feasts are those held at harvest, for a new korke, and the thanksgiving feast.

[171] Note that the Toradja have the thanksgiving feast too, and I saw the start of it there.

● [346] The new korke feast is now given when they have a new church!

Note the way that the church links with the
346 old cult. I remember almost the first thing I
614 heard here was from the priest who said that
177 the new church is being partly paid for by selling the tusks of the families whose carelessness caused the fire which burned the old church. He also said in the church, both in the old and the new, there are the signs of the four main suku. They have their place in the church. And I suppose they will cut up animals for the new church too. If so this sort of takes the wind out of the argument against constructing a new korke, namely, that it would cause too much of a waste of animals.

Wa.

000 much of a waste of animals.

796 614 ●346 I finally found out which kampongs do the main ritual functions when they have a general Belakang Gunung feast at which all kampongs are represented. This is when they have a new korke (or church). The order is as follows:

1. Kottang is Mudakaputu (descendants of Bampowa).

2. Keleng is Lewohala (descendants of Kewaka).

3. Hurint is Leloba (descendants of Belawaburak).

4. Marang is Wailolong (descendants of Keweluk).

5. The passer of food and drink and betel ingredients is Watumiti (descendant of Mado). Thus they are the five brothers.

624 614 793 565 789 756 Hence we have the "sistim" which he himself is so impressed by. There are priests in the sense that the radja tuan and the kelake are really suku and ama priests. They are administrative and ritual officers. In addition, there are priests and gurus of the new religion. And there are the molang or medicine seers. These have more power and influence if they are of bangsawan descent. Thus again the magic power of proper descent comes to the fore and we see that blood and rank affect even the influence of medicine men. Then there are the dukun, who are doctors but with magical aspects.

798 They are extremely liberal toward all religions. The only sign of any animosity I ever saw was toward Mohammedanism, and it was not even here except in Kampong Baru. The pagan resistance was more pronounced formerly. Today the two cults work together without much, if any, friction.

871 797 658 The schools are government schools, but the mission runs them and evidently provides, but does not pay, the teachers. The schools were

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585 come mainly in the "free months" after harvest,
[221] that is, July, August, September. (Note here
796 that the tuno wudjo fasting period comes in,
261 which he said lasts for about six[1] months. It just jibes with the quiet time.)

Head-hunting was done formerly for a feast
721 for a new korke (they can't do it for the new
346 church; too bad!). I have already mentioned
178 how they would give the new posts of a korke
782 some food if the posts did not fit into the rafter holes. This showed that they were hungry. Formerly the food given was human heads. They were hung in the korke. (I suspect there was more of this than Roy[2] says, but he is honest, and perhaps this simply was not done during his time.)

[241] I asked about the blood and the heads needed for making the land fertile and the crops plentiful, etc. He was very vague about this, and my guess is that it is not native in this area. Still, I note the tuno wudjo myth. But this may indeed be a Lio importation. Anyway, they know the connection between blood, human sacrifice, and "fat land." There must be a link here.

226 He says there is no cannibalism here. He
727 says Seegeler[3] was wrong to suspect that they ate parts of the human beings killed in human sacrifice. In fact, he says they didn't even have the human sacrifice. But then he hedged a bit when I reminded him how the Keweluk had forbidden the killing of the Padji women. Then he corrected my previous version of this tale and said that when they had these wars, they didn't, as I thought, kill half the defeated at once and bring the other half back to the kampong and there kill them. He said that actually what they did was to kill only one person and bring the head back. Thus, in the Padji case, they killed one woman and brought her head back. It

1 [i.e., January-June; see category 116, p. 276, #2 --Analyst]
2 [the assistant] 3 [a former Controleur --Analyst]

We

582 the previous talk of the tuan tanah that there
614 are preferred clans. I will clinch this when I get the va'u membership of the inmarriers.

The next day I started in on some more question in regard to social organization.

[103] Note that the name of the kampong below is
346 Tjantjar, not as I have spelled it above [Tjantsia]. I went there halfway through the morning as I heard drums and gongs. There were girls (looking very Hawaiian) sitting on the porch of the house next to the new one of the tuan tanah now being built. The timbers are up. It will be a rectangular house, although the one it replaces was round (I made a photo of the latter only a month ago, which shows how fast the old type is vanishing). The drums and gongs were being beaten because this is necessary when a new tuan tanah house (rumah gong-gendang) is being built.

346 There were several drums and several gongs
533 (and I found that each tuan tanah house has
776 several of each). They must be beaten all the
824 time, with short pauses, and the girls take
[562] turns. The men may help too (for garden beating, only men may play the instruments). This has to go on all the time while the big house is being built. The reason is that the wood (always spirit-ridden here) must be constantly kept pacified and told that it is being used for a great purpose, a big house. For ordinary houses this is not necessary. (I wonder if the idea is also in order to get the wood used to being in a rumah gong-gendang?) Before the trees are cut for the wood, they are told that they are being cut for a high purpose. Each grove of trees has a local spirit called darat. These are tree spirits. The generic word for spirit is ro.

778 I notice each day on my way here that there is
776 a grove of fine trees standing isolated on a
824

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778 high hill, which is otherwise bare, like most
776 of the land here. It is taboo, as special
824 darat dwell here. And now I see many such sacred groves in the hills, carefully left when the land was cleared. It is as though they have to leave places here and there for the darat whose trees have been largely cut away. One has to watch out for feelings of the spirits always. The assistant also uses the word roro for spirits in general.

346 As the big timbers are carried in, the bear-
776 ers sing all the time, moving about slowly, and
533 telling the setan not to sit on the timber and
824 make it heavy. A small girl, elaborately dressed, sits on the timber, showing the setan that someone is already sitting there, so that they won't. A flag is set on the timber (now usually a merdeka, red and white flag) to show the kampong folk from two to three kilometers away that they are coming. In the kampong, they begin to beat gongs and drums "to receive the wood" into the kampong. They may not be quiet as the wood enters. There is much singing, etc.

[335] While the carpenters are at work with modern tools on the house, the gongs and drums are beaten constantly (technology and adat). There has been trouble here in Tjantjar with the tukang from Ruteng. The timbers were already set
[578] when an argument started over the contract, etc. Tempers rose, and the carpenters picked up their tools and left for Ruteng. I saw them on the road two days ago. Now the kampong folk are worried stiff because there lies the wood and there is the wood in the half-finished house, and nothing is being done. The wood may get impatient or angry, and if so they will always have trouble with the house. And this is important, as it is the main house, the cult house,
[753] of the kampong. Also, if the wood gets angry, there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.

Wa.

346 there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.
824 They beat the gongs and drums to keep the wood
533 satisfied and I suppose to make it think that
776 the work is going on. Also, I notice that a few men carry planks up now and then to the rafters, perhaps making as though they were carrying on the work. Meanwhile a delegation is in Ruteng to persuade the carpenters to return. The situation is desperate, and perhaps the folk regret having argued with the tukang in the first place. They must "make the wood cool," they say. This is dramatic.

I also noted that a pig was being skinned in the shed nearby. This is for the workers, but it had been ritually killed with prayers, etc. The drum and gong rhythms constantly changed, and the girls are really clever. This
[562] is beautiful stuff. There are beats which are peculiar to men and women, and also some which are used by both. These people are really virtuosos. All day the women sit thus, doing their duty by the wood spirit.

There is a main post in the rectangular house too, and when it is set in, animals are killed and blood is placed in the hole.

Until about ten years ago all houses here
342 were round. Today there are very few of the
178 old round houses left. Cornelius[1] says there is
346 scarcely a single tuan tanah round house left, because everyone must contribute to the cost of a new one, and when they build one they want one that will be a strong rectangular type so that it will last for a long while. The cost of
[435] this new type tuan tanah house is nearly fl. 3000.00 in addition to the free labor contributed. Each family contributes to the cost and also gives animals for the workers, ceremonies, etc. It is a big thing.

342 I went into one of the two round houses left
178 in Tjantjar. It is a bit different from the

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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000 and such is used in war.

Correction: When there is a big feast in the
621 central kampong, all members of the tjabang
574 kampongs must attend. However, if a big feast
171 is held at a tjabang kampong, it is a matter of choice whether the other tjabang kampongs and the pusat kampong attend. However, each must send a delegation. (This is like the big feasts in the Ambon pela kampongs. The pela radja and saniri must go, and others may do so if they want to.)

It is true that the pusat kampong has more
621 power in a way than the others. Its drums,
622 gongs, tjompang, main pillar of the tuan tanah
346 house, main garden (lingko randang), and the
351 tuan tanah besar himself are all part of this
788 power. All others stem from these. However, the picture is not one of a clear hierarchy. Nevertheless, if a man is very sick, for example, they may decide that it is well to go to the tjompang of the pusat kampong and go through some ceremony. However, there is not a real vivid ranking or constellation of rank.

The assistant says that the round house and the round garden are definitely related. But here again he is unclear. The house is linked with the garden, and after the rites which are held in the garden, they come back to the main house. Also there is a saying: mbarun one uman peang, i.e., "house has link with garden." When a tuan tanah besar gives a drum and a gong to a new branch kampong, he also gives it a "big garden" (lingko randang). Here is where the biggest rites are held. (Lingko means only "round garden.") And when they have rites in the garden, they go directly from the lodok there to the main post in the tuan tanah house. Thus, there seems to be a definite link between
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351 garden's lodok. There is the same parading
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346 351 788 around the main post as around the lodok (see Coolhaas).!

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Note and very important: There is a taboo on 286 784 weaving all over Manggarai, except in the north-east quarter. The assistant can mark the border of weaving precisely. The only exception is Todo and Pongkor, where there is no taboo and there is a bit of weaving. I asked if it is a taboo or just a lack of knowledge of how to weave. He said both, but that it is definitely a taboo. If they weave, the crops will fail, and illness will spread across the land. There have been a few attempts to introduce weaving, and the crops have proven to turn bad. It has nothing to do with the totem. He says it is not tjek'i at all, but merely ireng, which means taboo. This is a puzzler, and is amazing.

871 In 1912 three 3-grade schools were opened in Manggarai: in Ruteng, in Reo, and in Labuan. In 1924, a five-grade school was opened in Ruteng. There were about forty schools in all Manggarai before the war, but only one went as far as fifth grade (the one in Ruteng). This is what the Dutch did between 1924 and 1942! There are now about sixty schools in Manggarai. The school in Tjantjar opened in 1947. It serves nine kampongs: Tjantjar, Vool, Ndung, Rai, Puruk, Sampar, Nggarang, Meler, and Tjara. The farthest kampong is Sampar, which is three kilometers walk away.

There is a fourth grade here too, serving all of Rahong. The children come from far away.

! [See bibliography, category 113. — Analyst]

We

865 young, in regard to the propriety of their behavior.

●346 778 As usual, the church at Tjantjar has no windows. There is no rumah pemali here. The tuan tanah house is the cult center. At each feast all gather here, unless it is a smaller, house or panga feast. The gongs and drums are located here, and also the main post (and in each house is a lesser main post) and the pusaka. The last, however, does not consist of very much--clothes, knives, etc., from the ancestors, and heirlooms of the group.

778 614 769 773 532 The cult places are: (1) the tjompang with the tree, and (2) the stones. Here it is the Vatu Veol, in the form of a human male with arms akimbo, but "someone" broke off the arms. It is near the high hill where the original kampong was located. It was placed there by an ancestor named Padja (thus like the named stones of Ngada). Padja is invited to the feasts at the stone. If there is a war, ceremonies are held there. Any kampong of the va'u Veol may come there and use it. Thus it is a va'u stone. Most kampongs have such a holy stone. Vatu Runtu is the one in Ruteng kampong, whence came the original ancestors of va'u Runtu. Vatu Pau in kampong Pau is where the original ancestors of va'u Pau came out. This was about fifteen generations ago, he says, and he is a member (this is thus quite recent, and curious, but maybe these family trees get foreshortened; or perhaps the period represents a new immigration of "stone people"? It seems to be about three hundred years ago or perhaps a bit less). Vatu La'o is in the gelarang La'o of dalu Rahong. He doesn't know the story about it.

778 769 776 532 It is notable that outside of Rahong, as far as he knows, there are no stone images. Indeed, the only one I know of is the Vatu Veol. And

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778 They agreed that Ndoeria had rebuilt many rumah
pemali. I must go there sometime.

574 Back in Roworeke, the kapitan gave us sweet
soft drinks and port wine (Chinese). Then he put
291 on his adat dress, including a batik headcloth
386 which was winged in front, and a fine ikat slen-
[287] dang, and a woven sarong. There seems to be no
more tapa around here. The colors of the woven
and ikat stuff are dark, including blue, black,
and dull red. They are not very attractive, and
the cloth is quite heavy. I saw women with bas-
kets full of leafy stuff (small leaves) and I
asked what was inside. They said tarum [indigo]
and that it is used to make the blue and black
dye. Thus they still use locally made dyes,
but in Roworeke the red dye is bought in a store.

126 I took a picture of the kapitan and his wife
and family including the fine type old mother.
621 We then started on a tour of the kampong. We
went first across the road to Watu Roga. It is
small and evidently most of the Wanda suku are.
342 There is one large house, but most of the others
178 are rather small. They are not of the high
pitched roof type. I was told that before the
war there were more of the old high roof type,
but the Japanese leveled many of them to make the
people move into the hills as they said the popu-
lation was too dense near the town. I can't
quite get the point, but new houses tend to be
low, four sloped roofed, rather long and squat
in type, but still look primitive because of the
alang-alang thatched roof and many with the coco-
nut leaf midrib walls. The walls, however, are
usually low or invisible because they are under
the low-hanging roof. Hence they are hooded.

349 In Watu Roga there is a high concrete struc-
769 ture looking something like a watchtower with
614 steps leading up. It has a four-sloped tin roof.
766 There is a low wall around a small rectangular
space under the roof. The flooring is of tile,

349 and in the corner is a long wooden drum used in
769 certain ceremonies. Most amazing, however, is
614 a box under the roof and set on planks across
766 beams. This box is covered with old ikat clothes and measures about 3x2x2 feet. In it are the bones of the great ancestor of the Wanda suku. The kapitan said they are "hundreds of years" old. When they have a suku feast, hundreds of people come here and kill buffaloes and dance and sing and pray, asking the ancestors for favors. They do not call them but call on them. All a-
764 round[1] are the stone heap and slab graves of lesser folk. Bodies put in them are bound in the knee-to-chest posture. They often are too small to allow lying down anyway. I was told that many are placed in one cist, and new bodies are put in by lifting the slab and moving the old bones over.

286 I saw a back-bar loom and two women spinning
126 on primitive wheels from cotton fluff. It is im-
181 pressive and the threads they make are good. One old and one young woman were so employed. I started to take a photograph of the old one and a young lady came up and said that she was his mother and that if I took a photograph of her I had to give him one too. I closed the camera and went away. These are the least agreeable folk I have met yet in Indonesia. Still there are plenty of fine people here. Nevertheless, they are not uniformly polite as, for example, are most of the Buginese.

181 We then got out of Watu Roga, leaving discon-
126 tent, it seemed, as we had taken photographs but given none to the people as we had done across the road in Roworeke. I get the impression that the Watu Roga folk are a bit antagonistic possibly to the people in Roworeke. I also suspect that these Ende people are aggressive and competitive and grasping anyway.

621 Then we went around the sections of Roworeke. These are, so far as I can get them up to now:

[1] [i.e., Watu Roga.—Analyst]

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621 Nuamere (the kapitan's house is located here), Pudjambu, Aibod, Aiutu, Roworeke proper (the original kampong after they moved down from the negri lama), Kopoëdo (all Tibo suku, and small), and Wolomere. Thus there are seven. To the south, below Aiutu and Wolomere, is an open land stretching out toward Ende, on which various mixed folk have settled sparsely. The Roworeke [778] sections run up hill gradually from the road to the west, and the negri lama is located high above. All are on the west side of the road except the far south Wolomere, where the secretary lives. Wolomere is on the Watu Roga side of the road. There is an offshoot of Watu Roga on the Roworeke side. This is Paudari, and most, if not all, here are of the Wanda suku.

764 In Nuamere there is one high-roofed house, near the kapitan's. And here is a large concrete tomb set high above the houses. In the upper part, and alone, is the body of the kapitan who died in 1939. In the large lower part are tens of bodies of the Odja suku. When a new body is to be put in, an earthen section is dug up, which exposes an opening in the concrete tomb. The bones are pushed back and the body placed in and the earth replaced (are these bound in the knee-to-chest position?). There are many other rougher stone tombs which the kapitan said contain tens of bodies also. They do not know how many are contained in some of them as they are so old and have been used for so long.

621 Then we went to Pudjambu, the next place, and
766 it is like a small separate kampong by itself.
● 349 Then we went to another, rather farther off and
769 up on the rising stone-faced levels. It was fine.
614 This was the Roworeke proper, the ancestral kampong whence all others spread after moving down from the negri lama. It is a very fine place and I took a photograph. Here there is a high-set roofed tower like the Wanda one, and on planks

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349 set on the rafters a similar chest with bones of
766 the old ancestor of the Odja suku. I was told
769 that this has been there for hundreds of years,
614 but then it was reckoned that it had been there
621 for at least seven generations. It too was
covered with ikat clothing. There was no drum
in this one. They said that when the ancestor
suku feast is held, hundreds of people gather
here and buffaloes are killed, as was true in
the other place. All around are many other stone
cist tombs, all graves of descendants of the big
342 Odja. There are some high houses here, but most
of them are lower in construction.

286 In Padjambu we saw many women spinning and
weaving. One girl was pressing cotton fluff on
a primitive wooden wringer arrangement in order
to flatten it before spinning. It looked just
like an old-fashioned clothes wringer. We saw
an old woman preparing the loom threads in the
first stage of ikat work. The white threads were
wrapped with fiber windings. We saw several ikat
sarongs, all of which were heavy and dull in
[435] color. The kapitan said that I could buy one for
[181] fl. 150.00 and another for fl. 250.00. This
again shows the grasping character of these folk.

123 I forgot to say that the kapitan wants to go
to Larantuka with us. I refused to let him go
along. Also, at the Odja ancestral bone bundle
tower an old mother said we had to leave an offer-
ing. We left some cigarettes. Perhaps they
wanted money.

286 These ikat things are all over. I don't like
386 them very much, but they are genuine. The cotton
531 is grown locally and is pressed and spun. The
dyes are blue and black and are made from indigo
leaves. The ikat work is done with ties of fiber.
[438] Indeed, the only trade material used here is the
red dye they buy in the stores. They also weave
regular cloth, but the colors are always dull.
The designs are small and indecisive.

Flores OF9
Javanese OF5
Bali OF7
Lombok OF12
Gorontalo OG4

[414 cont.]

important festivals and the ancestors.

F 361 Finally, we wish to mention, as examples of the orderly village arrangement in the more easterly areas of the archipelago, the villages of the Ngada (central Flores), which are notable for their regularity. The houses stand in strict alignment around a square; on sloping terrain, the square has several terraces which F [351 231] are carefully tended. Pigs are kept out by means of a bamboo fence along the front of the houses. Clumps of bamboo are found 343 around the village, while the rice and maize granaries are built outside the villages. Furthermore, in every village there are F [778 532] one or more copies of the nadoe and the baka, dedicated to, or the symbol of, respectively, the ancestral father and the ancestral mother of a noi, or family [familie] unit.

The nadoe is a heavy wooden pole, often artistically worked, ending in a fork at the top, with a circular excavation between the prongs, and covered with a cone-shaped alang roof. The baka is a little house, commonly made of finely worked planks and like the ordinary house in form, but usually without the front veranda. The villages here, too, cover only a small area, since practically nothing is planted inside the village.

I 361 The third type of village in the archipelago is completely different and is found, as a rule, in the more highly developed areas where wars are far in the past, and hence the village no longer needs to be a complex of dwellings huddled together as closely as possible and surrounded by walls and barricades. An J 361 outstanding example of this type of village is the Javanese dèsa. 351 Every house is surrounded by a yard, which in many cases is quite large, where all kinds of fruit trees and other crops are planted, so that such a "village cluster," as Veth calls it, [415] rises out of the sawah sea like a kind of island. Even though the G L number of inhabitants may be small, such a Javanese dèsa covers quite a large area.

B 361 636 797 Similar villages are found on Bali and Lombok, in central Sumatra, among the Minahasa (northeastern Celebes), and, more recently, under the influence of the Government and the

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There is a fourth grade here too, serving all of Rahong. The children come from far away.

! [See bibliography, category 113.—Analyst]

R

243 he came back, he at once made a sawah, and the
177 others saw that it was good. Now, everyone
788 plants at least one sawah. Formerly there were no sawah. This is an excellent case of acculturation via the hadj.

412 Formerly the people here did not use hoes
177 or shovels. These came in at the time of the Dutch entry. Before that they had an iron tipped digging stick only. There are no carts.
493 They thought about my proposal for a group to buy one as an investment for hiring. Perhaps there is too little money even to pay for a bicycle here.

352 There are no tables, chairs, or lamps, ex-
354 cept in rare houses like the kapitan's. The
178 only new thing is the kerosene wick, not the lamp. It is called pelita.

342 The house type has changed here from a
178 larger to a smaller structure, and many of the old style roofs are still to be seen.

291 Women now use bought cloth to make thin
178 kebaya. Formerly they made blouses of homespun, but these are all gone. Men and women still wear homespun sarongs. Men wear this alone and are usually bare above the waist. If a man wears a selendang, he is a big man. If he wears a shirt, this is really very slick attire. There were no shoes here at all before, and few now.

301 Men and women wore earrings before, the men
753 ones of gold (look like silver) which the pagans still wear, and the women ones of a different
[304] style. The assistant's ears are pierced, but this is no longer done to the boys, only to the girls. Beads are worn by men and women on festive occasions. These are great ceremonial objects and are worn by the people who are proud of them. If one is not entitled to them, he will become sick if he wears a string of beads.

Wa

There are about ten
326 smiths (are they full time? I doubt it).

241 As before, rice and corn are the staple
177 crops. There has been practically no change except for the introduction of new kinds of bananas, peanuts, and a few vegetables, in
[433] the diet. The local community is still almost one hundred per cent self sufficient.
283 They even make their own thread from their own cotton, although they may buy some thread today.

178 There has been practically no change at all since Vatter's book was written. In Wailolong they still have a tuno wudjo.

[352] Fifty years ago there were no tables or chairs, and there are only a few now. There
291 has been a little change in regard to cloth-
178 ing, especially in that a few men now wear shirts. And a few men also have shoes; there were none before.

A few women wear European dresses; no one wore such dress formerly. They could not sew at all fifty years ago, and there is still not a single sewing machine in Wailolong.

438 A few of the women sell some vegetables and some arak. They buy small quantities of thread, salt, hairpins, soap, medicine, and tobacco. The mountain people sell some of their forest products.

443 There has been no change at all in the mar-
178 ket system here except for the disappearance
437 of the Delang pasar. This was mostly or entirely a barter pasar. Cash is used at the Okka pasar. Up until seven years ago the Delang pasar was still used. There are no toko or warong here.

483 Very few people have ever ridden in a car here. Roy guesses that at the very most one per cent of the population has had such an experience.

423 The kinds of property in terms of land here are the following: kampong (which is "owned"
[See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

000 only technical changes have occurred here.

592 I noted that as we were walking out of Weol, and I asked the priest how many families there were per house, he asked a man and the fellow said there were five in one of the big round houses nearby. Another man rebuked him and said no, there were only three in it. The priest said this is because the government has the law that only three families may live in a house, for health reasons. However, the folk secretly manage to have more. The first man was giving the folk away.

541 I forgot to say that at the whip fights (main
697 tjatjih)[1] there was a band of extra gay fellows who did a lot of the sideline chanting and chorusing. They had red and white banners and at one time when we were taking photographs they came dancing en masse and singing across the field like a slow moving army. At 5 P.M. they raised the banners, singing lustily, and marched off. I asked who they were, and the Radja said that they were the prisoners of the jail, who had been given the day free, and that they were now marching back to jail!

463 The assistant says that all or nearly all
462 men in Weol are farmers. Some, but very few,
231 have specialist skills, but even those farm too. Not one woman has any other job than that of helping in the fields and making mats or weaving in her spare time. Nearly every man has a few to many horses, and some have other animals.

● 354 A bad feature of the old houses is the smoke from the fire which coats everything with soot and makes for additional darkness, but on the good side is the warmth which comes with the smoke.

769 <u>Theory on reading Coolhaas</u>:[2] The Ngada nadu
718 which is for the male ancestors is a small
342 replica of the conical houses of Manggarai. The
173 small bhaga houses of the female houses are
614

[1] [See pp. 91-92, cat. 116 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

R

178 In terms of technology and occupation, there
463 have been very few changes. They still farm
in the old way, and there have been no new jobs
342 created. There are today such houses as the
178 kapitan's, with a bit of cement work. This is
354 new. And every house has a pelita /a kind of
lamp/ for which they buy kerosene. Few of
them have any real lamps like the kapitan's.
The assistant has one, but it is typically out
291 of order. Shirts here are new, but they are
178 rare and cost much. Shoes are new here and
[413] are very rare. Pens, etc., are extremely rare.
The women no longer wear the homespun blouses.
They wear homespun sarongs like the men do,
but buy kebaya of thinner cloth today.

286 They cannot make thin cloth with their
looms, and this is a great handicap. What
they make is too heavy. This is mainly a mat-
ter of thread. They can't spin thread any
thinner than they do and have it strong enough
so that it will not break in the loom. Thus,
if they could get trade thread, they might be
able to weave thinner cloth (?).

[346] The only tin roofs are on the grave-bone
shrines of Odja and Wanda.

Every woman spins thread and weaves. There
are no specialists, however, who sell cloth.
This is done only rarely.

463 There are no smiths or specialists of any
326 kind. There were about twenty men who worked
563 at making pots here, and this started evidently
about two years ago. It was a Chinese company
(evidently tied in with the Radja some way),
and these lads worked in their spare time. As
there are no orders now, they are working
there no longer. It is not a native craft.

241 The most important local agricultural crop
and food source is maize, by far. Then come
rice, vegetables, and yams. There is no sago;
000 they have never heard of it. Little meat is

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243 he came back, he at once made a sawah, and the
177 others saw that it was good. Now, everyone
788 plants at least one sawah. Formerly there were no sawah. This is an excellent case of acculturation via the hadj.

412 Formerly the people here did not use hoes
177 or shovels. These came in at the time of the Dutch entry. Before that they had an iron tipped digging stick only. There are no carts.
493 They thought about my proposal for a group to buy one as an investment for hiring. Perhaps there is too little money even to pay for a bicycle here.

352 There are no tables, chairs, or lamps, ex-
●354 cept in rare houses like the kapitan's. The
178 only new thing is the kerosene wick, not the lamp. It is called pelita.

342 The house type has changed here from a
178 larger to a smaller structure, and many of the old style roofs are still to be seen.

291 Women now use bought cloth to make thin
178 kebaya. Formerly they made blouses of homespun, but these are all gone. Men and women still wear homespun sarongs. Men wear this alone and are usually bare above the waist. If a man wears a selendang, he is a big man. If he wears a shirt, this is really very slick attire. There were no shoes here at all before, and few now.

301 Men and women wore earrings before, the men
753 ones of gold (look like silver) which the pagans still wear, and the women ones of a different
[304] style. The assistant's ears are pierced, but this is no longer done to the boys, only to the girls. Beads are worn by men and women on festive occasions. These are great ceremonial objects and are worn by the people who are proud of them. If one is not entitled to them, he will become sick if he wears a string of beads.

721 at me and raised his brows, saying, "Ah, but
789 you are forgetting the kekuatan adjaib. It was not a matter of men alone." I am accepted as one who can appreciate the magical things. In this case he was pointing to "those intangible factors which mean so much in warfare."

842 There are no limitations on the number of children in a family. There is not even a conflict here with the church. He did say, however, that they know or think they know a medicine (at least he has heard that some women know about this) which might limit the number of children a woman could have (or did I say this?). Anyway, it is unthinkable.

[614] The bigger the family the better it is. A big family, ama or suku makes its members cocky.
[554] As Roy says, he is a member of Hurint, the biggest sib here, and he would like to see the so and so who would try anything on him. He would have to settle with the group. Thus numbers mean strength all along the line.

162 The average size of the family here is about
178 eight individuals. Formerly, about fifty per cent of the children did not grow up. Now they
165 nearly all live (I doubt this, but evidently
758 the change has been so dramatic with the introduction of modern medicine and cleanliness that it seems this way). I asked why, and they at once said new medicines and cleanliness.

355 Women do most of the upbringing. The father,
368 for example, just looks on once in awhile. The
178 mother is the crux, as well as other women. Later on, boys learn to work from their father and girls learn their tasks from their mother. The only change in all this is the school and church, especially of course the former.

581 There has been no significant change in the
178] concept of a "suitable man or wife." So little has the pressure for mere existence lessened that appearance and looks are minor. First of

Flores OF9
Javanese OF5
Bali OF7
Lombok OF12
Gorontalo OG4

[414 cont.]

important festivals and the ancestors.

F ●361 Finally, we wish to mention, as examples of the orderly village arrangement in the more easterly areas of the archipelago, the villages of the Ngada (central Flores), which are notable for their regularity. The houses stand in strict alignment around a square; on sloping terrain, the square has several terraces which F [351 231 343] are carefully tended. Pigs are kept out by means of a bamboo fence along the front of the houses. Clumps of bamboo are found around the village, while the rice and maize granaries are built outside the villages. Furthermore, in every village there are F [778 532] one or more copies of the nadoe and the baka, dedicated to, or the symbol of, respectively, the ancestral father and the ancestral mother of a noi, or family [familie] unit.

The nadoe is a heavy wooden pole, often artistically worked, ending in a fork at the top, with a circular excavation between the prongs, and covered with a cone-shaped alang roof. The baka is a little house, commonly made of finely worked planks and like the ordinary house in form, but usually without the front veranda. The villages here, too, cover only a small area, since practically nothing is planted inside the village.

I 361 The third type of village in the archipelago is completely different and is found, as a rule, in the more highly developed areas where wars are far in the past, and hence the village no longer needs to be a complex of dwellings huddled together as closely as possible and surrounded by walls and barricades. An J 361 outstanding example of this type of village is the Javanese dèsa. 351 Every house is surrounded by a yard, which in many cases is quite large, where all kinds of fruit trees and other crops are planted, so that such a "village cluster," as Veth calls it, [415] rises out of the sawah sea like a kind of island. Even though the G number of inhabitants may be small, such a Javanese dèsa covers L quite a large area.

B 361 636 797 Similar villages are found on Bali and Lombok, in central Sumatra, among the Minahasa (northeastern Celebes), and, more recently, under the influence of the Government and the

634 from Kupang was large, round, and of an almost
142 Caucasoid Negro type. He was very pleasant. He sweats a lot. Next to the Radja of Adonara, he seemed to be the most agreeable and the most intelligent. The Radja of Nageh Keo was obviously a minor radja in comparison to the others, while he was a nice lad, looking exactly like a Negroid Abdul Careem.

There were also two members of parliament, one from Larantuka but now resident in Ende, and the other from Kupang. They were young and agreeable lads. There was also the Radja of Ende, a smooth faced but dark fellow with straight hair. He looked a little like a dark Bao Dai. He was very pleasant and later helped a lot with getting a start in Ende. I had a few talks with these fellows, but I did not learn much.

122 We landed at Ende early on the morning of December 14, and I had to take the jeep off on a double barge. I drove it down the ramp to the beach.

As usual, the Information Office in Makassar had not sent the wire, or at least that is what the Dutchman said who met us. The Dutchmen who did come to meet us were Twerda, the Assistant Resident; two Controleurs, Ariens and Hettinga; and a Finance man Fekkes. The best one of these was the tall Ariens. All the radjas went
485 to the pasanggrahan and we nearly had to go to another one. Finally, however, we got a little room for two. We had lunch in state with the radjas at the pasanggrahan. The Ende radja was met by a delegation of hadjis recently back
771 from Mecca. The Ende radja is Mohammedan, and he told me later that in Ende the proportion of Christians to Mohammedans is about sixty-forty, but plenty of the people are pagan.

●361 The town here is on a very picturesque bay,
133 with Pulo Ende rearing in it and with impressive

361 jagged mountains rising all around the town.
[133] There are also two amazing, high, flat topped volcanic peaks. One is called Gunung Medja. The town stretches along the shore, with plenty of red and yellow flowering trees. There is a large impressive alun-alun [field, plaza] going down to the beach in the center. Behind this are a number of good houses. On the east side is the market and on the west side are good
[342] houses too. The houses are well constructed and there was evidently not much bombing here.
[346] As usual, the high church is but a shell, as it was bombed, this time by the Australians.

485 I found that the town of Ende has practically nothing. There was no running water in the pasanggrahan except for a trickle in the morning.
[377] Electricity is weak and tends to break down.
443 The toko have very little in the way of merchandise. It is impossible to buy beer because the stores are out of it. The cigarettes from the distributie have all been used up and one now has to buy such items on the black market.
495 There is no gas pump, and I have to get gas at the V & W, which pours it out dirty from the tin. Because of this I have had trouble with the jeep for the first time. This is a real end-of-the-world-like place, although the appearance is
[132] rather nice. It is also extremely hot and humid, in fact it is the worst I have experienced yet. At midday it is like taking a Turkish bath here.

485 As usual, the pasanggrahan is not arranged for people who work or read. This is the Indonesian style.

634 The town of Ende is the only main town in the state. There is another state in the mountains, Lio, with a radja at Wolowaru. Then to the east is Sikka, with a radja, and east of that Larantuka, also with a radja. To the west of here is the Radja of Nageh Keo, and to the west of that the Radja of Ngada, at the capital

634 Badjawa (the capital of Nageh Keo is Boawai). The Ngada radja is an old style man with thirty wives who hunts and does nothing else. A relative, a wakil, does the work. To the west is the Radja of Manggarai, with the capital at Ruteng. The Dutch Controleur, Degens, also resides in Ruteng. The former radja died three to four months ago, and the new one has not yet been installed.

I began by riding out along the road toward
361 Badjawa, and got to a ford about fifteen kilometers out. On the way I saw plenty of small and disorderly looking kampongs, with a definitely different arrangement and house style from
515 any other of the places I have been. Also, I noticed that the people here are slovenly, dirty, and strange in appearance. This is a real mongrel zone, and neatness is noticeably lacking in the people and in the villages. On
771 this west side of Ende in the coastal kampongs the people are mainly Mohammedan. On the east side and into the mountains they are mainly Christian. But in both cases, there are just about as many pagans, and sometimes the pagans are in the majority.

The next day I rode out to the east and into
563 the mountains as far as Ndetosoko, high in the
361 mountains. On the evening of the day before I
291 rode out to the other side of the Ende peninsula
515 to Ipi beach. Along this stretch is a kampong made up mostly of Savunese. The houses are of a different style and the people are more like those from Roti in appearance (somewhat of a Hindu type), with sarongs having nice designs and horizontal patterns. I was told by the Controleur's wife that the Savunese are clean and are used here as babu, etc. The Savunese also keep their kampong clean and neat.

764 I stopped here and there along the road into the mountains of Lio and noted some remarkable

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773 from van Suchtelen,[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst] but in general the same ele-
769 ments were present. However, he said, for example, that the girl was not really in the form of a lontar leaf but rather that she came wrapped in a leaf. He also said that Toni, one of the sisters, had no children; and Soru, the other, after having a child in Sikka who produced the ancestors of the radjas there, came to Ende and had children there who became the ancestors of the Ende radjas. Her Sikka husband was killed in Timor, and his name, Djau, was given to her Ende son. Thus from the start Ende and Sikka radjas have a common female ancestor. I can see that the myths here have many versions. The Java-Madjapahit stuff is definitely there. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja was quite enthusiastic in telling about these myths, and it always seemed that his ancestors figured largely.

778 I asked if they have a negri lama here, and they at once pointed to the high hills behind
●361 both kampongs and said that they are located there. And on them, as in Ambon, are the batu pemali! The Dutch forced them to move to the lowlands as they did in Ambon. Evidently they go to these places from time to time, and I must find out if feasts are linked with them. They
[578] said there is no real open conflict between the new and the old religions.

535 They said that there are still plenty of the old dances and old adat costumes here. They will put on this ceremonial dress for photographing later.

764 I asked about funerals and they said that the
565 nobles used to be cocooned on a tree branch (not on the trunk, as Körner[2] says for Rea Ndona) until they rotted. Then there was a great feast with
[231] the killing of many buffalo, and the bones and skulls of the deceased were taken and cleaned and put in a chest which was then put in the slab-
[177] covered cist tombs. The Dutch forbade the tree burial as unhygienic.

[2] [See p. 21 of Körner & p. 189 of Elbert as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

123 panda, a kampong about thirty kilometers to the
west along the coast road. The drive was very
133 scary above tremendous cliffs above the sea,
but the scenery was magnificent, with Pulo Ende
in the bay and the mountains all around. The
road is extremely dangerous, especially when
the rains come. The kampongs here seem to be
[771] mainly Mohammedan. They are shabby. Only one
●36] side, that which faces the sea, of Pulo Ende,
is inhabited.

123 When we returned it was too late, although the
men were sitting in the pasanggrahan. We talked
[582] for a little while and I got some information on
the non-existence of strict exogamous marriage
rules. We also talked a little about a map and
the schedule with the assistant. Then we took
them back to the kampong. We did nothing more
that day, but the kapitan suggested that we go to
Kilimutu, the colored lake mountain, on the next
day, Sunday. I refused at first, but then thought
that I might as well and get it over. I note that
[181] these people are not retiring and respectful like
the Buginese, although the kapitan is really quite
polite. Still he has an eye on the jeep as a
means of getting around. They are all mad over
the camera and talk constantly about photographs
I should take and give to them. I could easily
lose my patience with them. They keep asking for
things.

126 The next day we went to the kampong at seven
123 in the morning and tried to get away fast. But
we had to take photographs, and I was almost de-
luged with requests for more from all sides. I
took pictures of the two old mosa laki, the
kapitan, etc. The old mother of the kapitan, a
good type with the usual betel teeth, asked me
through the interpreter to take her photograph
before she died. I said I would on the return
123 from the lakes. Finally we got off, and I had a
terrible struggle insisting that I could take

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764 It is done in one day now, because the body be-
178 gins to smell otherwise.

144 The physical types in the mountains, the Lio
361 folk (who speak the same dialect as the Ende
[197] coastal dwellers but with a different accent,
and they are really only a mountain branch of
the Ende-Lio tribe) are mainly proto-Malay, or
at least that's the way it seems to me. One
can see this especially in the women, but also
in many of the men. It seems that the more
Melanesian and Papuan types are settled along
the coast, which makes me wonder if maybe there
might not have been a reverse movement of the
black people from the Timor area into Flores,
pushing the proto-Malay people back into the
hills. There are plenty of Melanesian types, and
Papuans, and even Australoid types in the hills,
however, just as on the coast. I get the impres-
[181] sion that the mountain people are nicer, better
looking, more polite, and perhaps even a little
cleaner than the coastal dwellers.

609 I notice that these Roworeke lads, especially
197 the guru, order the Lio folk around. They seem
771 to be regarded as hillbillies. However, they
speak the same language, and many mountain kam-
pongs are one hundred per cent Catholic. In fact,
I really wonder if maybe there might not be more
pagans in Roworeke itself than in many if not
most of the mountain kampongs. Certainly there
seem to be more obviously pagans in Roworeke
than I saw offhand in the mountain kampong. I
778 asked if the mountain kampong has a rumah pemali.
They said yes, but that it is quite far off, near
the main road. I didn't have time to see it.
291 Much of the clothing here is in the form of ikat
286 work, and I can see some of this material woven
on the local back bar looms (horizontal).

Much of the cloth is plain, unattractive, dark
material. The ikat work, and also much of the
plainly woven cloth, is dark and is used mainly

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291 for sarongs and slendangs [shawls worn over the
286 head or the chest]. I see plenty of tooth fil-
304 ing here. And nearly all the women, young and
276 old, have the awful looking betel teeth. The
older men have the same betel teeth. The younger
men seem to chew betel less, and I can see that
their teeth are evened but are not filed down.

304 I saw a tattoo on the back of a woman and was
178 told that it is fairly common all over here. (I
later noticed a young girl in Roworeke with an
initial tattooed on her arm.) This tattooing,
however, is no longer significant here. The de-
sign I saw looked like a kind of anchor design

291 Many of the women here, mainly the old but
several of the young, go about with bare breasts.
When working this seems to be quite common.

252 I saw several women pounding corn. They use
412 a small round tree trunk mortar, and for a pestle
462 a mere pole. The corn is small and brownish.
They call it djagung Solor or mata kuching, and
it does look like small cats' eyes [the meaning
of the latter term, in Indonesian].

231 This area is full of goats. There are also
many pigs and a fair number of buffaloes, but I
saw no cattle. There are many small horses here
too. High in the mountains I saw an amazing
band of fine looking horses who had gone wild
after escaping. They can never be recaptured.
I was told that there are deer, wild pigs, and
wild buffaloes here.

776 At the lakes I asked if it might not be a
fine place for nitu and suwanggi, and they looked
sharply. They reverted to this cautiously and
asked me if I could see the spirits. They are
going to be cagey about pagan ideas, but when
they are caught off-guard they agree that there
are probably spirits in this mysterious place.

● 361 The plazas are of pounded earth, bare, with
houses scattered about and the most conspicuous
things being the stone graves.

302 Kattenburg in a mountain kampong reported that he had seen a girl wearing lipstick. It was betel stain to which he is not used.

487 We left Ende for Larantuka on Tuesday, December 20, and after a long run through the mountains we reached Maumeri at noon. Then we went on an even harder run to Larantuka. This took all afternoon. The rain in the hills was bad. We passed through Tanai Ai and Lewotobi areas without knowing it. The land was very empty. I suddenly found that I was in Konga.

[485] Larantuka is the end of the world, and the pasanggrahan there was pretty primitive.

[443] It is hard to buy anything here in Larantuka.
[377] There is no electricity except in the mission,
797 and the latter runs the town and everything else of a western nature evidently. The place has an air of having been asleep for a long time. Behind it is the Ili Mandiri, the storied mountain of the ancestors of the Larantuka people. The
144 town is a mixture of natives and descendants of intermixed Portuguese as well as Malays from Malaya who came in a long time ago with the Portuguese. One can see all sorts of physical types. Outside the town along the coast is a
● 361 Mohammedan kampong, Kampong Baru, but there are few Mohammedans elsewhere. Most kampongs are behind the mountain. There are also a few on the way to Lewotobi.

632 The next day we started out to see the area
361 behind the mountain, especially Leloba, where Vatter[1] worked. We passed through several kampongs of rather large but shabby look. This was especially true of Mudakaputu (seat of kakang of Mudakaputu formerly, although he is now at one of the other places, in Riangkamiö, I think), Watuwiti, Riangkamiö, and Wailolong. These are all together in one kakangschap (called gemeente here too by the people, and it is also one adat
632 area). This is the Blakang-Gunung. The Radja

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

159 wherein the kepala kampong is a Kottang. This is
[622] all right according to adat, he says. The guru is
an old fellow, sick with a cough. He was not there,
and his daughter, who might be any age from eighteen
to thirty, talked with us. She seems to be a queer
type, and it is strange that she is not married. I
get the idea there is some friction between her and
her father. She had five years of schooling at the
sisters' school in Larantuka. A son of the guru is in
Makassar as a clerk (I think in a church office),
and he married a Leloba girl recently. The guru
[582] married a woman from the same suku, but the daugh-
ter says this is all right as she was from Laran-
tuka. If she were from any kampong behind the moun-
tain, this would have been impossible. The house
was adorned with holy pictures. The guru said he
[797] was converted in 1907, and as he is now perhaps
771 sixty, that was when he was about eighteen. There
178 are no more pagans in Leloba, a change from Vatter.
The old pagan stuff in a material form is all gone.

124 After our talk we decided that perhaps Wailolong
121 was the best community in which to work, because
Leloba is entirely Christian. In addition, Leloba
was done by Vatter. Wailolong is about the same
size as Leloba and at the crossroads below. We
talked a great deal about adat and then came back
to Larantuka with the guru, who wanted to visit
the children in the school there.

312 In the afternoon we picked him up and went to
Wailolong. On the way we picked up the kepala kam-
pong Leloba and a few others. They were at the
[515] other crossroad near the sea, and here there were
many women bathing (there is no water in the kampong
for this). Women were also hauling water from this
place. The guru said they had to go even farther
778 for water originally. It seems as though all of the
kampongs have a higher negri lama, as in Ambon.
There are holy stones here too.

361 Wailolong is along the main road and is located
161 on both sides of this highway. It may have as
many as one hundred houses and a possible population
of seven hundred.

[See bibliography, Cat. 113 - Analyze]

We
789 father told him to shut up. This was another
776 of his familiars. He also had a seven-headed
178 snake as a familiar. I asked what ever happened
[825] to these familiars, and he said that they do not appear any longer because the people do not feel the need for them. But if one called them, they could come to the old guru. That is, the familiars are inherited from father to his successor son. This is amazing, and shows clearly that the old guru, at least, and indeed the young one and the kepala kampong, still take seriously much of the old belief despite Christianity. I eased
[123] into this by talking like a kafir myself, as usual, and they came along to a stage of talking in a way that would horrify the priests. At one point the guru stopped and said, "My, we're talking like Kafirs [unbelievers, infidels]." There is plenty left here of the old paganism, and I can see why the priest said it would be easy for them to slide back into their former habits.

241 People must keep quiet when the crops are
824 growing as they would scare away the food spirit in the plants otherwise. When there is a harvest there are feasts and many gatherings. This may be the reason for the harvest feast pattern.

361 Wailolong was originally located in the hills. Then they moved down to the coast where there is a crossroads at Okka. After that they moved only about thirty years ago to their present location. The first move was the result of the government pressure to make them come down out of the hills. The second move was halfway back to the hills. Leloba has moved only once, that being the original move down from the higher hills. Wailolong and indeed other kampongs here have grown fast in recent years because of cleaner conditions, better medicine, etc. They know this well. Wailolong has grown apace and keeps grow-
000 ing. The houses in the oldest negri lama were

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291 similarity. The ikat work and weave patterns
184 of sarongs especially show certain differences.
302 In Sikka the children have the front half of
482 their hair shaved. Here also the women and children usually employ a tumpline.

[527] We[1] had one day in Roworeke as December 27
123 was Independence Day. We left for Badjawa on the latter, after a ceremony. As appears to be usual in Roworeke, which is a most annoying environment with constant requests for jeep rides and a general lack of respect, the kapitan and a large group had to be taken first to kilometer 10 where they had a garden. The kapitan and the kepala kampong pleaded that we come to haul them to Ende for the ceremony tomorrow, but we refused firmly. Today the kepala kampong
[292] wore a woman's felt hat with a chin string.
304 His wife who is pregnant had a tattoo over her arm, but it consisted of a name and random marks. I see this sort of thing everywhere. The old patterns seem to have gone. Today the thing to have tattooed is your name. Then we went back to Roworeke and went to work in the "office" which was full of flies and people.

621 The kampongs in Roworeke are as follows (the
361 area extends from kilometer posts 5 to 8):

1. Nuamere (kilometer 7; the kapitan's area)
2. Bita (across the road, north of Watu Roga)
3. Kopoëdo (inside from Nuamere)
4. Puüdjambu (same)
5. Roworeke Asal (same)
6. Ae Boü (along the road below Nuamere)
7. Ae Utu (along the road below Ae Boü)
8. Wolomere (across the road from Ae Utu; the secretary's area)
9. Tana Ri (kilometer 6)
10. Ndetu (kilometer 5; many Ende folk live here)

1 [i.e., Kennedy and Kattenburg --Analyst]

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All
727 of them were sold or taken during the Japanese
436 time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese
563 time too, but new ones are being made by
326 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and families. They had been in the mountains making wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They use the natives' gold. Much silver is now mixed in with the gold. They both had complete
[142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large, and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they
611 use money and animals for the bride price, but
591 they may also work it off, although it is not
237 really a case of ambil anak because the children follow the father's suku anyway. The girl must stay with the parents until the bride price is paid. Also, residence remains matrilocal until the bride price is paid. Thus we have an illustration of this in the case of a Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several children, because the bride price has not yet been paid. The children belong to his suku, however. Thus there is bride service, matrilocal residence, but the descent remains patrilineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally, has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to get the assistant to say that they still had tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the
624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before
632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evidently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases
[691] are concerned only with land and marriage questions.

487 of dirty, mixed kampongs, and then went up along
the cliffs over the sea to Nangapanda. Then
the road headed into the mountains, and after
[361] a long stretch which appeared to be practically
uninhabited (as usual between the coast and
mountain folk, here as in the Toradja country),
and finally we arrived in Badjawa. Before we
797 reached Badjawa we saw a large mission station
at Todabelu, where there were many modern
buildings, a seminary, and a model farm as well
as a trade school. All of these were notably
advanced over anything else we have seen in
Flores. As usual, it is connected with the
526 mission. In Badjawa there was a great crowd
for the day, and football games were held.
These are the great sport all over Indonesia
now, and it is coming even into the remote kam-
pongs. It is the national sport [i.e., soccer].

We saw here the dirty but spirited Ngada,
291 with dull clothes. The adat dress, however, is
striking, especially that of the men. It con-
sists of a dark blue cloak and a red headcloth.
304 We also noted that a lot of the people had filed
teeth, and in addition many had blackened them.
Earboring is a general practice here, but as
usual the younger men may have the holes but no
rings. (For example, the assistant in Roworeke
is like this and so is the younger guru in Le-
[771] loba.) This is a pretty primitive looking lot,
although most of them are Christian.

361 The Ngada kampongs are hard to see as they
342 are nearly all behind bamboo thickets. Ngada
houses are rectangular with low hanging hooded
roofs. They are built on piles definitely,
unlike Ende (or at least most of the houses in
[778] Ende) and Larantuka. In these kampongs there
are not many stones that I could see, but as
769 yet I have not seen a kampong fully. Notable
346 are the inverted pyramid-like ancestor houses
built on a single post. They are called nadu

311 cover for agriculture too, and this causes a
241 great, economic problem.

114 He[1] said that much of Arndt's[2] and other scho-
124 lars' findings were wrong as they use Christian
159 gurus as assistants, and the latter do not tell
634 them exactly what the old men say. The young
assistants "doctor up" the information. They
also misunderstand some of the old ideologies.
This was one of many implications in his talk
that showed he was not uncritical of the Chris-
tians. He has been radja longer than any other
in Flores, thirty-one years and seven months.
In his youth he was a Dutch army man too. He
says that there was no road built when he was
first made radja but the mission was already
there. He also says that he is the most impor-
tant radja in West Flores, although all of the
royal families here are interrelated. He says
he represents the older sibling branch, and
Nageh and Manggarai radjas are the younger sib-
ling branches. It is true that the Manggarai
radjadom dates only from 1929, and before this
there were only dalu, three of whom were most
powerful.

194 The Radja speaks Malay with remarkable
gutteral sounds which Arndt[2] says are character-
istic of Ngada folk. They also have at least
one implosive, as in bhaga. He has his house in
the kampong Radja, not far from the town.

361 The town is notably modern in appearance, with
797 the mission influence as usual. In the center
there is a large plaza where the football field
[485] is located, as usual. The pasanggrahan is a
622 good one, and the mandur looks like a nickel-
634 head Indian. He was in the army once too and
served in Sumatra, especially in Atjeh. He is
evidently a friend of the Radja, as he enters
[565] and talks with him freely. The Radja mixes
443 freely with the people here, as we noted at the
pasar malam. The latter, to which we went at

[1] [i.e., the Radja of Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

[124] arrived after dark. We saw a very clear change
144 in physical type.[1] The Manggarai are clearly proto-Malay with a fair amount of Mongoloid blood in them.

[311] We went down to the coast through the empty
361 land, being burned off in large part, to Aimere.
342 Then we went across the wild and jungled peninsula to Mborong. We picked up a small girl from the hospital in Mborong who was going to school in the mountains. She got sick on the way. Then, up in the empty hills again, we saw a tree house on the way. Underneath it were some Mongoloid looking men and they said they were iron workers who were working on a bridge. They sleep in the tree house, which they built
[137] against mosquitoes which are bad here. They were from Ruteng. Later we heard that they have been here for years, "working" on a bridge.

[132] We ran into a terrible fog as we went up and up toward Ruteng. In the evening we attended
[443] the pasar malam, and there in addition to the
[525] gambling was a play with a story about how in-
536 dependence means decency and not rowdiness.
177 It was full of Catholic influence. Between the
533 acts there were instances of poor singing and dancing by a little girl who sang and stepped around and by some sillily dressed boys who went through marching motions to almost inaudible
[534] singing. The orchestra consisted of a violin and a ukelele, nothing else. The band consisted of a few horns. A small child held up the music for the trombone player, who didn't use the slide. The play was incredibly bad. Thus they lose the fine old singing and dancing and drama rites and instead of them they now have these imitation things which are bad beyond belief.

~~We~~ The next morning we went to the mission and
793 met several priests, including the rector, van
124 Bekkum,[2] who wrote an article on Manggarai art. He was a bearded fellow and not bad. He said

[1] [i.e., the Manggarai vis-a-vis the Ngada --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[798] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here, and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

Ve
771 the young folk are Christian. Most of the old
[624] people are largely pagan however. There are
no other obvious signs of pagan religion in
the lower kampong. The same goes for Weol.
342 Here there are more round houses, but the new
ones are all rectangular. At the entrance of
778 the kampong there is a mound which I must ask
about. It looks as though it might have been
a cult hill. Then there is the holy tree and
the stones around it. The photo, of the stone
figure, Ine Amba, which Vroklage gives as from
Weol, is really from a kampong which can be seen
across the rice fields.

621 There are many old people here, including two
[624] remarkable old men, one of whom is one of the
two tuan tanah in the kampong. This is a double
kampong, with two main parts, and it has there-
fore two tuan tanah. The children here are
[515] dirty and so are the adults, for the most part.
[231] There are pigs all over. However, the houses
[361] are better spaced than, for example, in Laran-
tuka kampongs. The people here have poor clothes,
[291] and many, especially the women, were seen with
304 filed teeth and some of them with teeth beauti-
fully blackened. We noticed no tattooing nor
cutting.

243 Looking off from the high kampong one can see
the wet rice fields below. These are in wedge
shapes with a common center. There are many
adjacent, star-shaped arrangements. This is
unique in Indonesia. The priest says this is
because it is easier to fence them in this fashion,
but I suspect there is some cosmological signifi-
cance, perhaps reflected in the circular houses
too. The houses have all sorts of decorations
342 on top of them. The round ones seem to have an
531 upright wooden thing on them. The rectangular
ones have at the ridge ends a stylized pair of
wooden horns, often with a bird in the middle,
and some with two birds, one at each horn tip.
[See pp. 390-91 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography
cat. 113--Analyst]

592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more people in many of the houses. The complex ar-
243 rangement of rice fields stretches out far below and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but perhaps this is done merely by flooding. I must ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly situated on rises and they are small, for example, Weol has only about thirty houses in it. The priest says that there are many of the stones in kampong Ruteng located about 1½ km. outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each day, and the guru will bring the table and chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel. The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary, which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
177 houses were introduced here by a priest. The guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the
585 folk here, including the priests. Bathing is not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the relationship between partners is distant enough. Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans, called panga, and one may marry within these in the same way, according to the guru. I must find out more about this and also get the kin system. We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in the center of the town where they were playing football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

We

241 five times. Then two men imitate mice and run
782 around, while others pelt them with clods of
231 earth. This part is called mburu pusu. After
624 this weeding can be done.

527 (4) Tege rego, when the crops are ripening. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok five times. (The tuan tanah always leads the procession of the people who have shares in the garden being rited.)

(5) Tjepa, just before the harvest. Each family concerned gives a pig, rice, etc. If the garden is a lingko randang, a buffalo must be sacrificed. The animals are assembled in the kampong, and the crowd, with one of the pigs, goes to the garden. Each one plucks a stalk and a hair. The pig is killed. Then they go back to the kampong and go around the "adat house" five times and then go inside to dance. Then all the other beasts are killed and the
[195] whipping starts. While harvesting, special words are used for animals and aliens.

776 At all feasts the poti empo are called and
769 the setan are chased. Therefore, the dead are never buried far from the kampong, and perhaps inside the kampong. Thus it is easier to call them. They live at their graves.

124 We talked with the assistant Sunday and then
[524] took him home. (We discovered in Ende later that the bamboo clapping game is also practiced there.) Then we set out for Badjawa, which we reached in the evening. The next morning a lad named Alfons appeared and said that the Radja Kedua had told him to show us the Soa area when we were in Badjawa. He is the former guru agama [religious teacher] and had taught Malay and Ngada to many priests. He is good looking and intelligent and wears leather puttees.

361 Then we went to Soa, but first stopped at a
621 spectacular kampong named Lekedjere, on the side
614 road to Soa. It is pure Ngada, really a double

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
614 living on the level of the road and the other
621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo. At the road border of the kampong a bit in from
[211] the road, standing against the skyline, is a row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe heads. They are thin and tall. They are set on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
[417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical of all kampongs in this region, so that the kampong itself is located down in a stone wall enclosure.

Below the first row of stone pillars there
346 is another with just as many stones. It is also
769 set on a mound. Just below this stands the
531 umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on one side there is a living tree with Y-branches at the fork. Stones are heaped around the ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet high, and consists of a single pillar with thatched cap. The pillar is made of hebuh wood and is carved in fancy designs which are hard to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were made of white shell). Looking under the cap I could see that the pillar forks were in the shape of a U, and so it is really about the same as the Nagch peo, but less clearly Y-shaped and covered with a cap.

To either side of the plaza, which was of
342 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small
361 and had rather low roofs. These houses are set on piles. On one side was the house of the
624 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
769 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
346 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
565 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
554 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in
574

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
●361 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
515 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
514 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

Every-
243 where around the earthen plaza there are corn
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They
looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the
peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it
were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with shelleyes. It was set in cement.

From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
132 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However,
124 when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from
Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of
two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we
had to stay overnight at the house of a former
kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the
oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see
the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of
Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan.
He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and his cronies are taking everything. There is only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And
now they are asking the Christians to move up

634 166 361 into the hills with their Christian and pagan relatives and leave the lower lands for the Mohammedans.

632 634 771 578 I wonder if the kapitan of Nggobe, the fat and aggressive man, plus the kapitan of Rodja, who seem to be the right hand men of the Radja, may not form a triumvirate of Mohammedan rule here. The Christians rely on the priests to intervene (the Dutch are no longer here for appeal), and it will result in a funny situation if there is Mohammedan-Catholic trouble here. Note also that of the seven radjas here, only one (Ende) is Mohammedan; and one pagan (Ngada). The others are Christian (Manggarai, Nageh, Sikka, Lio, and Larantuka). This presents a curious pattern, especially when one considers that the RIS is mainly Mohammedan. This is similar to the Ambon situation. The Christian majority locally is in a difficult situation, with the former local Mohammedan minority now in the majority group of all Indonesia. No wonder the Christians of Indonesia are frequently against independence.

632 829 The former kapitan is quite bitter, but he is clearly glad to see us and talked a lot to us about his troubles, with the obvious although vague idea that we might get the United States to help in some way. He was impressed by the United States elective system and especially gasped with pleasure when we told him that if a leader was not good to the majority of the folk he would not get reelected. He was also impressed with the fact that we told him there are no radjas. But I reminded him that his claim to office rested on inherited succession, and he began to think. They like succession when it is to their advantage, but see the useful points in the elective system when they can visualize that such a condition might ruin their rivals.

000 bands under their knees formerly.

R Roworeke: On the next day we saw some pro-
582 gress made in making out the census. There are a couple of cases of endogamy, but they are seven "layers" distant.

782 I asked about the oro pesangga, which Such-
346 telen says are offering posts set before each house in Ende. They said that oro is merely a more polite word for ata, man. And pesangga means merely to stab. Thus it means only a man who stabs, i.e. the one who does the sacrifice. This is very unclear. I got no further with it. Perhaps it is only in the mountains.

The central offering post, tubu musu, mentioned by Suchtelen, is found in Roworeke Asal. I must see it. Suku Gusa has one in Wolowaru,
● [361] the deserted kampong lama above here. There the original settlers were Odja and the Gusa folk came in later. Then they both moved down to the present Roworeke.

166 The Ende folk who live in the border areas
361 of Ndetu and Tana Ri are papalele, i.e., people
[441] who have no land generally but who buy and sell. They have mere huts to live in, and they come for awhile and then leave. However, many of them have been in their huts for four to five years, so all of them will be entered in the census. They are not full members of the kampong, and indeed are regarded as mere "people who have arrived."

632 The list of gemeente in Ende is as follows (and the proper spelling is Rewarangga):

1. Nggobe (town and inland).
2. Rodja (town and peninsula).
3. Rewarangga (five to eight kilometers).
4. Pulo Ende (island).
5. Rukuramba (km. 8 on the way to Badjawa).
6. Berai (km. 6 on the way to Badjawa).
7. Numba (km. 18 on the way to Badjawa).

[See p. 133 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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632 8. Nangapanda (km. 28 on the way to Badjawa).
9. Tana Djea (km. 31 on the way to Badjawa).

632 173 Thus Rewarangga is the easternmost of the gemeenten, on the border with Lio. It is half surrounded by Nggobe. I asked about the ancestor stories which make Rodja and Nggobe the first and greatest gemeenten. The kapitan said that this was because of the manner in which 'Suchtelen' got his stories. The people who gave him his information were nearly all illiterate townsfolk. I retold the story of the five siblings from Java. [186] He agreed that every area had its own version in order to make themselves appear greatest.

632 He said he got along all right with the Mohammedans and that the former Christian Rukuramba kapitan was merely inefficient. Arriens said so too, and that the present Mohammedan kapitan there is the best of all.

614 361 Then I checked the place of origin of the suku in the census and got the following information. Odja came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Meo came from Ndetuko'u (Nggobe). Djawa came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Ndoru came from Ndungga (Lio). Reandona came from Woropau (Nggobe). Wanda came from Waturoga (Lio). Tibo (Gusa) came from Koavena (Rewarangga). Ndosi came from Wolotole (Lio). Rewarangga came from Worowai (Rewarangga).

Note: This suku (Rewarangga), the real old one of this region, originally lived in an even higher kampong, Wawotonda. It was located two kilometers above here on the road into the hills. Worowai is only a half to one kilometer above the road. A few people live in the Wawotonda area, but it is no longer a kampong. It is in the territory of the kampong Worowai. In Wawotonda [778] there are stones and cannon. But the [346] ruma berhala of Rewarangga suku (a bone house like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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614 like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now. Woro
361 came from Ndungga (Lio). It is unknown at present where Soa, Songo, and Mboti came from. Fongi came from Wolotope (Lio). Sue came from Tombe (Rabu; Rewarangga). Wai came from Wolotolo (Lio). Mbonggi came from Volofeo (Rewarangga). Pare came from Mbomba (Berai). Lenalaba came from Dile (Lio). Watu came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Gusi came from Watusipi (Berai). Wadja came from Potu (Nggobe).

622 Then we got onto the matter of who may be-
565 come kepala kampong. They said that he must be of the bangsawan class or the people will not follow him. Thus he must be of a mosa laki family. There are three possibilities in the rank of the kampongs:

(1) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are the same man.

(2) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are brothers.

(3) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are of the same family.

Thus Roworeke has a kepala kampong of the mosa laki family. The same situation is true in Worowai and Manunggo'o. Worowaku has a kepala kampong and mosa laki mere in the same person. In Arereke they are in the same family, and so on.

632 The offices in the gemeente are: kapitan, the Big Four, the oppas (oppa), djurutulis (djurutuli), and mandur (oro kuni).

624 The officers of the kampong are: kepala kampong, the Little Four, mandur (oro kuni).

875 The two school teachers live in Waturoga. The head teacher is from Maumere, the other from Ndona. The religious teacher lives in Roworeke.

484 Everyone here in Roworeke has at least gone to Ende. They have seen little else, however. When they go to Ende they usually go for a single

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609 has a friend-bond with the kampong of Ndona;
582 and he married a Waturoga woman. The Maumere
608 teacher has a somewhat harder time, but he
married locally and this helps. (I think he
married locally, although I am not sure now.)

632 In the district, the "pusat" kampongs are
624 Roworeke and Worowai. The latter is the older
621 and the kampong of the real prime suku, that
778 of the oldest of the original brothers,
Rewarangga. There live three of the Big Four
(mosa laki mere, ndetu au, and sikesani), and
it is thus a sort of adat center. Roworeke
is newer, and it is the administrative center,
where the kapitan lives. Here also, however,
is the big giri tumba. Formerly, these two
were one kampong. In the kampong, the section
or hamlet Roworeke Asal is the oldest, and there
the grave-bone shrine of the Odja suku is located. It is the adat center. There also is
the tubu musu. Nuamere means the big village,
and this hamlet is where the kapitan lives.
Thus it is the administrative center. Still,
the ata nggaëh nua, the adat kepala kampong
(Bapa Ketjil) and his adi, the administrative
kepala kampong, live in Ae Utu (I think).

361 The present Nuamere was newly established
621 here in 1907. There had been a previous ham-
632 let Nuamere up the hill. The Dutch, however,
[648] as usual made most of the hamlets move down to
the road. Thus there is a general pattern here
that in each district there is a kind of
original kampong, and in each kampong there is
a sort of original hamlet. But it is not a
constellation arrangement as in Toradja country, where all the kampongs and hamlets spread
out from the center like a star. This is
truer of the kampongs than of the districts,
because the latter here are coming to be more
and more a coming together of independent
kampongs, some old and some younger. Thus

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621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
●361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are
still formed partly of suku or suku sections
coming in and joining the old settlers from
the negri lama.

443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series
as in Celebes. These wheels run in different
directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru,
and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The
traders follow the pasar week from market to
market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kam-
583 pongs, although there is gift exchange in
562 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male"
things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a
woman gives in return "female" things (cloth,
mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere,
and said that many had drowned there recently.
The water is deep, he said, and there lives a
"head" of a human being. It is still living
and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has
seen it several times, in daylight. It moves
around as though on short legs. It is just a
human head, with hair. They don't know what
it is or where it came from. However, the
people are now scared to bathe here. The vic-
tims have been sucked under. He asked me my
opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
[123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith,
because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu
if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere.
They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head
alone").

622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

797 Waibalun?). There must have been hundreds of them in this procession. Following this there was a long parade of a lot more. Perhaps this was the Confreria Santa Maria, the underground men's organization that kept Catholicism going in the kampongs during the long time when the Portuguese missionaries were not here. The second guru in Leloba told me that the white sheet cloak I saw on him as he was leading a funeral last week was the robe of the Confreria. In spite of everything, the mission is the only modern, efficient, and perhaps one of the few honest (how honest?) things in Flores.

I am glad I shall be leaving this truly
377 forsaken island before long. It gets on one's
181 nerves. One can't buy anything, few places have electric lights (the ones here just went off, but miraculously came on again after a few minutes), everything is broken down, the people are stupid, the radjas are hopeless.

124 Larantuka: I spent a final three days in Leloba finishing up the schedule on Wailolong, and it was lucky I did this, because, as usual, my assistants (the same everywhere in Indonesia so far, except in Makassar) did not finish the answers. They did do the census and the map. Anyway, I got onto the schedule at once, covering old spots which were not filled in yet, and finishing what was left undone.

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● 361 location of Wailolong. Formerly, it was located one-half kilometer from Leloba. Then, in 1922, it was allowed to move back, but it moved not all the way back to its former location, but only as far as it is now. This whole business is typical of the Dutch administration in the worst days, when, for the sake of "peace, order, and taxes," and for all I know, the mission, they made these poor people move out of the

Wa

361 hills and down to the coast. This caused much
[648] malaria and misery all over Indonesia. And after many years, the Dutch let them move up higher again, having stopped the spirit of revolt. (One can find this very expression in the reports.)

Five families from Wailolong have moved into Balela, a kampong inside the town of Larantuka (note that several Leloba families have moved there too). Balela is a little uphill, and perhaps this is the reason for the movement. I also think that it may have some relations with the "behind the mountain" area. Anyway, of these five families, only one has moved back to Wailolong. They simply do not move very much.

443 No one, but no one, has moved into the kam-
438 pong, except for women marrying in (and the
[166] two gurus). There are no toko or shops in Wailolong. They do not even have warong here. The women come from the beach area to sell and buy a few things (e.g., to buy arak, and to sell fish). These women come from such places as Waibalun, Larantuka, etc. But there is not much trade.

484 Everyone here has seen at least some other kampong, if only a nearby one. There are some old people who have never seen Larantuka town, or at least that is what he thinks.

167 Only two people that he knows have left Wailolong to work in some other place. One of them at least went to Borneo. As yet they have not returned.

697 Roy said that all who have been to jail have
648 seen Larantuka town. This is one way to see the world. There is real bitterness here about the jail business, and I hear it cropping up
648 constantly. The Dutch really ruled here with an iron hand, especially Seegeler, they say, whose report I got from Twerda. He was the

We I note also that
554 there is a kind of mark of "upperness" in the
[177] wearing of European shirts by the men! This
[291] probably holds for the European dress worn by
some women too.

Roy says that in Larantuka town there is a
195 high and a low language, but I wonder if this
may not mean that there is merely a polite
idiom. Here in this area they all speak the
same language, but use fancier language in the
[554] ceremonies. The only titles are those of the
listed posts. One must be respectful to the
uppers.

614 The whole rank system depends on genealogi-
565 cal descent. There are no rules in regard to
interclass marriage, and everything depends
upon the suku system.

634 The Radja of Larantuka is a descendant of
565 the Ili, just as the other folk are. He is a
bit mixed up with Timor, via Pategolo. And
the Radja kedua is from Kroko Putang. However,
the entire upper "nobility" is really inte-
grated with the commoners. That is, there is
no heaven descent. They are just like the
other people, except genealogically they are
ranked a bit higher. All power also depends
on descent.

In 1905 the first guru of Leloba, Bala,
793 started his religious work. He had been con-
verted before this at the school in Larantuka.
At that time there were priests in Larantuka.

In 1912 a church was built at the kampong
●361 lama of Riang Kamiö (this is another example of
how much and how recently these kampongs have
been moved from place to place). In fact,
only in these years, all kampongs except Lewo-
neda were still in the hills. Wailolong was
moved from the hills to the beach in 1913. At
that time a guru was sent to Wailolong, and in
1922 or 1923 Wailolong moved to the present lo-
cation.

We.

614 ask; and (3) the latung pesi corn: this is
784 true of the firstborn only (I will ask about
773 this too).

Note the firstborn theme here too. This is also found in Sikka totemism. The Pau va'u
[764] has only one taboo aside from the custom that the stone must not be used for anything, and it is that the members must be buried naked. The story is that once, when the dead were still dressed, a child was ordered to get clothes for a dead person. The child refused, and an old man who was angry said, "All right, from now on our descendants cannot be buried in clothes." It is a kind of curse.

Manong taboos are mice and dogs. They cannot be eaten. I don't know the story, but I can ask the assistant's wife. Now, however, the assistant's wife can eat these, because she has married out. But she has taken on a taboo (tjek'i) of Pau and will be buried naked. He asks, "What about the Catholics?" I said there was no trouble, I thought, because there is no rule in the Church that a person must be buried with clothes on! Each taboo has a story of rationalization behind it. Usually there are two or three taboos per va'u.

[262] I found out that cats are eaten here.

These kampongs have long since been separate,
621 but once they were one. There was a man named
[361] Pong Ndung who came from Veol, but didn't want to live in the kampong, so he moved down to lower land and settled under a tree. The Veol people got angry and asked him to come back, and he said all right, but moved only into the present Ndung area, which was then vacant. He thus founded the new kampong, and since then it has been called Ndung.

Before 1870 to 1880 they had only kampongs and va'u. Then, under Bima, came in the dalu and gelarang divisions. The line between gela-

We

166 will give me food when I am dead?" This is
578 exactly like the ancestor cult of China, in
614 that there must be descendants to make sacri-
769 fices for the soul of the deceased. And there is the same mournful asking by a pagan father whose sons turn to Christianity and therefore probably will not keep up the rites for the dead ancestors: "Who will feed me after I am dead?"

776 This led to a discussion in regard to the
361 guardian spirit of the kampong. Each kampong
778 has such a ro, called naga, and its abode is
[166] in the stone heap and the tree thereon in the pusat of the kampong. This is called the tjompang. If there is a great deal of trouble, e.g., illness, a succession of bad crops, etc.,
[756] the mbako may say that the naga is no longer any good, and if all the people so agree, the whole kampong is moved en masse. When this happens, the old tjompang and tree are left there in the old place and are abandoned. Thus it happens that a naga which for a long time has been benevolent may turn to be malevolent. This may be because the people have not pleased him, or just because he got wicked. He is no longer a good naga, and the people had better get out and get a new place and a new naga (how do they get a new naga? There is a very big feast for a new kampong, so perhaps a new naga is then installed).

Veol moved about two to three generations ago from the place noted on the map (c) on higher ground above the vatu Veol. I thought it was strange that the stone was there, outside of Veol and above Ndung, and also strange that the highest spot was empty. This is where Veol used to be, but the naga became so bad that Veol was moved about one hundred meters below. Also, I noted when I first entered that the tree was small, and when I asked why, they said it was

We

776 because it was new. This is because it was
778 planted when they moved (or maybe it was a
361 second new one, as they said the old one died).
Anyway, there is no tree on the old site, just
an empty place and some stones. The old tree
has evidently died, as he says they do not cut
them down. No one would dare live in that
place again. They may go there occasionally
if there is a reason to do so, but they do
not remain there. It is a cursed spot. The
vatu Veol is a man, but he does not yet have
the story. When the kampong moves, they get
a new stone heap and tree (tjompang).

[166] Many kampongs have moved because their naga
have turned bad. Aside from Veol he mentioned
Meler and Ladja. They must keep the naga
happy, or the situation may become dangerous.
Thus the rites held at the tjompang have real
meaning. They are for the kampong naga.

342 The house naga lives in each house. His
776 place is the main post. High on this is a lit-
782 tle shelf hung from strings. On this place
from time to time the occupants place eggs,
rice, and bits of meat. Also, each family
apartment or section has a little hanging shelf
for the house naga's food. The main post is
especially important, and that is why at cere-
monies they must give it blood from animals,
etc. (There must be a link here with the giv-
ing of food to the posts of the Larantuka korke;
note that Roy said they must "feed" the posts.)

342 If there is much trouble in the house, the
776 mbako may say that it is because for one reason
[786] or another the house naga is no longer any good.
Then they must dismantle the house and build a
new one. Many and many a house has been torn
down and the folk have then built a new one for
this reason. And when they do this, a great
expense is entailed, because they may not use
the old wood. They sell it to another family

Wae
000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass
thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in
area where there is a large bench for sleeping.
There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the
roof and often in front too. Here sit the women
while they work. If there are two families to a
house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
797 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel
as in other kampongs. The church to which every-
one here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamiß, but
since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are stan-
dard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are
nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have
brown hair or hair which is partly brown.

[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk
along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-
bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue
and black mostly. The designs are even poorer
than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used
for men and for women. They say that a cloth
takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many
304 men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
few old people, it seems especially the women,
have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[798] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here, and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

304 was more common formerly. The tattooing occurs on the arms, face, and chest. In Tandjung Bunga there is a lot of tattooing. Sometimes this is done on the back of the calves too. The young people do it no longer. However, the guru's daughter has her name tattooed on her arm.

342 The houses have upright sticks at the ridge ends, but the guru says this is of no significance.

764 Stones called nubanara are all over the kampong, lying flat mainly. I wonder if maybe these could have been used for graves in this kampong before, because the nubanara are scattered like the graves in Ende.

346 178 535 368 At the top of the kampong is the korke of the kampong, and in front is a nama, or rectangular dance place. This consists of a platform built up of stones. Some of the stones should stand (four, one for each of the main suku; but the guru says there may be more than four standing). This appears in Vatter's[1] photo of another nama. These former uprights here have fallen down and he says the people do not bother to erect them again. This is a sign of the steady breakdown of paganism. On the dance place there is an old drum left standing. It is evidently no longer used. The korke is empty, and has merely a bale-bale under a roof. No walls are left. The roof has not been repaired, which again may show the breakdown. Near the korke is a large house of [614] the tuan tanah of the main suku, and near this is the korke of his suku. In addition to the kampong korke, there is one for each suku, but no nama in front of these. These korke are used by the kepala suku, who is also the tuan tanah of the suku, for suku rites regarding rain illness, etc. The main korke is used for kampong rites. [574] When a feast is thus given, the big men sit on the bale-bale in the korke, and the dancers per- [534] form in front to the music of a drum and gong.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

721 at me and raised his brows, saying, "Ah, but
789 you are forgetting the kekuatan adjaib. It was not a matter of men alone." I am accepted as one who can appreciate the magical things. In this case he was pointing to "those intangible factors which mean so much in warfare."

842 There are no limitations on the number of children in a family. There is not even a conflict here with the church. He did say, however, that they know or think they know a medicine (at least he has heard that some women know about this) which might limit the number of children a woman could have (or did I say this?). Anyway, it is unthinkable.

[614] The bigger the family the better it is. A big family, ama or suku makes its members cocky.
[534] As Roy says, he is a member of Hurint, the biggest sib here, and he would like to see the so and so who would try anything on him. He would have to settle with the group. Thus numbers mean strength all along the line.

162 The average size of the family here is about
178 eight individuals. Formerly, about fifty per cent of the children did not grow up. Now they
165 nearly all live (I doubt this, but evidently
758 the change has been so dramatic with the introduction of modern medicine and cleanliness that it seems this way). I asked why, and they at once said new medicines and cleanliness.

355 Women do most of the upbringing. The father,
368 for example, just looks on once in awhile. The
178 mother is the crux, as well as other women. Later on, boys learn to work from their father and girls learn their tasks from their mother. The only change in all this is the school and church, especially of course the former.

581 There has been no significant change in the
178] concept of a "suitable man or wife." So little has the pressure for mere existence lessened that appearance and looks are minor. First of

361 jagged mountains rising all around the town.
[133] There are also two amazing, high, flat topped volcanic peaks. One is called Gunung Medja. The town stretches along the shore, with plenty of red and yellow flowering trees. There is a large impressive alun-alun [field, plaza] going down to the beach in the center. Behind this are a number of good houses. On the east side is the market and on the west side are good
[342] houses too. The houses are well constructed and there was evidently not much bombing here.
[346] As usual, the high church is but a shell, as it was bombed, this time by the Australians.

485 I found that the town of Ende has practically nothing. There was no running water in the pasanggrahan except for a trickle in the morning.
[377] Electricity is weak and tends to break down.
443 The toko have very little in the way of merchandise. It is impossible to buy beer because the stores are out of it. The cigarettes from the distributie have all been used up and one now has to buy such items on the black market.
495 There is no gas pump, and I have to get gas at the V & W, which pours it out dirty from the tin. Because of this I have had trouble with the jeep for the first time. This is a real end-of-the-world-like place, although the appearance is
[132] rather nice. It is also extremely hot and humid, in fact it is the worst I have experienced yet. At midday it is like taking a Turkish bath here.

485 As usual, the pasanggrahan is not arranged for people who work or read. This is the Indonesian style.

634 The town of Ende is the only main town in the state. There is another state in the mountains, Lio, with a radja at Wolowaru. Then to the east is Sikka, with a radja, and east of that Larantuka, also with a radja. To the west of here is the Radja of Nageh Keo, and to the west of that the Radja of Ngada, at the capital

302 Kattenburg in a mountain kampong reported that he had seen a girl wearing lipstick. It was betel stain to which he is not used.

487 We left Ende for Larantuka on Tuesday, December 20, and after a long run through the mountains we reached Maumeri at noon. Then we went on an even harder run to Larantuka. This took all afternoon. The rain in the hills was bad. We passed through Tanai Ai and Lewotobi areas without knowing it. The land was very empty. I suddenly found that I was in Konga.

[485] Larantuka is the end of the world, and the pasanggrahan there was pretty primitive.

[443] It is hard to buy anything here in Larantuka.
[377] There is no electricity except in the mission,
797 and the latter runs the town and everything else of a western nature evidently. The place has an air of having been asleep for a long time. Behind it is the Ili Mandiri, the storied mountain of the ancestors of the Larantuka people. The
144 town is a mixture of natives and descendants of intermixed Portuguese as well as Malays from Malaya who came in a long time ago with the Portuguese. One can see all sorts of physical types. Outside the town along the coast is a
361 Mohammedan kampong, Kampong Baru, but there are few Mohammedans elsewhere. Most kampongs are behind the mountain. There are also a few on the way to Lewotobi.

632 The next day we started out to see the area
361 behind the mountain, especially Leloba, where Vatter[1] worked. We passed through several kampongs of rather large but shabby look. This was especially true of Mudakaputu (seat of kakang of Mudakaputu formerly, although he is now at one of the other places, in Riangkamiß, I think), Watuwiti, Riangkamiß, and Wailolong. These are all together in one kakangschap (called gemeente here too by the people, and it is also one adat
632 area). This is the Blakang-Gunung. The Radja

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

797 Waibalun?). There must have been hundreds of them in this procession. Following this there was a long parade of a lot more. Perhaps this was the Confreria Santa Maria, the underground men's organization that kept Catholicism going in the kampongs during the long time when the Portuguese missionaries were not here. The second guru in Leloba told me that the white sheet cloak I saw on him as he was leading a funeral last week was the robe of the Confreria. In spite of everything, the mission is the only modern, efficient, and perhaps one of the few honest (how honest?) things in Flores.

377 I am glad I shall be leaving this truly forsaken island before long. It gets on one's 181 nerves. One can't buy anything, few places have electric lights (the ones here just went off, but miraculously came on again after a few minutes), everything is broken down, the people are stupid, the radjas are hopeless.

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I [521 cont.]
286 forth, [522] to obtain dotted patterns; the application of one
174 color. Material: one's own weaving.
291 9. The discovery of reserving methods to obtain more than one color on the cloth (kain kembangan of Surakarta).

10. The application of the wax reserving-process, making use of a little stick, to obtain geometrical motifs. Material: one's own weaving. Application of one color.

11. The invention of the tjanting. Perfecting the technique. The use of finer fabrics. The application of more colors (1).

1. De Nederlandsche Kunstnijverheid in Nederlands Indië, III, p. 8.

The reserving process, as such, must be very old, as is its use in the Netherlands East Indies. In this case, too, the guide
I was the desire for beautification. When the plain color was no
[386] longer satisfying, ways of achieving the desired range of colors without immersing the fabric to be colored had to be discovered. The means were found: strips of bamboo, pieces of tree bark, fibers, thread, starch. The reserving process is by no means confined to the textile industry, but is used also in connection with
E other techniques, plaiting, for example.
F Among the Karo-Batak, as well as the Kéo in the interior
286 of Flores, the same method is used to reserve parts of the ma-
386 terials for clothing before they are put into the indigo vat.

S In Indragiri, as well as in the Toradja lands, the patterns
T plaited in bamboo baskets are covered with like patterns of
286 bamboo to be removed after the dyeing, from which the smooth
386 outer skin is not removed and therefore the dye does not penetrate them. The covered patterns are then reserved.

I The conflict over the question as to whether batik was
174 introduced from elsewhere or whether it originated on Java or
286 elsewhere in the archipelago is already very old. Mr. L.
144 Serrurier, in his work, de Wajang-poerwa, een ethnologische

R

778 They agreed that Ndoeria had rebuilt many rumah pemali. I must go there sometime.

574 Back in Roworeke, the kapitan gave us sweet soft drinks and port wine (Chinese). Then he put
291 on his adat dress, including a batik headcloth
386 which was winged in front, and a fine ikat slen-
[287] dang, and a woven sarong. There seems to be no more tapa around here. The colors of the woven and ikat stuff are dark, including blue, black, and dull red. They are not very attractive, and the cloth is quite heavy. I saw women with baskets full of leafy stuff (small leaves) and I asked what was inside. They said tarum [indigo] and that it is used to make the blue and black dye. Thus they still use locally made dyes, but in Roworeke the red dye is bought in a store.

126 I took a picture of the kapitan and his wife and family including the fine type old mother.
621 We then started on a tour of the kampong. We went first across the road to Watu Roga. It is small and evidently most of the Wanda suku are.
342 There is one large house, but most of the others
178 are rather small. They are not of the high pitched roof type. I was told that before the war there were more of the old high roof type, but the Japanese leveled many of them to make the people move into the hills as they said the population was too dense near the town. I can't quite get the point but new houses tend to be low, four sloped roofed, rather long and squat in type, but still look primitive because of the alang-alang thatched roof and many with the coconut leaf midrib walls. The walls, however, are usually low or invisible because they are under the low-hanging roof. Hence they are hooded.

349 In Watu Roga there is a high concrete struc-
769 ture looking something like a watchtower with
614 steps leading up. It has a four-sloped tin roof.
766 There is a low wall around a small rectangular space under the roof. The flooring is of tile,

R
349 set on the rafters a similar chest with bones of
766 the old ancestor of the Odja suku. I was told
769 that this has been there for hundreds of years,
614 but then it was reckoned that it had been there
621 for at least seven generations. It too was covered with ikat clothing. There was no drum in this one. They said that when the ancestor suku feast is held, hundreds of people gather here and buffaloes are killed, as was true in the other place. All around are many other stone cist tombs, all graves of descendants of the big
342 Odja. There are some high houses here, but most of them are lower in construction.

286 In Padjambu we saw many women spinning and weaving. One girl was pressing cotton fluff on a primitive wooden wringer arrangement in order to flatten it before spinning. It looked just like an old-fashioned clothes wringer. We saw an old woman preparing the loom threads in the first stage of ikat work. The white threads were wrapped with fiber windings. We saw several ikat sarongs, all of which were heavy and dull in
[435] color. The kapitan said that I could buy one for
[181] fl. 150.00 and another for fl. 250.00. This again shows the grasping character of these folk.

123 I forgot to say that the kapitan wants to go to Larantuka with us. I refused to let him go along. Also, at the Odja ancestral bone bundle tower an old mother said we had to leave an offering. We left some cigarettes. Perhaps they wanted money.

286 These ikat things are all over. I don't like
386 them very much, but they are genuine. The cotton
531 is grown locally and is pressed and spun. The dyes are blue and black and are made from indigo leaves. The ikat work is done with ties of fiber.
[438] Indeed, the only trade material used here is the red dye they buy in the stores. They also weave regular cloth, but the colors are always dull. The designs are small and indecisive.

609 Wa
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
437 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has
[778] magical power, but we didn't get into the full story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

F Flores OF9 Bali OF7 Malays AN5
R-L Redjang- Borneo OC1 Atjehnese OD4
Bl Lampong OD12 Celebes OG1 Batak OD5
Br Sumbawa OF18 Kubu OD8
C Makassar OG6 Sundanese OF7
Sb Javanese OE5
MK
J
Sn
K
Bt
A
Ml
I
411

[87 cont.]

1 among the Orang běnuwa of the Riouw-Lingga Archipelago, and the island Bangka, among the Atjehnese, Batak, Lubu, and Lampong, and in the areas around Palembang on Sumatra, among the Sundanese, on Bali, among all the Dajak tribes on Borneo, among the still half-savage peoples of Celebes, in the Philippines, and on Sumbawa, while in former times it was generally used by the Makassarese, the Buginese, and the Javanese (1) [see footnote 1 above].

East of the Philippines in the north and central Flores in the south of the archipelago, only imported blowguns are found.

The Malay name for this weapon is sumpitan or sĕmpitan (according to Pijnappel, from the stem sĕmpit = narrow, etc.), Dajak sipet, Makassarese sappu, Alfoer of northern Celebes sĕput, Balinese tulup, Javanese tulupan (tulup = wulu = name of a thin kind of bamboo. Bambusa longinodis, from which blowguns are made), Batak ultop.

Among some tribes these blowguns are made from a kind of bamboo called bambu tĕmiang = bambusa longinodis.

Br 411 321 Among the Dajak and other tribes it is made of wood, specifically of ironwood, which is bored [88] with extreme care. The length of the blowguns is generally about two and a half meters, the interior diameter one millimeter. Among the Dajak they are provided with an iron or wooden point, like a lance, and can thus be used like this weapon. The little arrows for the blowgun are made of hard wood or bamboo. They are very thin, about one decimeter long and three millimeters thick. The points, generally triangular, are made of the same material and sometimes of iron, copper, or bone. A little conical piece of pith is stuck on the opposite end of the small arrow, which serves to make the arrow fit in the bore so as to decrease the loss of force when one blows in it. Sometimes, as among the Dajak, the conical piece of pith is hollowed out at the base, which makes it expand when blown on and thus makes still an even tighter fit. This makes the force of the arrow greater and the aim more precise.

1 [Blowguns are found among the following tribes.— Analyst]

2: Wilken--119 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Bali OF7	Melanesians	OK2	New Guinea	OJ1
Flores OF9	Mentawi	OD9	Moluccas	OH1
	Kubu	OD8	Timor	OF7
	Javanese	OE5	Celebes	OG1
	Polynesians	OS2	Java	OE1

NG [89 cont.]
I use the bow; it is their national weapon. Furthermore, we find
411 the bow generally among the Negritos of the Philippines, among
MO the inhabitants of the Moluccas, on the Southeastern and South-
I western Islands, on Timor and eastern Flores and sporadically on
T Celebes around the Gulf of Tomori, among some Malay tribes
F of the Philippines, and on Java and Bali (1). Among the western
C
J
BI
411

1. Pleyte, "Sumpitan and bow," op. cit., pp. 274-275.

peoples, therefore, who, as we saw, use the blowgun, the bow
K is apparently not a national weapon. Among the foremost tribes
Br among them its use is unknown. Only one people in the west,
Mt the Mentawei and Pagi Islanders, generally make use of the
411 bow. It is unknown among the Dajak, as well as among the
NG savage tribes on Sumatra or the Orang benuwa on Malacca and
Mt the Riouw-Lingga Archipelago. The Javanese know the bow
BI and arrow, but use them more for amusement and ceremonies
J than as a weapon. On Bali, where the bow is also found and
411 is actually used in warfare, it was first introduced in historical times (1849). We can say, therefore, that among the Malays the bow is not a national weapon, with the exception of the Mentawei Islanders, but that it may be regarded as such in the
NG east, primarily among the Papuans, who do not know the blow-
Mel gun. Going beyond the Malay Archipelago, we see that the
P use of the bow and arrow is not known in Polynesia. It has
411 been reported that it is used as a weapon of war only on Tonga, but there the weapon has probably been adopted from the Fiji Islands. [90] The bow and arrow are found everywhere on this island, as on most of the islands lying between it and New Guinea, islands inhabited by the Melanesian race. Indeed, we may assume that the bow is the national weapon of the Melanesians or Papuans (1). The bow and arrow seem never

1. Waitz, Anthropologie, Vol. VI,

000 notable.
797 The church in Riangkamië is built with refer-
177 ence to the four ritual sibs of Kottang, Hurin,
346 Keleng, and Marang. This is an example of the
[614] rule used: anything of a social nature is all
right, but if it is of a religious nature and
related to the old spirits or ghosts, etc.,
Catholicism won't take it. This is like the
[171] death feasts in the Toradja country, where the
Protestants will let the Christians go to these
social rites but not to the great exorcism
rites. Thus the Catholics here are not allowed
to go to the old rites on the nama in front of
the korke, but as the priest admitted, it is
hard for the folk here to see the difference,
and they tend to regard these retained aspects
of paganism as full paganism because they are
symbols of the whole pagan system.
797 He told much that was interesting. There is
178 in paganism here a need for a girl to be the
243 rice maiden for the fertility rites (Vatter[1]
796 tells the story too), and the old adat chiefs
insisted in one kampong that at least one girl
should not be converted, as at least one is
needed to be the rice maiden. This shows the
desperate plight of paganism. They must beg to
have something vital allowed to remain. "Give
us one only," they ask. He said it is true that
just about all of the young people are Catholic,
but many of the old remain pagan.
[771] Later, in Wailolong the guru Roy said there
are few, but very few young people who are pagan.
578 He told us about a war in which a man was killed
411 yesterday. It was a border war between Leloba
and Waibalun and the police had to stop it.
They fight these wars all the time, with bow and
spear and knife. I asked if maybe it were not
511 because they were hungry and need land. And
[578] hunger and misery cause aggression anyway. He
denied this, but I think it is true, especially

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Wa
000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass
thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in
area where there is a large bench for sleeping.
There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the
roof and often in front too. Here sit the women
while they work. If there are two families to a
house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
797 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel
as in other kampongs. The church to which every-
one here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamiä, but
since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are stan-
dard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are
nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have
brown hair or hair which is partly brown.
[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk
along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-
bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue
and black mostly. The designs are even poorer
than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used
for men and for women. They say that a cloth
takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many
304 men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
few old people, it seems especially the women,
have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

R

796 done in an excited pagan style, although on the
535 occasion of a Christian festival. We saw
144 clearly the difference between East and West Flores as far as racial composition is concerned. As you pass into Lio hills the proto-Malay becomes much more marked, though the Negroid element is still there. Some of the women are remarkably white. Such women are seldom or never seen in East Flores.

797 About the Malay here: When they want to say someone is converted, in Larantuka, they say that he "ikut Rom" [follows Rome]. The titles
554 are interesting: the territorial priest of
793 Flores is Tuan Regionale; then there are the Tuan Boswesen, Tuan Landbouw, Njonja HPB, Njonja AR (Assistant Resident), Njonja and Tuan Bestuur (Bestuurshoofd), and for a nun
[792] they do not use Njonja, but Tuan Zuster.

647 Note: The Controleur here is C. B. Arriens.

Although there is a general similarity in
342 house style all over East and Central Flores, there are differences. The tremendous high roofs are typical of Lio and Ende. The flat and large four-sloped ridges are found in Larantuka, and in between, in Sikka and Tana Ai, there is an intermediate form, with the four-slope ridge a bit on the rounded off side, and the whole thing appears to be smaller.

●411 In East Flores especially the bow is still
224 used. We met a large band on Christmas not far
126 from Larantuka with bows and spears. They were coming up from a kampong with a large church. I asked if they were going to war or to hunt, and they said they were going to hunt deer. I took a photograph of them. They are always glad to be photographed. I can hardly take photographs, however, because they all rush in to be included, especially the children.

291 The style of clothing changes from place to
184 place, though here again there is a general

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526 the heavy rain it started at two because it was
being played for a prize. One team was called
ATOM (Anak Tanah Orang Manggarai), and the
other was Pasir, from Reo. The latter team won.
526 Then the police played a team of radja kedua.
292 But the adat game in the other place (football
535 players, unlike barefoot players in Badjawa,
541 had real football shoes) was amazing. The men
721 wore horned head decorations, some of them
with plumes, and fancy coverings with plumes on
their bodies, as well as a kind of tail of
plumes stuck in the rear. They looked like
[171] Timorese warriors. This is the true ceremonial
dress of Manggarai, and they said they use them
in all kampongs for ceremonies. They had bells
on the rear which jingled as they danced with a
jigging step. It looked and sounded just like
American Indians at a powwow, except that the
dress was different. In addition, they yelled
from time to time. But the main point of the
[411] game is to try to strike the eye of the opponent
with a buffalo thong whip. The defender carries
a round buffalo hide shield and a curious bow-
shaped parrier which is quite long and looks
like a bunch of rattans tied together. The
whole thing gave the appearance of a war dance,
and perhaps it was.

I met the Radja and he said that they used
such costumes in war formerly. They also used
shields and even the parriers (it is not clear
[533] whether they also used the whips). The songs
too were especially like a cheering section
which kept up a chant from time to time answer-
ing the yells of the fighters, in chorus. The
fighting seemed formalized, and they danced
around jingling and kept this up until they were
ready to close in. Then even the approach was
formalized. As soon as a blow was made the at-
tacker ran away, as though he had taken a coup.
It looks to me like ritualized mock warfare with
whips
[i.e., Children of the Land of the Manggarai--Analyst]

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829 assistant said that he just did it, and that it was a revelation to him. They simply do not think in such diagrammatic terms.

769 186 The ancestor cult is strong here and there are many stories about it, but it is not used to glorify the place. In fact, there is no real pride as such. They are simply satisfied as they know nothing else. There is no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village.

178 There has been very little change here in regard to the expanding horizons of social and economic contact.

721 578 178 The old wars and head-hunting continued until recently. Wars seem to have been caused mostly over border disputes, so far as they can remember. Heads were taken as a sign of victory. But I got very little regarding a real head-hunting cult. They said that the heads were placed on the borders, evidently on the borders over which the war had been fought. [789] [246] They said voluntarily that they ate the hearts of enemies in order to increase their magic power. They are quite clear and vivid about this. The hearts were removed through an incision in the back under the shoulder blade. The main enemies were Nggobe and Rodja, but there is no hostility now. More seldom, war was waged against the Lio folk. Spears and [411] guns were used, and formerly bows. Bows were used especially by the Nggobe folk. Circular shields were made of buffalo hide and wood. There were alliances of mutual aid too. For example, Rewarangga (Worowai) and Odja (Roworeke) were in such an arrangement. Also, they [634] went to war for the Ende radja who paid wages for this.

721 634 The radja bitjara (a post no longer present in Ende; he was a kind of minister of foreign relations) (and he was able to talk all lan-

764 with upright stone. They are built by indi-
211 viduals to commemorate their own name. There
[554] is great vanity here in keeping one's name
alive after death. Thus the ngadu builder
gets his name on the ngadu too. There are no
offerings, however, at these rest places.

231 The Nageh in Soa kill animals with spears
411 as they are released (probably a hunting sur-
vival). Perhaps this is related to Toradja
spearing?

Larantuka: We left Ende on Friday, January
556 6, and after ten and a half hours we got to
237 Larantuka. There we met a young Chinese trader
177 who was born in Lomblem and whose father has a
438 toko there. They are now in Surabaja, but he
comes through Flores and the islands to buy
stuff each year. He is now buying kemiri nuts.
He told me a lot about Lomblem. He said that
there are thousands of tusks in Lomblem alone.
And he said that Maumere, which is relatively
rich in various products, is cornering a large
part of the tusks of Flores. In other places,
for example, in Larantuka, there are fewer
tusks now, and people are beginning to pay
money instead. The Maumere folk, he said,
think nothing of money. The real wealth and
goal of all striving is tied up in the tusks.
He said that the Chinese brought the tusks in
originally and told the radjas here that they
were the teeth of the naga (which was important
locally before that). The radjas paid dearly
for them, and soon all the folk here wanted
them. Hence, thousands were imported by the
Chinese. It may have been the same situation
as that which obtains with the mokko in the
Alor area. They too may well be from China.

511 This Chinese said that in Lomblem the folk
461 want very little. They work a little, just
185 enough to get the corn going, and then drink
273 enough gin to go to sleep. When drunk they

411 I also noted many spear bearers. The one I talked with in Tana Ai said that his spear (with a regular head) had been bought from a traveling seller who had brought it from Adonara. Over the line in Lewotobi, I asked a man with a spear, whose head had only one barb, what kind of spear he was carrying. He said that it was unique to Lewotobi, and later I saw others like it. I guess they make them themselves.

Then I went on to Larantuka, where the
443 pasanggrahan disintegrates more all the time.
515 This time the place was full of medicine
514 sellers who follow fairs about and do tricks on bicycles. They sang Mohammedan chants endlessly, washed clothes and urinated in the bathroom, and sat around in the way. I had already run into a similarly unsanitary Arab couple in the Ende pasanggrahan. The medicine people were from Celebes. Now this place is really going native. The toilets are falling into ruin. I noted on my way that the tele-
206 graph wire was down at kilometer 44, and I told the next road foreman. Four days later I found the wire still down. The bridges will
491 never be rebuilt, it seems. The road simply uses fords, that's all.

797 I hear from Arriens that letters are coming
648 to the Flores Council asking how long the Dutch
178 are going to remain in their posts. The whole place is on the way down. I hear that Radja Sikka, has appointed Pastor Raats, a Dutchman, as a special adviser. Thus the mission alone will remain of the West here. The new superstition is substituted for the old.

797 I get more and more depressed by Larantuka with its constant Catholic processions. On the way in at a suburb, a long procession with crosses, chanting, etc., came winding out of a church (I wonder if it was the old time one at

We

721 kor, e.g., Ruteng and Tjibal. But Rahong never
614 resisted Todo and Pongkor. The Dutch fought
578 here (near the pemali grove along the road).
The panglima prang who led this fight is still
living.

Va'u Veol had no traditional enemy, but might join in and help on one side or the other in a war.

There were many wars between the dalu that these kampongs entered. In other regions there were plenty of wars between va'u ("non-dalu wars") but there was not much of this here. These were caused because of borders, molesting fellows, etc. Dalu wars were over borders mainly, but might be for other reasons. The only big wars here were between the dalu. And each kampong had to send just about all of its adult men to fight in these dalu wars.

411 The weapons used consisted of spears, long knives, and shields. They did not use the bow until a few came in very recently. They had no blowguns, but recently a few have come in for hunting birds, although they use no poison darts. Shields were round or rectangular, always of rattan. Helmets were also made of
[714] rattan. Their war clothes were fancy. Feathers were placed on the helmets.

There was no head-hunting, but, for revenge,
266 they drank a little blood. However, there was
721 no war cannibalism. (Note the many things which are lacking in Manggarai which are usually found elsewhere in Indonesia.)

Still, even now from time to time there comes
721 a rumor that men are coming who will chop off their heads. These people are rumored to be coming from outside. It looks like the leftovers of a memory of an old head-hunting experience, perhaps felt from the outside.

[608] There are no traditional alliances between
721 clans or kampongs of the pela sort. But there
578
614

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538 but many are still remembered. I get the idea that the decline here is not so great as in many other areas.

484 There is practically no desire here yet to go to places which are "happier."

721 There was no head-hunting here at any time,
266 nor was there any cannibalism, although they did drink blood for revenge pleasure in war. There was no human sacrifice and no torture.

681 The death punishment was given for murder, a slave having sex relations with a kraeng woman, primary incest (but more distant incest was punished by a purifying rite only). The way the death punishment was carried out here and in Pongkor was to throw the victim down into a river from a high point.

411 Note: To kill a beast the people here use
231 a spear or a long knife. It is nearly always the latter.

778 The tjompang tree may be only either waringin
824 or dadap.

515 I see plenty of lice-plucking here. The pretty wife of the head guru I saw plucking the head of another woman. And I see this all over. And here, judging by the smell, they seldom bathe. I see no bathing places. Toilets are evidently holes in the ground enclosed by a screen. I don't remember seeing lice-plucking in Makassar or Buginese areas, but perhaps they do it too. I also do not remember seeing it in Ambon. The Toradja certainly do it. Note that the Endenese and people in Larantuka bathe. The Toradja don't. I think it is probably mountain people (especially the dirty Ngada) who do not bathe and also who have more lice. In this regard, note the Manggarai Ngada, Toradja, and Batak. The Minangkabau, although living in the mountains, bathe (a sign of former coastal life?).

124 Thus ended the Manggarai work, and the as-

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291 for sarongs and slendangs [shawls worn over the
286 head or the chest]. I see plenty of tooth fil-
304 ing here. And nearly all the women, young and
276 old, have the awful looking betel teeth. The
older men have the same betel teeth. The younger
men seem to chew betel less, and I can see that
their teeth are evened but are not filed down.

304 I saw a tattoo on the back of a woman and was
178 told that it is fairly common all over here. (I
later noticed a young girl in Roworeke with an
initial tattooed on her arm.) This tattooing,
however, is no longer significant here. The de-
sign I saw looked like a kind of anchor design

291 Many of the women here, mainly the old but
several of the young, go about with bare breasts.
When working this seems to be quite common.

252 I saw several women pounding corn. They use
●412 a small round tree trunk mortar, and for a pestle
462 a mere pole. The corn is small and brownish.
They call it djagung Solor or mata kuching, and
it does look like small cats' eyes [the meaning
of the latter term, in Indonesian].

231 This area is full of goats. There are also
many pigs and a fair number of buffaloes, but I
saw no cattle. There are many small horses here
too. High in the mountains I saw an amazing
band of fine looking horses who had gone wild
after escaping. They can never be recaptured.
I was told that there are deer, wild pigs, and
wild buffaloes here.

776 At the lakes I asked if it might not be a
fine place for nitu and suwanggi, and they looked
sharply. They reverted to this cautiously and
asked me if I could see the spirits. They are
going to be cagey about pagan ideas, but when
they are caught off-guard they agree that there
are probably spirits in this mysterious place.

361 The plazas are of pounded earth, bare, with
houses scattered about and the most conspicuous
things being the stone graves.

R

243 he came back, he at once made a sawah, and the
177 others saw that it was good. Now, everyone
788 plants at least one sawah. Formerly there were no sawah. This is an excellent case of acculturation via the hadj.

●412 Formerly the people here did not use hoes
177 or shovels. These came in at the time of the Dutch entry. Before that they had an iron tipped digging stick only. There are no carts.
493 They thought about my proposal for a group to buy one as an investment for hiring. Perhaps there is too little money even to pay for a bicycle here.

352 There are no tables, chairs, or lamps, ex-
354 cept in rare houses like the kapitan's. The
178 only new thing is the kerosene wick, not the lamp. It is called pelita.

342 The house type has changed here from a
178 larger to a smaller structure, and many of the old style roofs are still to be seen.

291 Women now use bought cloth to make thin
178 kebaya. Formerly they made blouses of homespun, but these are all gone. Men and women still wear homespun sarongs. Men wear this alone and are usually bare above the waist. If a man wears a selendang, he is a big man. If he wears a shirt, this is really very slick attire. There were no shoes here at all before, and few now.

301 Men and women wore earrings before, the men
753 ones of gold (look like silver) which the pagans still wear, and the women ones of a different
[304] style. The assistant's ears are pierced, but this is no longer done to the boys, only to the girls. Beads are worn by men and women on festive occasions. These are great ceremonial objects and are worn by the people who are proud of them. If one is not entitled to them, he will become sick if he wears a string of beads.

Wa

533 In connection with special training for
871 individuals, the only thing they can think of is that the children have flute lessons in school and learn to read notes.

212 In Wailolong fifty years ago only one person was literate.

Everyone here can speak the local language.
191 Of the old folks, perhaps only one per cent
212 can speak Indonesian. The younger people are learning it in school. No one here speaks Dutch. No one here speaks any other language. About fifty per cent of the population here can read and write. At the most perhaps ten persons read regularly or at least look at the mission paper. This is the only "reading matter" except for prayer books.

There is almost no writing done locally. Perhaps about ten people have at some time written or received a letter. One guru can read and write Arabic.

There is no special instruction given in reading and writing. There are no aliens, and hence no foreign languages used in the area.
[207] There is no radio, and perhaps only the guru have ever seen movies.

178 There have been very few changes in the
412 technology here introduced during the last fifty
262 years. They are using shovels a bit, etc., but mainly the same old artifacts. In regard to food, there are a few changes. For example, there are new kinds of vegetables (in the old days they evidently had practically none), new varieties of bananas, etc. Evidently food was simple to the extreme in the old days.

286 The women spin and weave here, and this is perhaps the most important craft (in fact there
323 is no doubt about it). There is no pottery (they buy such items from the few places where pottery is made). Recently, a few people have
000 learned how to cook salt. There are about ten

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212 one could read or write. In fact, this goes
for all of Manggarai. Everyone here speaks
191 the local language. About fifty per cent of
the people here speak Malay, and most of those
who are not able to speak it are oldsters. No
one can speak Dutch or English here.

Only those who have gone to school can read
212 and write. No one reads Bentara, a mission
204 paper (although the guru does). Two people
797 read the sheet which the mission puts out for
Manggarai. It is called Palita.

The only books here are religious books and
212 song books (and books in the school?). Note:
I saw many children with their school "tackle"
hanging on a string around their necks. They
wear them on their backs. They are a piece of
chalk stuck in a bamboo, a ruler, and a bamboo
with a wet cloth. These are for writing on
slate.

The children and other literates write in
[651] order to "keep books." Thus there are the "tax
[217] books" showing how much each person must pay in
palm wine, etc., to the tuan tanah. These are
written for him. All sorts of transactions are
"recorded," e.g., prices, borrowing, gifts for
such things as marriage feasts, etc. This is
brand new. There is practically no other form
of writing done here.

185 Everyone is eager to learn here. The only
language other than their own which is taught
191 here is Malay, but in class four they are start-
ing to learn Dutch, taught by the guru who was
in a seminary for two years.

207 There are no radios here. Once a pastor in
546 1941 brought a movie projector here, and many
people saw movies then. That's all.

412 There are many new tools here, for example,
shovels, drills, and axes. They are even able
178 to make some of these now. There is much more
415 use of iron tools and utensils than was formerly
the case.

R

178 In terms of technology and occupation, there
463 have been very few changes. They still farm
in the old way, and there have been no new jobs
342 created. There are today such houses as the
178 kapitan's, with a bit of cement work. This is
354 new. And every house has a pelita [a kind of
lamp] for which they buy kerosene. Few of
them have any real lamps like the kapitan's.
The assistant has one, but it is typically out
291 of order. Shirts here are new, but they are
178 rare and cost much. Shoes are new here and
● [413] are very rare. Pens, etc., are extremely rare.
The women no longer wear the homespun blouses.
They wear homespun sarongs like the men do,
but buy kebaya of thinner cloth today.

286 They cannot make thin cloth with their
looms, and this is a great handicap. What
they make is too heavy. This is mainly a mat-
ter of thread. They can't spin thread any
thinner than they do and have it strong enough
so that it will not break in the loom. Thus,
if they could get trade thread, they might be
able to weave thinner cloth (?).

[346] The only tin roofs are on the grave-bone
shrines of Odja and Wanda.

Every woman spins thread and weaves. There
are no specialists, however, who sell cloth.
This is done only rarely.

463 There are no smiths or specialists of any
326 kind. There were about twenty men who worked
563 at making pots here, and this started evidently
about two years ago. It was a Chinese company
(evidently tied in with the Radja some way),
and these lads worked in their spare time. As
there are no orders now, they are working
there no longer. It is not a native craft.

241 The most important local agricultural crop
and food source is maize, by far. Then come
rice, vegetables, and yams. There is no sago;
000 they have never heard of it. Little meat is

1:Alkema & Bezemer--444 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Timor OF20
Flores OF9

[397 cont.]

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Inhabitants of East Flores
Photo. Kol. Instituut. Coll. Leroux.

T
[342]

On Timor, for instance, the old-fashioned type of house is round, while the newer type is oval, and the houses of more prominent people and princes are square. [Illustration appears here.] According to Grijzen (1), the houses in North Tatoen (Béloe) in particular are oval in form.

1. Mededeelingen omtrent Béloe of Midden-Timor [Information concerning Béloe or Central Timor], 1904, p. 44.

We

212 one could read or write. In fact, this goes
for all of Manggarai. Everyone here speaks
191 the local language. About fifty per cent of
the people here speak Malay, and most of those
who are not able to speak it are oldsters. No
one can speak Dutch or English here.

212 Only those who have gone to school can read
204 and write. No one reads Bentara, a mission
797 paper (although the guru does). Two people
read the sheet which the mission puts out for
Manggarai. It is called Palita.

212 The only books here are religious books and
song books (and books in the school?). Note:
I saw many children with their school "tackle"
hanging on a string around their necks. They
wear them on their backs. They are a piece of
chalk stuck in a bamboo, a ruler, and a bamboo
with a wet cloth. These are for writing on
slate.

[651] The children and other literates write in
[217] order to "keep books." Thus there are the "tax
books" showing how much each person must pay in
palm wine, etc., to the tuan tanah. These are
written for him. All sorts of transactions are
"recorded," e.g., prices, borrowing, gifts for
such things as marriage feasts, etc. This is
brand new. There is practically no other form
of writing done here.

185 Everyone is eager to learn here. The only
language other than their own which is taught
191 here is Malay, but in class four they are start-
ing to learn Dutch, taught by the guru who was
in a seminary for two years.

207 There are no radios here. Once a pastor in
546 1941 brought a movie projector here, and many
people saw movies then. That's all.

412 There are many new tools here, for example,
shovels, drills, and axes. They are even able
178 to make some of these now. There is much more
415 use of iron tools and utensils than was formerly
the case.

We

415 the case. Dishes and forks and spoons have
178 come in to some extent. Formerly they used wooden things, gourds, etc. only. Kitchen stuff is now to be found in the area. Terrac-
241 ing is new. Irrigated rice fields came in
178 only twenty years ago. The use of buffaloes in agriculture and the plow are very recent (five years ago). All the people are still farmers, however.

436 Today the people have much more money than
178 they had, for example, twenty years ago. Fifty years ago there was no money here at all.

342 Formerly there were no tin roofs or nails.
178 Now there are a few. Houses are different in style. In quantity most of the stuff is not changed.

285 Rattan baskets for clothing are no longer
415 made. They prefer wooden containers. However, they still make mats and baskets. The women make these, and the men make their plaited songko.

286 There is no spinning or weaving. This is
784 taboo except in the northeast quarter of Manggarai (Coolhaas' is incomplete on this) and Todo-Pongkor and Labuan Hadji. It is beginning to come in in the west.

323 Pottery is made in a few kampongs (Puruk,
784 Mungges, Bolong). This is taboo except in these places. The penalty is the same as for weaving: bad crops, illness, etc. In Pongkor, only one kampong can make pottery, and only one in Todo. Usually one or two kampongs can make pottery in an area.

326 Smiths are new. There was no iron work here
178 before. Formerly they had to buy instruments made from iron. Now they have equipment to do some forms of iron work in Rai and a few other places. Todo-Pongkor has had smithing for perhaps three hundred years (they brought it in evidently). It is not taboo, but they just

[See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

Wae
000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass
thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in
area where there is a large bench for sleeping.
There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the
roof and often in front too. Here sit the women
while they work. If there are two families to a
house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
797 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel
as in other kampongs. The church to which every-
one here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamiß, but
since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[1?1] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are stan-
dard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are
nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have
brown hair or hair which is partly brown.

[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk
along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-
bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue
and black mostly. The designs are even poorer
than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used
for men and for women. They say that a cloth
takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many
304 men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
few old people, it seems especially the women,
have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
614 living on the level of the road and the other
621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo.
[211] At the road border of the kampong a bit in from the road, standing against the skyline, is a row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe heads. They are thin and tall. They are set on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
● [417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical of all kampongs in this region, so that the kampong itself is located down in a stone wall enclosure.

Below the first row of stone pillars there
246 is another with just as many stones. It is also
769 set on a mound. Just below this stands the
531 umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on one side there is a living tree with Y-branches at the fork. Stones are heaped around the ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet high, and consists of a single pillar with thatched cap. The pillar is made of hebuh wood and is carved in fancy designs which are hard to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were made of white shell). Looking under the cap I could see that the pillar forks were in the shape of a U, and so it is really about the same as the Nagch peo, but less clearly Y-shaped and covered with a cap.

To either side of the plaza, which was of
342 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small
361 and had rather low roofs. These houses are set on piles. On one side was the house of the
624 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
769 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
346 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
565 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
554 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in
574

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
361 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
515 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
514 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
● 417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

R Generally, I think that
632 the government has not put adat chiefs (for
622 example, ata nggaëh nua) into administrative
624 posts. This also holds for the mosa laki. I
693 can think of the following possible reasons:
631 (1) adat chiefs are largely illiterate and cannot do administrative work therefore; (2) adat chiefs are largely pagan, and the mission, therefore, probably does not like them (indeed, one of the main ends of the mission is to do away with that devil, the tuan tanah; they usually say they want to do this because he stands in the way of progress and land reform, but this is a rationalization; it is like killing the Toradja death feasts because of immorality, when the real reason is that they constitute the main bulwark of pagan survival); (3) adat chiefs formerly and potentially even today are probably the centers of possible revolt against alien laws and government, and thus it is better not to let them have too much power. So they let them handle harmless adat cases. This is indirect rule on the adat level, taking all important functions away from them. Nevertheless, I note that the ad-
[565] ministrative appointees (who may be "elected" in a way) are always or nearly always of the adat chiefly families. Thus, here the kepala kampong is the younger brother of the ata nggaëh nua, and the kapitan is a noble of the adat lineage. They are literate and Christian (or Mohammedan) nobles of the old adat nobility.

Ngada and Nageh: The Ngada Y- or rather
231 U-topped upright, is used to run a buffalo rope
417 through. One end of the rope is attached to the neck of the buffalo and then passed through the U, and the other end is fastened to the stone post. Thus it is held taut when the buffalo is killed.

764 Ngada "resting places" along the road are
211 rectangular stone heap mounds, flat on top,

Wa.

778 must give them respect and why the folk are scared
789 not to obey them. (Thus it is like the aradjang
171 in South Celebes.)

789 The guru really got going on magic power. He
721 said that they call on magic power especially
778 when they are going to war (and right now too).
769 If, for example, Wailolong were going to war tomorrow with Riang Kamiß as they did only some fifteen years ago, the respective radja tuan, kelake, and maybe even the molang would get to work the night before doing the magic stuff. Among the other things they would call on the ancestors for magic power and also go through the betel rubbing on face, bodies, etc. They would also kill animals and use gin, because blood and alcohol have power. Then, on the next morning, they would be full of magical power and would go to war. All the men would come to the "big houses" to be "treated."

778 These "big houses" of the suku and ama also
614 have sacred objects, including tusks, plates,
237 etc.

422 These tusks, all of them, are ama property.
583 If any member gains possession of one, he places it in the big house of his ama. Any man in need of some tusks for a bride price may take them. If the tusks of the ama are exhausted, he may draw on the tusks of the suku. Thus Kassi, who Vatter said had no tusks of his own, could not use any tusks because his ama no longer had any. He happened to be a member of the Hurint suku, and the guru, the kepala suku, gave him some finally from the suku store and thus he was able to get married.

583 The minimum price for any girl is five units
237 of tusks (I think this is a matter of length, that is, the small and large are reckoned up). One may pay more without limitation. It is not a matter of beauty.

584 Child betrothal is common here, but this is
184

R

423 sons a parcel before he dies. Also, he may split
428 up his land among the brothers as the group gets
614 too large. When a group is really too large
592 for the estate, some may go to the mosa laki
[622] mere and get consent to develop a new piece of
waste kampong land. Also, if there are too
many people for the estate, the men or some of
them may work on their wives' families' land.
This is considered all right.

428 As for houses, the eldest son takes over
592 the paternal house, and if there is room enough
614 all brothers and families may live there too.
Some may move off into new houses. Thus the
present kepala kampong, Pala, is the eldest
brother of the assistant, Migo. Their father
was Pega. They are of the Pega lineage. Pala
occupies the old house, Migo a new one. If
Pala dies, Migo will take over the house and
management of the family land. The eldest son
is the big man all through the system, and
posts descend via the eldest branch all the way
down. The younger branches are always under-
neath. Nevertheless, they may set up a new line-
age at any time. Thus there could be a branch-
off with Migo, and his sons would be the mem-
bers. However, they may keep the unit Pega for
several generations, before splitting.

● 422 There is also the matter of the family
ritual possessions. These go down from eldest
428 son to eldest son all the way. Thus Migo has
614 none, because in his family the pusaka belongs
to his brother Pala. However, a father may
divide it up before he dies.

The family or lineage is the important
property unit. Small articles, for example,
clothing, may be individually owned, and the
suku and even the kampong has property. But
the crucial unit is the great family.

462 There is not such a strong division by sex
here. The women work at agriculture just like

R

565 the present time. Thus the guru and the assis-
555 tant had illiterate, pagan, farmer fathers.

554 The only time one can see status marks is
614 at feasts, when the ornaments of rank are worn.
●422 These are made of gold and are now largely
565 lost. Some still remain. They are suku property, and not all suku have them. Odja and Gusa have some (this may be why the kapitan and others are mad for gold: they want to get it in order to have ornaments made for feasts and for ceremonial objects). If they sell these objects, they will become sick. On ordinary days, one cannot tell upper class folk (for example, members of the Odja suku) from ordinary people. They are really unclear about this. Then I asked who wore no gold and who had no such marks of status, if all of Odja and all of Gusa and all the members of some other suku had them. They said vaguely that those who did not wear them were the "ordinary folk." I asked who, the slaves? And they eagerly said yes. I get the idea that there are not many of these ceremonial objects left and perhaps only enough so that the mosa laki or kapitan, etc., can wear those of the suku at certain feasts. They strut about wearing the suku's wealth. And these things are suku property and do not belong to the families.

614 The social order of the individual, family,
565 etc., here has not changed very much. The
624 most direct thing is that only certain folk of
[178] the right suku have land rights in the kampong.
[423] Within the suku, however, the mosa laki or other office holder is probably a bit higher. They say, however, that the mosa laki gets no more of a bride price for his daughter than an ordinary man gets for his. I can't get very far in class investigation here, that's quite clear. And now I see why he was so puzzled at first when I asked him to indicate class distinc-

We

484 In the Japanese time trips were made to
166 seek cloth, etc., but now this is done to a lesser degree, and the people never leave Manggarai although there is quite a bit of movement
[438] within the area. The people who do this moving are the men who buy and sell horses, tobacco, etc. If they are away for long or at some distance, there is a feast when they return. The four who have left the area have not yet returned. When they do there will be a great gathering to hear their experiences. The assistant has seen this happen in Pau. Formerly there were no relations really with even nearby places like Tjumbi, except for marriages, and if they went to war in the dalu's army, or had internal wars, (which were rare). Nowadays there are many more relations within Manggarai.
[621] In the rituals the only environs mentioned are the environs of the kampong. This comprises the ritual world and the social world of yore.

484 Today they travel more than they did before,
178 but still they do not go very far. Formerly
492 any outsider was fair game for robbery and
166 murder. Thus they were afraid to go afar.
[609] There is little in the way of transportation here. Also, the kampong is a bit too far from Ruteng to make regular trips back and forth easy. However, the horses make Manggarai people greater travelers than, for example, the inhabitants of Larantuka. Every household has
[422] at least one to two horses. They are a big thing here, and now I see why I got the impression at once that there is more internal movement here than in most of the Flores areas. It is the horses. The people are fine riders, and the horses, although small, are fast and
[562] spirited. Women used to mount carefully and the horse on which they rode was led. Now they jump on and gallop off (still, I don't see many women riding horses).

Wac

178 outsider can buy land in the kampong. Also, the
425 kraeng privileges have been cut sharply. In
[422] regard to property in houses, things have remained the same except for the new private houses (see below). There has been no change in the personal articles and ceremonial objects.

The land is family-owned, but there are some
423 individual pieces (for example, the assistant's).
428 The kampong has eminent domain, and it is a tuan
562 tanah's. When an old man dies, the land is divided, but the eldest son gets his choice and the larger share. If there is only one garden, he gets it. But generally each son gets a share. Women get no land. Personal effects are divided. They work the land as a family unit until the old man dies.

Houses which are large are the property of
423 the inhabitants, who build them. Thus owner-
178 ship is communal. But a great change has taken place since they have been building single houses, e.g., the assistant's. The eldest son gets this new kind, after all others have married off.

574 I note the remarkable ease of sleeping in houses here. There is no fuss to put someone up. Thus the assistant slept in the tuan tanah's house last night in Veol, and tonight the tuan tanah will sleep in his house at Pau (they are going to talk much more, and he promised the tuan tanah some palm wine for which I paid).

462 As far as specialization goes, the women make mats, do the cooking, wash clothes, fetch water, do the gardening, sew, and take care of the children. They also care for the fowls and pigs. There is not a single sewing machine here. The women also pound grain.

Men plait songko, work in the gardens, carry on trade, gather wood, and do heavy work around the house, and care for buffaloes and horses.

I [372 cont.]
241 she presses each stalk against the blade of the knife and collects
243 them in her left hand.
[412] When a piece of land is more or less exhausted after being worked for three or four years, it is abandoned, sometimes for good, and a new piece of land elsewhere is cleared in the same way.

S When land is cultivated after being abandoned for a time, it
B does not require so much work before planting. The only agri-
[241 cultural implement used in this form of farming is the hoe, in
412] Malayan tjangkoel, in Javanese patjoel. It is generally known by this last name ("patjol").

Where the condition of the land permits, it is worked in a peculiar way. The top layer of soil is turned up by means of large, pointed sticks. A whole row of people, each with a stick in his hand and each at the same time, drives the stick into the earth. All the sticks are then pulled around and the top layer of earth is turned over. This method of working the land is used by the Karo-Batak, on Sumba, and elsewhere. Outside the archipelago it is used on the D'Entrecasteaux Islands southeast of British New Guinea.

F [373] A peculiar form of this primitive agriculture is found
241 on western Flores (Manggarai). Each year the toean tanah (see
[476] p. 407) selects a piece of land to be prepared for the ladang, and it is cleared by all the inhabitants of the kampong, who work together from one center, and then divided, like a spiderweb, into plots for cultivation. The spiderweb form is accentuated by the big felled trees that are placed ray-like from a center, while concentric circles of the same trees cut through the rays at
F definite intervals. According to Meerburg, one of the plots thus
[423] fenced off remains at the disposal of its rightful claimant for three years (1).

1. Meerburg, "Proeve eener beschrijving van land en volk van Midden-Manggarai [Description of the land and people of Central Manggarai]," Tijdschrift van het Batavian

F 241 [723]

[373 cont.]

Genootschap, Vol. 34 (1891), and H. B. Stapel, "Het Manggaraische Volk," ibid., Vol. 56 (1914), p. 419.

T 243

Although from the technical point of view ladang cultivation is a very simple form of agriculture, the value attached to rice as a food is so great that even this primitive form of agriculture is surrounded by a cycle of religious customs and ceremonies. A description of some of them is given by Kruyt in his account of rice cultivation among the Toradja (2).

2. De Baré'é-sprekende Toradja's, II, pp. 229 ff.

T [174]

Among the Parigi-Kaili group, rice cultivation in wet fields has been practiced for a long time, probably introduced by the Buginese; the Poso-Todjo group, on the other hand, formerly had only dry fields, but since 1907, by Government order, wet fields have been used wherever possible.

Rice cultivation is of such great importance to the Toradja that, according to Kruyt, all their thoughts are concentrated on their rice fields.

As was mentioned in the chapter, "Time Reckoning," the time to begin rice cultivation is indicated by the position of a certain constellation.

T [793]

In everything concerning the cultivation of rice, the tadoelako have a special role. Not only are they the leaders in the field work, knowing more than the others about it, but, what is far more important, they are conversant with the spirits and the ceremonies that have to be observed in connection with rice cultivation. Three kinds of rice fields are distinguished: kawo, the newly cleared forest land; [374] bondé, the fields planted for the second time; and nawoe, a portion of the rice field dedicated to the gods, where all the prescribed ceremonies are faithfully observed. A piece of land with a species of Ficus (F. erecta Thumb) on it is chosen for this; if there is none, a tree

T [782 796]

Wa.
511 as I see more of this country. This area is terribly poor and overcrowded, full of stones, and has little water. The girls and women have
[312] to haul water for Leloba from the coast, which is three kilometers off. And there is little food in the town. They are really hungry.

Vatter told of great illnesses here, and I
164 can see many examples of this today. Sore eyes
511 are terrible and probably caused by lack of vitamins. There are many children with large bellies, skin sores, etc. Nowhere before have I seen such misery in regard to mere existence. Last year, a priest told us later, there was a famine here. And now I can see how vital the old rainmaking and the practices of the tuan tanah must be here.

797 At the mission headquarters in Larantuka we
634 were told that it is hard for the mission to
661 make plans here, because every time they get an
●423 improvement, for example, in the land system,
427 the radja comes in and seizes the best land.
624 Also the tuan tanah stands up against all changes, and he is a "chiseler" also. Thus if they have a project which brings acres of improved land, the bigwigs wait until the work is done on it and then take the best part for themselves. The local people thus lose their land and many have thus been forced to work on the radja's land or for other big men as sharecroppers. Evidently the common division here is one-fourth of the crop for the sharecropper. The priests seem to regard the tuan tanah, who is the ritual and adat leader, as the worst.

622 We had some gin with the priest and then went
159 to the house of the guru Roy. He was Vatter's[1] assistant, and his house is the biggest in the kampong. He could be the kepala kampong, but because he is a guru, he passed the post on to his younger brother. They belong to the Hurin suku, which is different from the usual thing,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113—Analyst]

We

622 **Ama Hurint** Head: Man called from Ia or Ib.
624 Feet: Man called from IIa or IIb.
614 Cut: Man from Hurint, except
796 Nipatale.
574
231 **Lewato** Head: Man from IVa.
Feet: Man from IVb.
Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

Lewodoreng Head: Man from Va.
Feet: Man from Vb.
Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

If a kampong feast is held for all of the people, the setup is as follows:

Head: Man from Ama Radja (Ia).
Feet: Man from Subamaki(ng) (IIa).
Cut: Man from III, except Nipatale.

614 The Nipatale groups--in Wailolong they are
567 IIIa2 and IVa2; in Leloba IV-1b--are former
423 slaves, bought respectively by the Ama Hadumbole(ng)
582 Waru'i(ng), and Lewamaki(ng) amas. They have no
[796] ritual standing and they may never hold or cut.
They just look on. Also, they have no land of
their own, but use the land of their masters
(i.e., the ama who bought their ancestors). They
[753] must give the first fruits of their gardens to
these masters, and if they do not they get sick.
He says that they were bought from Adonara not
long ago, perhaps about four generations. They
are not really free yet. They must obey the
orders of their masters. In ordinary life, how-
ever, this is a matter of adat and respect (hor-
mat), and they are not ashamed. It is really a
matter of (a) owning no land of their own; (b)

Wa

614 giving the first fruits to the masters; (c) owing
567 certain duties to the masters; (d) respect shown
423 to the masters; and (e) not being in a good
582 place at feasts. They may intermarry, however, and the bride price for them is the same, etc. He said that even in the beginning they intermarried; in fact as soon as they got into the area they integrated into the marriage system. So strong is the need for these marriage rules that even slaves must be put into the system.

The Ama Rere is a peculiar case too. They
[727] are descendants of war captives brought back from the Maumeri area eighteen generations ago. They too have no ritual standing, as can be seen above in their lack of chance to do any of the duties of the Datong suku. They do not have their own land either. They have to work for
[796] Ia and Ib. That is, they have no ritual standing, no land, and they must do certain duties. In the marriage system, however, they are equal.

614 Also peculiar in the Wailolong setup is the
554 Ama Hurint. They do not have a full position
423 in the kampong, because their ancestors came in from Leloba. They have no land of their own in Wailolong. Each year they receive land for their use during the next year.

721 Then we got onto the schedule and learned a number of incidental things. For instance, right now the Leloba folk are scared to walk along the road near Waibalun because there is a state of war. Thus this is a real war and not play, and there is real danger of death. The "big houses,"
778 i.e., the houses of the radja tuan and the kelake,
789 have holy stones before them. It is not proper
171 to call them nubanara but rather saoniwa(ng). The nubanara proper are the holy stones of the kampong in front of the korke. The saoniwa(ng) hold the magical power of the radja tuan and the kelake. The power of these stones invigorates the respective chiefs, and this is why the folk

We. The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof,
are easier to keep clean and are better in
general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the
kampong, and even fewer move out of or into
the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration
from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas
beyond Larantuka.

20 The kakang has the only telephone here.
There is no telegraph. There is no mail ser-
vice. There is no postman. The priest has a
battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië.
Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not
Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to
change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few
people have much knowledge about the world.
This is really the lowest place I have been in
yet. Most of the people are strongly attached
to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is
very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong
is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they
had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at
war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an
enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

609 We
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
497 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has
[778] magical power, but we didn't get into the full story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

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166 property and status are kept for them. If any youth wants to go out to seek his fortune, his family and the kampong officers oppose this. They do not want people to leave. There is a [186] strong sense of localism here. For example, [829] I asked why they knew so little about the kampongs which are not far away from them when I had come all the way from the United States to find out something about them. They said that they never went to other kampongs unless it was necessary. This seems to be the Flores pattern.

166 Very few people have immigrated. There are some from other kampongs in Ende and Lio, and in fact these areas account for the examples of immigration aside from the women coming to marry in. Normally, women who marry men from another kampong go to live with their husbands. There are a few individuals from Savu, one [563] Chinese family, and a fair number of Ende town folk on the lower border. They are not members of the kampong.

423 There are evidently two kinds of land: the kampong land in the older parts of the kampong, which is used by members; and border land, which used to belong to Ende or other kampongs and which was bought by either the kampong folk or the Ende folk who live there. Thus the borders have expanded by the latter means. The fields may be used only four to five years and then must lie fallow for a long time. I must get more on the system of land ownership.

614 I had a hard time getting the truth about the 124 suku organization from these people. They are dumber here than in Larantuka by far, and they have lost much more of the memory of the actual rules involved. Still, in Larantuka, I notice that I have to ask many people in order to get answers to some of the complicated questions, for example, in regard to marriage rules. But

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614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and Rundu.

784 824 614 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The other kinds, for example betong, which is thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung pesi is also tabooed for the members of the Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only on the first-born of each family. The first-born is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 114 624 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his material. There are now two more kampongs in the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas is in error in stating that Ladja is the fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung. Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung. The Manggarai

624 824 796 name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Teno is the kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post which is set in the center of the star of fields for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a

[533] [562] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum. Some of the beats are the same for the men and for the women, but others differ by sex. Another term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 ●423 651 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which are basically the property of the tuan tanah. Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay tribute for his house space. This tribute is used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 778 [104] Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on the side of the highest hill. It is in the form of a rough human figure, which used to have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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538 there are a few who are great story tellers.
533 Some stories are told with singing, i.e., real ballads, and may last as long as two days. The kapitan sang one for a bit, softly. They warmed up and began to appear to be quite proud of these songs. They insist, however that only a few are clever at these things.

They tell such stories when the rice is
[243] ripe, and they may sit all night listening. Most of the stories are about the ancestors. Thus it is the free time--rice-ripe period as usual in Indonesia. This is the time for stories, when they have plenty of time. Perhaps this is also true in the post harvest season. Anyway they do have plenty of stories. And it is not only the old people who know them. For example, there is a rather young lad named Ero who is famous for chanting long stories. These sung stories are voi.

621 They are very clear about the location of
423 boundaries in the district, kampong, and sections of the kampongs, as well as in the gardens. Markers are stone posts, trees, streams, etc.

609 There are different grades of being a for-
621 eigner. The crux of the affair seems to be
[563] people who come from other islands. Thus, though the Sikka are outsiders, they are not foreigners to the same extent that the people from Kupang are. It is a bit hard to fit into a kampong if one is an outsider, although it can be done. The Ende papalele in the huts at the lower end of the kampong are still outsiders, although many have been there since the end of the war. They have few relations with the kampong folk, and there have been few if any marriages. The community is closed.

609 I asked about the teachers and found that the
582 Ndona one found it easy for two reasons: He
608 lives in Waturoga, which is in Lio, and also

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436 sionally one sees a ten sen ketip.[1] The Japa-
727 nese took everything. They also probably
melted down a lot of the coins. There is very
437 little barter here as they have so little
merchandise as real surplus. If they need
food badly, they may sell cloth in the moun-
tains for some form of food.

No one has a car. No one has ever owned a
493 car here. And no one can drive. Buses are
[435] very little used. The fare to Ende is fl. 0.50.

The owner of all the land is the mosa laki
●423 mere of the kampong. He is thus the tuan
614 tanah. Each family has its own house and gar-
622 den land which is inherited. The parcels are
in family units. Land is not sold, bought,
or rented. There is also suku land, usually
too far off in the hills (where the kampong
lama of the suku is) to work. Thus the Odja
suku has some in Rabu, but they never use it.
The suku land in the kampong is under the giri
tumba. Evidently there are no kepala suku,
and thus no real suku property organization.
This is because the mosa laki mere was formerly
the kepala suku when the suku were localized.
In the kampong, most of the suku land is that
of Rewarangga, and indeed if one looks back
far enough, all of the land in Roworeke belonged
to Rewarangga suku. Note that the mosa laki
mere is of Rewarangga. The Odja folk were
given land for coming in and, for example,
helping the Rewarangga in warfare. Thus it is
possible, and evidently indeed usual, for in-
coming suku to get pieces of land from the
mosa laki mere who is land master of the ori-
ginal suku.

There is also undivided kampong land, and
[609] this may be developed by anyone with the con-
sent of the mosa laki mere. Even outsiders
may do this, for example, the people from Ende,
who live in the kampong.

[1] [i.e., small silver coin --Analyst]

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778 The negri lama of the suku Odja is about one-
753 half kilometer outside Ratebedi in the distant hills. No one lives there now, but there are stones, etc. (I think he said images too.) The Ratebedi folk give offerings there. This was the kampong of the great ancestor Odja Djata (the father of Odja was Djata). There are many such old places which are dangerous, for example, the assistant went to one such place near Pamudjera, and he got sick at once.

[764] There is always talk of danger in fooling around with old places and old rules. Thus, not long ago two men of Watu Roga set a stone boundary marker in the earth, but this is taboo. In three days one was dead and in three months the other died.

174 If I could get all of the information about each kampong and suku I could rebuild the whole history of migrations, etc. And although most of the people have lost these stories, there are a good number of old men in Volofea and Bu'ube'i who could tell everything.

115 The assistant says he will try to get information on all these things as he does his "control" work in his job as secretary of the gemeente. He asks for a good notebook and a briefcase to do this work! I don't trust him, that's all. He plots, and the story is that when I come back years from now he will have all the facts. Thus he put together my interest in these things, my statement that I might return to do more work here, and out of hopes to get a notebook and case fabricated his plan.

423 The land is family-owned (maybe lineage-
614 owned is a better way of phrasing it). The eldest son is the manager of the family land.
592 Others work on it. If there are no sons, the
428 eldest daughter runs it, or maybe the deceased father's brother. The father may split up his estate among his sons, or give each one of his

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423 sons a parcel before he dies. Also, he may split
428 up his land among the brothers as the group gets
614 too large. When a group is really too large
592 for the estate, some may go to the mosa laki
[622] mere and get consent to develop a new piece of waste kampong land. Also, if there are too many people for the estate, the men or some of them may work on their wives' families' land. This is considered all right.

428 As for houses, the eldest son takes over
592 the paternal house, and if there is room enough
614 all brothers and families may live there too. Some may move off into new houses. Thus the present kepala kampong, Pala, is the eldest brother of the assistant, Migo. Their father was Pega. They are of the Pega lineage. Pala occupies the old house, Migo a new one. If Pala dies, Migo will take over the house and management of the family land. The eldest son is the big man all through the system, and posts descend via the eldest branch all the way down. The younger branches are always underneath. Nevertheless, they may set up a new lineage at any time. Thus there could be a branch-off with Migo, and his sons would be the members. However, they may keep the unit Pega for several generations, before splitting.

422 There is also the matter of the family
428 ritual possessions. These go down from eldest
614 son to eldest son all the way. Thus Migo has none, because in his family the pusaka belongs to his brother Pala. However, a father may divide it up before he dies.

The family or lineage is the important property unit. Small articles, for example, clothing, may be individually owned, and the suku and even the kampong has property. But the crucial unit is the great family.

462 There is not such a strong division by sex here. The women work at agriculture just like

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565 the present time. Thus the guru and the assis-
555 tant had illiterate, pagan, farmer fathers.

The only time one can see status marks is
554 at feasts, when the ornaments of rank are worn.
614 These are made of gold and are now largely
422 lost. Some still remain. They are suku
565 property, and not all suku have them. Odja and Gusa have some (this may be why the kapitan and others are mad for gold: they want to get it in order to have ornaments made for feasts and for ceremonial objects). If they sell these objects, they will become sick. On ordinary days, one cannot tell upper class folk (for example, members of the Odja suku) from ordinary people. They are really unclear about this. Then I asked who wore no gold and who had no such marks of status, if all of Odja and all of Gusa and all the members of some other suku had them. They said vaguely that those who did not wear them were the "ordinary folk." I asked who, the slaves? And they eagerly said yes. I get the idea that there are not many of these ceremonial objects left and perhaps only enough so that the mosa laki or kapitan, etc., can wear those of the suku at certain feasts. They strut about wearing the suku's wealth. And these things are suku property and do not belong to the families.

614 The social order of the individual, family,
565 etc., here has not changed very much. The
624 most direct thing is that only certain folk of
[178] the right suku have land rights in the kampong.
[423] Within the suku, however, the mosa laki or other office holder is probably a bit higher. They say, however, that the mosa laki gets no more of a bride price for his daughter than an ordinary man gets for his. I can't get very far in class investigation here, that's quite clear. And now I see why he was so puzzled at first when I asked him to indicate class distinc-

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There are about ten
326 smiths (are they full time? I doubt it).

241 As before, rice and corn are the staple
177 crops. There has been practically no change except for the introduction of new kinds of bananas, peanuts, and a few vegetables, in
[433] the diet. The local community is still almost one hundred per cent self sufficient.
283 They even make their own thread from their own cotton, although they may buy some thread today.

178 There has been practically no change at all since Vatter's book was written. In Wailolong they still have a tuno wudjo.

[352] Fifty years ago there were no tables or chairs, and there are only a few now. There
291 has been a little change in regard to cloth-
178 ing, especially in that a few men now wear shirts. And a few men also have shoes; there were none before.

A few women wear European dresses; no one wore such dress formerly. They could not sew at all fifty years ago, and there is still not a single sewing machine in Wailolong.

438 A few of the women sell some vegetables and some arak. They buy small quantities of thread, salt, hairpins, soap, medicine, and tobacco. The mountain people sell some of their forest products.

443 There has been no change at all in the mar-
178 ket system here except for the disappearance
437 of the Delang pasar. This was mostly or entirely a barter pasar. Cash is used at the Okka pasar. Up until seven years ago the Delang pasar was still used. There are no toko or warong here.

483 Very few people have ever ridden in a car here. Roy guesses that at the very most one per cent of the population has had such an experience.

● 423 The kinds of property in terms of land here are the following: kampong (which is "owned"
[See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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423 by the radja tuan), suku, ama, and family. Houses are categorized in the same fashion.

Houses, however, are strictly speaking owned by the family or lineage. The eldest [428] son inherits the house, and other sons build their own houses or may live in with the eld- [591] est son and his family. The women have no houses, as residence is patrilocal except in unusual cases.

462 The only specialization here is by sex.

426 He says there is no lending of money. They may borrow food, and the interest on such accrued during the following year is from fifty to one hundred per cent.

465 The only wage earners are the gurus. There are no other paid jobs. (How about the three kepala kampongs? I suppose they get eight per cent of the taxes as usual?) There is not one commercial enterprise here.

622 The chiefs, says Roy, are regarded as fathers. 789 The genealogical organization is strong here. Indeed, their posts depend on hereditary descent entirely. The people here obey them because they are in the place of their fathers. The curse of a father is a terrible thing, and this goes for the chiefs too. It should be remembered also that the chiefs have magic power, derived from the sanction of the ancestors and visibly shown by the stone fetishes in front of the chiefly houses.

567 The nipatale intermarry with other people, although they originally were slaves. Thus there is a slave class, but it is integrated with the others, and it has only a few marks.

[555] The only ones who have risen are the gurus. 554 And those in Wailolong are from some other area. There are no visible signs of status except that of living in a chiefly house, belonging to a "big house" suku, and having the stones of status in front of the house. I note also that

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621 Pongkor until perhaps fifteen years ago, and
565 the kraeng kampongs are still directly under
567 the dalu. It seems that the ata lampang kampongs were under the dalu formerly too, but maybe they were merely slave kampongs under local rulers. The sekontu were indeed directly under Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps the picture was: under the dalu, the kraeng and the lampang kampongs; under Todo and Pongkor, the sekontu and mangko' pitu kampongs.

(5) There are kampongs which are about one hundred per cent of the dalu class. These are evidently the "capitals" of the dalu, for example, Rahong kampong.

567 Cornelius[1] says again that in his time, at
565 the most twenty years ago, there were still
624 plenty of slaves, and the Dutch hit this system
●423 hard in order to get them out. Evidently the
[177] real mendi, the bought or captured ones, were merged first (as the slave trade and war were forced out), but the lampang type persisted until very recently. He later told me how much the lampang had to give in tribute to the kraeng. This links with what the kraeng (who was from Pongkor and a very soft spoken lad) who is now in Tjantjar said. He said that the kraeng had and have the right to settle and get land in any kampong. He has gotten land here. But they have to ask the consent of the tuan tanah first and have to pay the regular tribute to the tuan tanah. But the permission is not refused. I asked if they could take a lot of land, and he said no, that they had to be reasonable.

621 He said, the Todo and the Pongkor rulers (and
565 the dalu too, evidently) also placed kraeng in
661 the kampongs to keep order (as so many wars were held that the folk would let them judge the cases, although they were not really administrative men, but rather prestigeful men) and to act as spies of the Todo and Pongkor rulers

1 [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

We

721 were traditional enmities to some extent be-
578 tween dalu. For example, Ruteng was against
614 Tjibal. Rahong usually helped Ruteng. Tjibal had allies too.

When there was a Todo war against Pongkor, the dalu here often entered, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other.

There are plenty of stories about the old wars. Thus there is the Prang Kuvu (that was against the Dutch near here); Prang Lait (against Bima, at a place near here); Prang Vake (Pongkor against Todo, and the dalus here entered), etc.

621 There are definite borders here, and the
614 people are quite sensitive about them. These
602 exist between the dalu, gelarang, and kampongs.
[423] They are marked by stones, mountains, rivers, etc.

In every gelarang there is a central kampong, for example, Veol and branches. Only one va'u per gelarang is the original va'u. There can't be two. Each dalu has kampongs under direct dalu rule. Some dalu (e.g., Rahong) had kampongs directly under Todo or Pongkor. Aside from the va'u relations, the vina-rona (mother's brother's daughter or affinal) relationship is important. In this mutual help is expected. Thus the pattern of one's own clan and the clan of affinity (and, I suppose, by extension this, could work out to a circle of the Wouden type)[1] is found here.

614 However, I get nowhere with the regular
582 marriage class system here. Nevertheless, the old tuan tanah said that there was a preferred clan, Mungges. It does not show in the record of the marriages, however. He will get the clans of the women for me.

756 Note: he misunderstood the "magic" here,
789 and says that the mbako could and can make a drink or amulet, etc., to make a man strong, and such is used in war.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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178 outsider can buy land in the kampong. Also, the
425 kraeng privileges have been cut sharply. In
[422] regard to property in houses, things have remained the same except for the new private houses (see below). There has been no change in the personal articles and ceremonial objects.

423 The land is family-owned, but there are some
428 individual pieces (for example, the assistant's).
562 The kampong has eminent domain, and it is a tuan tanah's. When an old man dies, the land is divided, but the eldest son gets his choice and the larger share. If there is only one garden, he gets it. But generally each son gets a share. Women get no land. Personal effects are divided. They work the land as a family unit until the old man dies.

423 Houses which are large are the property of
178 the inhabitants, who build them. Thus ownership is communal. But a great change has taken place since they have been building single houses, e.g., the assistant's. The eldest son gets this new kind, after all others have married off.

574 I note the remarkable ease of sleeping in houses here. There is no fuss to put someone up. Thus the assistant slept in the tuan tanah's house last night in Veol, and tonight the tuan tanah will sleep in his house at Pau (they are going to talk much more, and he promised the tuan tanah some palm wine for which I paid).

462 As far as specialization goes, the women make mats, do the cooking, wash clothes, fetch water, do the gardening, sew, and take care of the children. They also care for the fowls and pigs. There is not a single sewing machine here. The women also pound grain.

Men plait songko, work in the gardens, carry on trade, gather wood, and do heavy work around the house, and care for buffaloes and horses

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Mori-Laki OGT Flores OF9
Gorontalo OG4
Batak OD5

wild plant and animal life as are found on it. It limits the movement of its members on its land. The community right of disposal is never static. It grows and shrinks in relation to the rights of individual members. Changes in social values concerning individual rights affect the strength of communal rights. And outside influences shape the operation of the communal rights in all sorts of ways, to be discussed later.

The general features of the right of disposal in the community are almost universal throughout the islands. Only the Banggai Islanders and the Ngada of Flores seem to offer exceptions.

What then is the basic formulation of the fundamental Indonesian communal right of disposal?

The first feature lies in the interaction of communal and individual rights, mentioned above. When a person puts his individual effort into a piece of land, he creates something of a personal identity of self and soil. To the degree that he intensifies this, it becomes a legal relation, and the powers of the collective community with respect to that particular cultivated field, fish pool, garden, or house compound are reduced. If he neglects his holding or permits its usufruct to lapse through inactivity, then the powers of the community are reestablished, and the community right of disposal is once more freely asserted.

Thus, upon the departure of an individual holder, re-captured fields in South Tapanuli are allotted with usufruct to newcomers or to the poor. In some law-areas, the titles of individual members to their abandoned sawah (cultivated fields) are maintained for a long time against the claim of the community. In Minahasa, the title to a piece of land cleared by individual effort exists in principle in perpetuity. As a result, there is no power of recapture in the community right of disposal. In fact, however, the community in this law-area does exercise the power to bestow temporary usufruct of land on its members even when the title is held by someone else. This also takes place among the Bataks with respect to the sawah of members of the ruling "marga."

In some law-areas the social and spiritual interest of the community in the land is still quite regularly expressed at the opening of the gardening season by community sacrificial rituals under the direction of the community chiefs in the village sanctuary. In the same way, the community relation to the land is present in harvest-time purification rituals and similar ceremonies.

The rights of the community permit individual exploitation of

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166 no bride price or come for some other cause; and those who have come to "work in the gardens" and have settled in the kampong.

166 425 624 This last category accounts for the many outside couples. Thus I discovered that they can sell land to people from outside, with the consent of the tuan tanah, who, so far as the assistant knows, never makes any trouble over this. The person merely informs the tuan tanah that from now on the tribute from his field such and such will be paid by so and so. There are families which have sold all of their land, but this is rare. They usually sell a part of the lands. What happens is that once a new garden is laid out (and most of the gardens here are in the star shaped pattern) and the tuan tanah has divided the wedges among the families, the assigned section belongs to the family until or unless it is abandoned, whereupon the claim lapses and it is given to another family. The family can sell its garden land (so assigned) to anyone, with notification given to the tuan tanah. The outside people are those who have bought land here, and have come to live here. Thus the assistant, whose family land is in Pau, has bought land in Tjantjar and has moved there.

425 624 This led to a discussion of the division of land. Only when a new garden is laid out is the lodok pole set up. The tuan tanah stands here when he divides the wedges. Each family must get a slice, or perhaps if there are too many families and thus the wedges would be too small, some families await their turn when a new garden is laid out. Once the lodok is used, it stands until it falls. Then a stone is placed at the navel, and there each year the rites of the garden are held.

[565] [634] [661] Then came the "low-down" about the radja. I asked how then do the kraeng get land? Do they

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425 624 565 634 661 stand with the families and get a share, like any ordinary person? This led to the usual wild look and obvious reluctance. Then he came through. The truth is that the kraeng don't get their land directly, but rather, when a new garden is laid out, the radja just says, I'll take this part. It may be a quarter or even half of the pie. And he pays nothing. Then he gives pieces of the land so requisitioned to members of "his family," of whom there are hundreds, and more swarm out of Todo and Pongkor all the time. They pay nothing. Now I see why the kraeng yesterday said that a privilege of the kraeng is to get land anywhere in Manggarai. This seems to be a real burden, and is at least a racket. I can see where, if there is enough open land, a kraeng or anyone else might be given pieces; but the chiseling evidently comes from the fact that they get cleared and nicely laid out land after a lot of hard work has been done on it.

And now I can see perhaps why the priest in Larantuka said that the tuan tanah and the Radja work together (though this seems to be a strange combination, it might take place in Larantuka because the Radja is a kind of big tuan tanah himself and is part of the whole native tuan tanah system; i.e., he is the Kottang of the state), and as soon as the poor folk have cleared the land, the radja steps in and says, "I'll have this piece," and takes the best part. Perhaps the priest linked the tuan [578] tanah in here because he naturally hates the tuan tanah, who are anchors of whatever paganism is left. This is why I'd like to know here whether the tuan tanah likes the kraeng and the radja and dalu (but the latter is a "different breed") or whether he grudgingly gives what he must.

We In regard to the Radja and the land matter,
425 I finally got it straight. The radja and kraeng
565 used to take what they wanted, worked or un-
634 worked. Also, they used to make the lampang
661 work the unworked fields and gardens. Starting
466 about two years ago there has been no more free
178 labor, but the radja and the kraeng must pay wages. If anyone resisted before, he and the whole family could be enslaved instantly. Even now, they can generally get undeveloped land for the asking when a new field is laid out, but they must work it themselves or pay laborers wages. They do not need to pay for undeveloped fields, any more than the local folk have to pay for them. But other aliens, like the assistant here, must buy such land. If the radja or kraeng wants to obtain developed land today, he must pay for the labor done on it. Even the last remaining privilege, to ask and get a piece of undeveloped land, is in danger. A year ago, in Dalong, the folk took back from the radja a piece of land that had been given him and that he had worked. Thus the old privileges die under merdeka.

565 All of the above information about the dalu
624 being here only since 1880 is wrong. Coolhaas [1]
167 has reported that dalu were in Manggarai in
174 the eighteenth century. Their origin is unknown. The assistant says that they all came from overseas. The gelarang were merely tuan tanah. The kraeng were among the dalu. They were originally the dalu of the Todo-Pongkor area. Thus the dalu have been here for a long time. They were evidently pro-consuls of Bima and Makassar (which fought long over Manggarai). The pastor says that he thinks some of them were originally locals who were elevated, and others came from the outside. The assistant insists that their family trees are different from those of the gelarang. Maybe they represent a partly elevated gelarang and partly kraeng from Todo-

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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304 say of such people that they "grew up in school."
178 This is still preserved by almost all others.
562 It must be done before marriage. Thus, the
881 kraeng did not have his teeth filed until he was twenty-five years old, just before marriage. Usually the teeth filing takes place much earlier, especially for the girls, who have theirs filed at about fourteen years. Formerly they filed the teeth down to the gums of both upper and lower teeth. Many of the people here still do this (I saw one young girl with only stumps left for teeth). The ordinary people do the filing. They used a stone before, but now they use an iron file. (I note that these people take to new tools very fast. They use all sorts at once. This means that there are no taboos on new techniques, and this should help.) Nowadays most people merely file their teeth even. And there is no feast.

There never was any cutting here.

439 Imports here include cloth, salt, tobacco and fish. Exports include stock, rattan and a few other wild products. There was not much business of this sort and never was. There are no markets. Formerly there was no money. Now it is plentiful. Formerly barter was the
436 only means of trade. Note: in 1942 the Dutch called in all silver and gave out only paper money. The Japanese thus easily took all the silver (the Dutch were invariably mistaken).

493 There are no cars here. There are three people in all Manggarai who could drive a car. None of these is here.

There is very little traveling done by car. The only autos are those of the traders (Chinese) and the government. Fifty per cent of the population have never ridden in an automobile.

178 The main change here is that formerly no out-
425 sider could buy land in the kampong. Now an

178 outsider can buy land in the kampong. Also, the
425 kraeng privileges have been cut sharply. In
[422] regard to property in houses, things have remained the same except for the new private houses (see below). There has been no change in the personal articles and ceremonial objects.

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428 individual pieces (for example, the assistant's).
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178 the inhabitants, who build them. Thus ownership is communal. But a great change has taken place since they have been building single houses, e.g., the assistant's. The eldest son gets this new kind, after all others have married off.

574 I note the remarkable ease of sleeping in houses here. There is no fuss to put someone up. Thus the assistant slept in the tuan tanah's house last night in Veol, and tonight the tuan tanah will sleep in his house at Pau (they are going to talk much more, and he promised the tuan tanah some palm wine for which I paid).

462 As far as specialization goes, the women make mats, do the cooking, wash clothes, fetch water, do the gardening, sew, and take care of the children. They also care for the fowls and pigs. There is not a single sewing machine here. The women also pound grain.

Men plait songko, work in the gardens, carry on trade, gather wood, and do heavy work around the house, and care for buffaloes and horses

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484 are afraid to sleep outside, even today. They
152 fear evil spirits (they say setan) of the out-
186 side. This is a real and vivid fear to them.
[176]

Roworeke does not have a telephone, telegraph
20 or radio. Mail is brought by people who happen to go to Ende, and letters are mailed by the same means. A letter is first sent by the Post Office to the office of the Radja. It may take a long time to get here.

There is a gong used for signaling (it is located near the kapitan's house) on the occasions of the death of a noble, a tax meeting, and the like. News is spread fast by rumor, and the gossip here is uncanny. Everyone in the area knew when the kapitan went with us to Kilimutu.

There are no "local authorities" on the news front. The only people who would approach this are the two police. News bulletins from the Information Service are practically never delivered here. Such things simply do not get this far. There are no traders who give news.

There are markets and there is a market sys-
443 tem. The district markets are located at:

1.	Kilometer 14.	An empty place, merely.	(Friday)
2.	Kilometer 24.	The same thing.	(Saturday)
3.	Kilometer 33.	In Lio	(Monday)
4.	Kilometer 52.	In Lio.	(Tuesday)
5.	Kilometer 66.	Wolowaru. Lio.	(Wednesday?)

Thus there is a circuit, and the Ende traders (papalele) go by truck, day by day, up to the mountains and then down to the start and then over again. Sunday is evidently out (Christian influence, evidently). These traders make little
[563] money as they are mere tools of the Chinese who
[426] lend to them at high rates or merely pay them salaries, or let them buy and sell on a commission basis.

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462 the men. If a woman gets sick, a man may fetch
[286] water, and some men like to cook. The only
thing which is purely a woman's occupation is
[285] weaving. There is no mat or basket making
here. This is done only in the mountains.

426 Small debts may be accumulated among the
kampong folk. Thus if a man has fl. 10.00 he
lets it be known that he will lend it, and he
does so at interest. People seldom borrow more
than fl. 5. For one month for this amount they
must repay fl. 7 to fl. 8. Thus there is a
fantastic amount of interest. The Chinese will
lend only if the borrower has some form of se-
curity, for example, a gold decoration. He
charges the same rate. There were and are no
government pawn shops here.

465 There are about five men who work as coolies
178 in Ende town. These are the only wage earners.
The kapitan receives pay, and the secretary
gets a very small amount. The kepala kampong
gets eight per cent of the tax yield (this is
bad). The mosa laki mere gets meat at all
feasts. He also receives rice. Fifty years
ago there were no wages at all.

443 There are two Chinese stores (at kilometer 6
and kilometer 8). There are eight warong, six
owned by the papalele Ende folk, and the other
two by the guru agama and the kepala kampong.
They sell the same merchandise as the Chinese
stores but have smaller stock.

622 The posts of kepala kampong and kapitan are
634 new here. This is true also of their mandur.
578 The radja has always been here as a post.
There have been changes in the borders too.
Thus there is no more Radja of Ndona. The family
lives near the bridge but no longer has the post.
(All over Flores there must be these fragments
of old-time ruling families, and there is a
great deal of potential trouble here unless the
whole radja complex gets cleared away.)

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423 by the radja tuan), suku, ama, and family. Houses are categorized in the same fashion.

Houses, however, are strictly speaking owned by the family or lineage. The eldest [428] son inherits the house, and other sons build their own houses or may live in with the eld- [591] est son and his family. The women have no houses, as residence is patrilocal except in unusual cases.

462 The only specialization here is by sex.

He says there is no lending of money. They 426 may borrow food, and the interest on such accrued during the following year is from fifty to one hundred per cent.

465 The only wage earners are the gurus. There are no other paid jobs. (How about the three kepala kampongs? I suppose they get eight per cent of the taxes as usual?) There is not one commercial enterprise here.

622 The chiefs, says Roy, are regarded as fathers. 789 The genealogical organization is strong here. Indeed, their posts depend on hereditary descent entirely. The people here obey them because they are in the place of their fathers. The curse of a father is a terrible thing, and this goes for the chiefs too. It should be remembered also that the chiefs have magic power, derived from the sanction of the ancestors and visibly shown by the stone fetishes in front of the chiefly houses.

567 The nipatale intermarry with other people, although they originally were slaves. Thus there is a slave class, but it is integrated with the others, and it has only a few marks.

[555] The only ones who have risen are the gurus. And those in Wailolong are from some other area. 554 There are no visible signs of status except that of living in a chiefly house, belonging to a "big house" suku, and having the stones of status in front of the house. I note also that

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462 and goats.

There is no shame, however, if one has to do
[887] the work of the other sex. The old people
putter about, for example, the old women make
mats, and the old men carve spoons, etc.

426 If one borrows corn or rice, which is done
686 for the most part, interest is charged at the
rate of one hundred per cent annually. This is
redoubled each year, and if it is finally un-
paid, there may be a court case and the person
may have to pay a horse (the present price of
[435] a horse is fl. 200 and for a buffalo fl. 350).

Money is not borrowed. The reason they bor-
row rice and corn and why they do this from
kampong fellows is that many families are too
311 large. Land is now all divided. The kampong
511 is full. Therefore there is actual hunger in
November and December, when the crops are grow-
ing. Thus if the population continues to in-
crease, some will have to move. The reason
the Dalong folk repossessed one of the Radja's
gardens was that there was an actual shortage
of land. I didn't realize this trouble before.
There are actually poor people here because
the land is all occupied. Therefore, not even
new gardens are possible here. But no one
starves. I asked what the main worry was.
They said getting cloth. It is very hard to
get. Food is a worry only for some people.

465 There are no wage earners except for those
who do a bit of work in other people's gardens.
The present wage is fl. 1.00 a day. Before
even this was not done.

634 In regard to political life there were Bima,
632 dalu, gelarang, and kraeng (some kampongs), and
622 the tuan tanah fifty years ago. In 1940 there
624 were the Dutch, the radja (since 1929), the dalu,
gelarang, tuan tanah, and kepala kampong. In
1950 there are the radja, the dalu, the gelarang,
the tuan tanah, and the kepala kampong.

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511 as I see more of this country. This area is terribly poor and overcrowded, full of stones, and has little water. The girls and women have
[312] to haul water for Leloba from the coast, which is three kilometers off. And there is little food in the town. They are really hungry.

Vatter told of great illnesses here, and I
164 can see many examples of this today. Sore eyes
511 are terrible and probably caused by lack of vitamins. There are many children with large bellies, skin sores, etc. Nowhere before have I seen such misery in regard to mere existence. Last year, a priest told us later, there was a famine here. And now I can see how vital the old rainmaking and the practices of the tuan tanah must be here.

797 At the mission headquarters in Larantuka we
634 were told that it is hard for the mission to
661 make plans here, because every time they get an
423 improvement, for example, in the land system,
●427 the radja comes in and seizes the best land.
624 Also the tuan tanah stands up against all changes, and he is a "chiseler" also. Thus if they have a project which brings acres of improved land, the bigwigs wait until the work is done on it and then take the best part for themselves. The local people thus lose their land and many have thus been forced to work on the radja's land or for other big men as sharecroppers. Evidently the common division here is one-fourth of the crop for the sharecropper. The priests seem to regard the tuan tanah, who is the ritual and adat leader, as the worst.

622 We had some gin with the priest and then went
159 to the house of the guru Roy. He was Vatter's[1] assistant, and his house is the biggest in the kampong. He could be the kepala kampong, but because he is a guru, he passed the post on to his younger brother. They belong to the Hurin suku, which is different from the usual thing,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113—Analyst]

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778 The negri lama of the suku Odja is about one-
753 half kilometer outside Ratebedi in the distant hills. No one lives there now, but there are stones, etc. (I think he said images too.) The Ratebedi folk give offerings there. This was the kampong of the great ancestor Odja Djata (the father of Odja was Djata). There are many such old places which are dangerous, for example, the assistant went to one such place near Pamudjera, and he got sick at once.

[764] There is always talk of danger in fooling around with old places and old rules. Thus, not long ago two men of Watu Roga set a stone boundary marker in the earth, but this is taboo. In three days one was dead and in three months the other died.

If I could get all of the information about
174 each kampong and suku I could rebuild the whole history of migrations, etc. And although most of the people have lost these stories, there are a good number of old men in Volofea and Bu'ube'i who could tell everything.

The assistant says he will try to get infor-
115 mation on all these things as he does his "control" work in his job as secretary of the gemeente. He asks for a good notebook and a briefcase to do this work! I don't trust him, that's all. He plots, and the story is that when I come back years from now he will have all the facts. Thus he put together my interest in these things, my statement that I might return to do more work here, and out of hopes to get a notebook and case fabricated his plan.

423 The land is family-owned (maybe lineage-
614 owned is a better way of phrasing it). The eldest son is the manager of the family land.
592 Others work on it. If there are no sons, the
● 428 eldest daughter runs it, or maybe the deceased father's brother. The father may split up his estate among his sons, or give each one of his

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423 sons a parcel before he dies. Also, he may split
●428 up his land among the brothers as the group gets
614 too large. When a group is really too large
592 for the estate, some may go to the mosa laki
[622] mere and get consent to develop a new piece of
waste kampong land. Also, if there are too
many people for the estate, the men or some of
them may work on their wives' families' land.
This is considered all right.

428 As for houses, the eldest son takes over
592 the paternal house, and if there is room enough
614 all brothers and families may live there too.
Some may move off into new houses. Thus the
present kepala kampong, Pala, is the eldest
brother of the assistant, Migo. Their father
was Pega. They are of the Pega lineage. Pala
occupies the old house, Migo a new one. If
Pala dies, Migo will take over the house and
management of the family land. The eldest son
is the big man all through the system, and
posts descend via the eldest branch all the way
down. The younger branches are always under-
neath. Nevertheless, they may set up a new line-
age at any time. Thus there could be a branch-
off with Migo, and his sons would be the mem-
bers. However, they may keep the unit Pega for
several generations, before splitting.

422 There is also the matter of the family
428 ritual possessions. These go down from eldest
614 son to eldest son all the way. Thus Migo has
none, because in his family the pusaka belongs
to his brother Pala. However, a father may
divide it up before he dies.

The family or lineage is the important
property unit. Small articles, for example,
clothing, may be individually owned, and the
suku and even the kampong has property. But
the crucial unit is the great family.

462 There is not such a strong division by sex
here. The women work at agriculture just like

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614 There is no use of a head without feet. At
788 least this is the idea. They are the leg men
565 of the head. The Hurint cuts the head off, and they also cut or finish or decide cases. Thus the double entendre words which seem to prevail in this language come to light. Also the Hurint do the praying, and in the old days the priests were from this suku as well as were the judges. The Marang passed around and still pass around sirih, or perhaps coffee today, at the rites. The Marang also acts as general helper so that if any of the other three have trouble with the beast he rushes in to aid. The function is symbolized not quite so clearly as for the other three, but the social system is symbolized in ritual which in turn reflects a system of rank and function.

632 I heard another thing which should be inter-
614 esting to follow up. The kakang is a Leboba man
583 from one of the Kottang subsibs. His sib (one
576 of the two Belepe Lolong, and must be Lango'
●431 Bele' as he has much power) gives women to the guru's sib (Ama Hurint Ola Demo[ng] Lango' Bele') and must be given fowl by the latter. The latter gets women from the former, and gets fish from the former too. Thus fowl and fish form a gift exchange following the marriage exchange system. Evidently the sib that gets the women gives the fowl, and the one that gives the women also gives the fish. Could this be again the serpent and the dove? The kakang said that if he went to the guru's house and there happened to be some fowl cooking there, he must get some, or it would be a terrible breach of respect and much shame would be felt. I think this is correct, but I must check it later.

194 The peculiar nasal end sound indicated by
[114] the parentheses in my orthography is hard to get and Vatter[1] messes it up. The guru says it is hard even for a man from Larantuka town to say it.

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are still formed partly of suku or suku sections coming in and joining the old settlers from the negri lama.

443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series as in Celebes. These wheels run in different directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru, and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The traders follow the pasar week from market to market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kam-
583 pongs, although there is gift exchange in
562 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male" things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a woman gives in return "female" things (cloth, mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere, and said that many had drowned there recently. The water is deep, he said, and there lives a "head" of a human being. It is still living and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has seen it several times, in daylight. It moves around as though on short legs. It is just a human head, with hair. They don't know what it is or where it came from. However, the people are now scared to bathe here. The victims have been sucked under. He asked me my opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
[123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith, because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere. They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head alone").

622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
361 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
●433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
515 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
514 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

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759 the way to Ndona. She has a second sight, and
756 uses stones to divine. She gets her cures
[787] from dreams. I asked whether she had familiars in dreams, but got no satisfactory reply. But now I can at least proceed with further queries regarding the bisa mari, having an actual case in mind. She can save a woman whose child dies inside her. She is a rather handsome old lady, well preserved, with piercing eyes. She looks clean (smells like disinfectant soap, as she just came from the hospital). I note that she, a doctor herself, went
[758] to the hospital. When I went to the hospital this morning, great crowds were waiting. They have all taken to it, but there is no hope of proper care, as there are so many patients and so few doctors.

438 There has been a small increase in the sale of merchandise in order to get cash to buy other items. It has not been a very great
[435] change. The produce sold includes coconut, coconut oil (a few bottles, self made, sell at fl. 0.50), vegetables, bananas, betel leaves, and areca nuts. All are very small items. Coconut seems to be the main thing. All of this is sold in the town of Ende, if at all.

With the money they obtain they buy oil,
[443] soap, salt, tobacco, and even a bit of meat and other food in the toko or warong. They also buy dry fish. The toko buys its supplies in Ende.

249 I asked about the cloth situation. This is
● 433 a poor case now as everyone is short and the distribution of cloth by the government has not been too effective. This is a remarkable case. For many years formerly the people here had discontinued planting cotton. Then, when the Japanese came, they started up again and have done so since. Each family plants a little. The yield is not so good, but it could be, the assistant says.

Wa

There are about ten
3216 smiths (are they full time? I doubt it).

As before, rice and corn are the staple
2411 1777 crops. There has been practically no change except for the introduction of new kinds of bananas, peanuts, and a few vegetables, in
●[433] the diet. The local community is still almost one hundred per cent self sufficient.
2813 They even make their own thread from their own cotton, although they may buy some thread today.

1778 There has been practically no change at all since Vatter's book was written. In Wailolong they still have a tuno wudjo.

[852] Fifty years ago there were no tables or chairs, and there are only a few now. There
291 1778 has been a little change in regard to clothing, especially in that a few men now wear shirts. And a few men also have shoes; there were none before.

A few women wear European dresses; no one wore such dress formerly. They could not sew at all fifty years ago, and there is still not a single sewing machine in Wailolong.

4318 A few of the women sell some vegetables and some arak. They buy small quantities of thread, salt, hairpins, soap, medicine, and tobacco. The mountain people sell some of their forest products.

443 1778 There has been no change at all in the market system here except for the disappearance
437 of the Delang pasar. This was mostly or entirely a barter pasar. Cash is used at the Okka pasar. Up until seven years ago the Delang pasar was still used. There are no toko or warong here.

483 Very few people have ever ridden in a car here. Roy guesses that at the very most one per cent of the population has had such an experience.

423 The kinds of property in terms of land here are the following: kampong (which is "owned"
[See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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Little meat is
262 eaten, and this is done only during feasts. There are some eggs. They do not eat much fish, because they must purchase them. They do buy some food from the local store (never any canned food, because this is too expensive), for example, rice and salt. They do not grow
[249] any tobacco.

•434 To get the small amount of money they need to buy in the toko, they sell coconuts and anything else they may have, which is usually quite little. Fl. 5.00 in cash is a lot of money for a man here.

264 The people here eat three times a day, a little in the morning, and equally heavy noon and evening meals.

262 574 They like dog meat and also horse meat, but these, like pig and goat, are only eaten at the time of a feast. They say that the main feasts are funeral ones. They also say that the people here have no decided preference and will gladly eat any kind of meat. They
[266] say they have no memory of cannibalism except for the eating of the hearts of enemies for
224 bravery in warfare. They rarely hunt. If they
262 do they use a bow and are lucky to get monkeys
624 or pigs. There are no deer here. There is a clear case for meat hunger here, and the only material gain of being a mosa laki is that you
[465] are always given a piece of meat when an animal
[171] is killed. This is like the Toradja pattern, and shows how much of a luxury meat really is. It is the "government man's salary."

436 Formerly there was no money and there were
178 no toko. Of course there may have been a few
443 gold pieces, but they were really sacred objects. Today they have little cash.

243 The irrigated rice fields started three
177 years ago and were instigated by Hadji Akbar
788 of Watu Roga. He went to Mecca and saw the many sawah in Bima, Java, and elsewhere. When

R
349 set on the rafters a similar chest with bones of
766 the old ancestor of the Odja suku. I was told
769 that this has been there for hundreds of years,
614 but then it was reckoned that it had been there
621 for at least seven generations. It too was covered with ikat clothing. There was no drum in this one. They said that when the ancestor suku feast is held, hundreds of people gather here and buffaloes are killed, as was true in the other place. All around are many other stone cist tombs, all graves of descendants of the big
342 Odja. There are some high houses here, but most of them are lower in construction.

286 In Padjambu we saw many women spinning and weaving. One girl was pressing cotton fluff on a primitive wooden wringer arrangement in order to flatten it before spinning. It looked just like an old-fashioned clothes wringer. We saw an old woman preparing the loom threads in the first stage of ikat work. The white threads were wrapped with fiber windings. We saw several ikat sarongs, all of which were heavy and dull in
[435] color. The kapitan said that I could buy one for
[181] fl. 150.00 and another for fl. 250.00. This again shows the grasping character of these folk.

123 I forgot to say that the kapitan wants to go to Larantuka with us. I refused to let him go along. Also, at the Odja ancestral bone bundle tower an old mother said we had to leave an offering. We left some cigarettes. Perhaps they wanted money.

286 These ikat things are all over. I don't like
386 them very much, but they are genuine. The cotton
531 is grown locally and is pressed and spun. The dyes are blue and black and are made from indigo leaves. The ikat work is done with ties of fiber.
[438] Indeed, the only trade material used here is the red dye they buy in the stores. They also weave regular cloth, but the colors are always dull. The designs are small and indecisive.

632 told me that his mother is from this area, and later I had her kampong pointed out (Lewoleda). It is the twin kampong of Watuwiti. As we passed every kampong the children came out in droves shouting greetings and then running after and hanging on the rear of the jeep, just as Vatter[1] described them almost twenty years ago.
[178] Indeed, many things of his are still the same, but some are different, for example, Catholicism has finally destroyed the nubanara, nama, and the korke of Leloba.

346 797 583 438 At Wailolong we went off on a new side road to Leloba, and the road ended at the kampong, barred by a fence. As we were talking here, a priest, Krol, came up on his motorcycle and invited us to his hut. He is temporarily here because the church and pastorie in Riangkamiē was burned two months ago. The people there caused the fire by burning the hills on the windward side, and the kampong elders voted to give a percentage of the bride prices for quite a long while in order that they might have the new church. This will be paid in elephant tusks,
[435] which the mission will sell for cash to the Mohammedan traders (eight tusks of varying lengths will sell for about fl. 2000.00, and the priest knew the exact price). The Mohammedan traders will then resell the tusks to the people in Larantuka who need them to pay a bride price. They will probably sell them in the Tandjung Bunga (Cape Flores area).

797 197 177 The priest told how the Catholics work here. They try to keep as much of the old culture as possible. For example, he and others are learning all about the Solor language, which is the local language here, so that they can make prayers in it. They also make prayers in the
797 177 533 old style, as though praying to Lerawulan. They use native songs with words in the native language and in the native style, too. He, musical,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more people in many of the houses. The complex ar-
243 rangement of rice fields stretches out far below and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but perhaps this is done merely by flooding. I must ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly situated on rises and they are small, for example, Weol has only about thirty houses in it. The priest says that there are many of the stones in kampong Ruteng located about 1½ km. outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each day, and the guru will bring the table and chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel. The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary, which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
197 houses were introduced here by a priest. The guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the
515 folk here, including the priests. Bathing is not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the relationship between partners is distant enough. Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans, called panga, and one may marry within these in the same way, according to the guru. I must find out more about this and also get the kin system. We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in the center of the town where they were playing football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
361 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
●435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
515 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
574 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

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754 the way to Ndona. She has a second sight, and
756 uses stones to divine. She gets her cures
[787] from dreams. I asked whether she had familiars in dreams, but got no satisfactory reply. But now I can at least proceed with further queries regarding the bisa mari, having an actual case in mind. She can save a woman whose child dies inside her. She is a rather handsome old lady, well preserved, with piercing eyes. She looks clean (smells like disinfectant soap, as she just came from the hospital). I note that she, a doctor herself, went
[758] to the hospital. When I went to the hospital this morning, great crowds were waiting. They have all taken to it, but there is no hope of proper care, as there are so many patients and so few doctors.

438 There has been a small increase in the sale of merchandise in order to get cash to buy other items. It has not been a very great
[435] change. The produce sold includes coconut, coconut oil (a few bottles, self made, sell at fl. 0.50), vegetables, bananas, betel leaves, and areca nuts. All are very small items. Coconut seems to be the main thing. All of this is sold in the town of Ende, if at all.

[443] With the money they obtain they buy oil, soap, salt, tobacco, and even a bit of meat and other food in the toko or warong. They also buy dry fish. The toko buys its supplies in Ende.

249 I asked about the cloth situation. This is
433 a poor case now as everyone is short and the distribution of cloth by the government has not been too effective. This is a remarkable case. For many years formerly the people here had discontinued planting cotton. Then, when the Japanese came, they started up again and have done so since. Each family plants a little. The yield is not so good, but it could be, the assistant says.

R

436 sionally one sees a ten sen ketip.! The Japa-
727 nese took everything. They also probably melted down a lot of the coins. There is very
437 little barter here as they have so little merchandise as real surplus. If they need food badly, they may sell cloth in the mountains for some form of food.

No one has a car. No one has ever owned a
493 car here. And no one can drive. Buses are
●[435] very little used. The fare to Ende is fl. 0.50.

The owner of all the land is the mosa laki
423 mere of the kampong. He is thus the tuan
614 tanah. Each family has its own house and gar-
622 den land which is inherited. The parcels are in family units. Land is not sold, bought, or rented. There is also suku land, usually too far off in the hills (where the kampong lama of the suku is) to work. Thus the Odja suku has some in Rabu, but they never use it. The suku land in the kampong is under the giri tumba. Evidently there are no kepala suku, and thus no real suku property organization. This is because the mosa laki mere was formerly the kepala suku when the suku were localized. In the kampong, most of the suku land is that of Rewarangga, and indeed if one looks back far enough, all of the land in Roworeke belonged to Rewarangga suku. Note that the mosa laki mere is of Rewarangga. The Odja folk were given land for coming in and, for example, helping the Rewarangga in warfare. Thus it is possible, and evidently indeed usual, for incoming suku to get pieces of land from the mosa laki mere who is land master of the original suku.

There is also undivided kampong land, and
[609] this may be developed by anyone with the consent of the mosa laki mere. Even outsiders may do this, for example, the people from Ende, who live in the kampong.

! [i.e., small silver coin --Analyst]

We

346 there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.
824 They beat the gongs and drums to keep the wood
533 satisfied and I suppose to make it think that
776 the work is going on. Also, I notice that a few men carry planks up now and then to the rafters, perhaps making as though they were carrying on the work. Meanwhile a delegation is in Ruteng to persuade the carpenters to return. The situation is desperate, and perhaps the folk regret having argued with the tukang in the first place. They must "make the wood cool," they say. This is dramatic.

I also noted that a pig was being skinned in the shed nearby. This is for the workers, but it had been ritually killed with prayers, etc. The drum and gong rhythms constantly changed, and the girls are really clever. This
[562] is beautiful stuff. There are beats which are peculiar to men and women, and also some which are used by both. These people are really virtuosos. All day the women sit thus, doing their duty by the wood spirit.

There is a main post in the rectangular house too, and when it is set in, animals are killed and blood is placed in the hole.

Until about ten years ago all houses here
342 were round. Today there are very few of the
178 old round houses left. Cornelius[1] says there is
346 scarcely a single tuan tanah round house left, because everyone must contribute to the cost of a new one, and when they build one they want one that will be a strong rectangular type so that it will last for a long while. The cost of
●[435] this new type tuan tanah house is nearly fl. 3000.00 in addition to the free labor contributed. Each family contributes to the cost and also gives animals for the workers, ceremonies, etc. It is a big thing.

342 I went into one of the two round houses left
178 in Tjantjar. It is a bit different from the

1 [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

We

326 do not know how to do it.

178 Formerly there was no gold or silver work here. Today there is some. However, it was in Todo-Pongkor for a long time. Only a few people have learned this trade recently. The [656] Dutch forbade any metal work in any kampongs because it resulted in metal theft (what fools!).

262 There have been very few changes if any in the local diet. There is a little flour, tinned milk, etc. today. However, these things exist in very small amounts. The local people eat almost entirely their own food. The staple foods here are corn and rice, of about equal importance. In most of Manggarai, corn is more important (remember that the pastor said there was more rice now, but as a result of the wet irrigated rice fields there are more mosquitoes and more malaria). Meals are [264] served three times a day. The people eat vegetables but almost no fruit. Meat is generally reserved for feasts, and this applies even for fowl. They may cut a fowl if there is a guest, but pigs and the like are reserved for feasts. There is no longer much hunting [224] at all. There is some bird snaring. A lot of [223] dry fish from the coast is eaten. This they have to buy. There are almost no river fish. The use of milk is new. Cheese and butter are said to make people sick. However, they eat all kinds of animals if they can get them, including cats, pythons, dogs, horses, etc.

The situation regarding food is much better today than it was. There are now many gardens, whereas formerly there were few. Today they [438] must buy salt, tobacco, fish, betel ingredi- [435] ents, and in particular, cloth. (This is dear; an ordinary sarong costs fl. 60.00 now.)

241 Irrigated rice fields and terracing tech-
178 niques came in only twenty years ago. Farming tools have been introduced. The buffalo and

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462 and goats.

There is no shame, however, if one has to do
[887] the work of the other sex. The old people
putter about, for example, the old women make
mats, and the old men carve spoons, etc.

426 If one borrows corn or rice, which is done
686 for the most part, interest is charged at the
rate of one hundred per cent annually. This is
redoubled each year, and if it is finally un-
paid, there may be a court case and the person
may have to pay a horse (the present price of
● [435] a horse is fl. 200 and for a buffalo fl. 350).

Money is not borrowed. The reason they bor-
row rice and corn and why they do this from
kampong fellows is that many families are too
311 large. Land is now all divided. The kampong
511 is full. Therefore there is actual hunger in
November and December, when the crops are grow-
ing. Thus if the population continues to in-
crease, some will have to move. The reason
the Dalong folk repossessed one of the Radja's
gardens was that there was an actual shortage
of land. I didn't realize this trouble before.
There are actually poor people here because
the land is all occupied. Therefore, not even
new gardens are possible here. But no one
starves. I asked what the main worry was.
They said getting cloth. It is very hard to
get. Food is a worry only for some people.

465 There are no wage earners except for those
who do a bit of work in other people's gardens.
The present wage is fl. 1.00 a day. Before
even this was not done.

634 In regard to political life there were Bima,
632 dalu, gelarang, and kraeng (some kampongs), and
622 the tuan tanah fifty years ago. In 1940 there
624 were the Dutch, the radja (since 1929), the dalu,
gelarang, tuan tanah, and kepala kampong. In
1950 there are the radja, the dalu, the gelarang,
the tuan tanah, and the kepala kampong.

We

584 all right with the girl and her parents. If all is all right, the boy and his family go to the girl's house. There they exchange betel ingredients, talk around a lot, and then edge in to the essential business. They never get explicit, however. This is all done in a very circumlocutory manner. Children sitting around never know what they are talking about. Thus they talk about "needing to build a good fence." Thus the price is set. They start by saying that they need so much to build a fence, and the boy's family says so much money, up to fl. 5.00, gradually. As this is added on, the girl's family keeps on saying that they need more and more to make the fence stronger. Thus they say they need "five trees," i.e., five buffaloes or horses. The relation of the money to animals is set. For each horse
● [435] the value is fl. 2.50, and for each buffalo it is fl. 5.00. The day is set for about a week hence, and it must be a "good" day (evidently they do not use professional soothsayers). Everything is prepared. Thus the family goes home, and the boy stays at the girl's house and works. However, he doesn't sleep with or talk much with the girl.

585 On the wedding day the family of the boy (but not his parents) come again, bringing animals and money. All are well dressed, and so is the boy. The bride price (patja) is paid, and then come the rites (umbur). Pigs are killed (provided by the girl's family, one for each horse or buffalo in the bride price), there is eating and there is drinking. The pigs are killed in front of the house, while the pair sit together inside. This goes on for one day and they are thus married. This rite is called numpang or atjar nao vase vunut (the latter means "fence of nao wood, with idjuk rope," i.e., "the fence is secured with rope").

632 most extinct, with only about twenty members.
614 The kapitan is elected by the orang besar of the eighteen kampongs in the kapitanschap.
634 The Radja of Ende is also elected, in this case by the orang besar of the whole state. This means that he is elected evidently by the kapitan. I must inquire further about this matter.
632 The present kapitan is a nephew of the former
578 kapitan. He was chosen because the son of the former kapitan was not satisfactory. I noted that as I asked about this there seemed to be some embarrassment and I wonder if perhaps there was not a little fuss attached to the selection of a new kapitan even in the past. This seems to bear out the evidence for a feud pattern of which I see so much at first glance in Flores. Anyway, both the radja and the kapitan are elected with a tendency to heredity in the male line. They are elected by the officers of the sections of their domain. It is similar to the electors of Goa.
583 They say that the bride price is necessary
614 for marriage, and that the price is really high.
476 They say that some people go bankrupt in order
237 to pay the bride price. Nevertheless, everyone in the suku helps the man pay his bride price and in turn all helpers are later helped. This bride price is a clan affair. Formerly the price had to
[436] be paid in elephant tusks and in gold pieces called wea. Now most of the tusks are gone be-
[727] cause they have been sold or stolen (during the Japanese time). There are still quite a few of the gold pieces left, however. There were hundreds of thousands of tusks in Flores before. Sikka used only very long ones, but in this area they evidently used both long and short tusks. They are remarkable and I must learn more about them.
614 Marriage is exogamous as far as suku are con-
582 cerned and residence is patrilocal. They did
[591]

609 We
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
437 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
● 436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has
[778] magical power, but we didn't get into the full story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All
727 of them were sold or taken during the Japanese
436 time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese
563 time too, but new ones are being made by
326 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and families. They had been in the mountains making wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They use the natives' gold. Much silver is now mixed in with the gold. They both had complete
[142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large, and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they
611 use money and animals for the bride price, but
591 they may also work it off, although it is not
237 really a case of ambil anak because the children follow the father's suku anyway. The girl must stay with the parents until the bride price is paid. Also, residence remains matrilocal until the bride price is paid. Thus we have an illustration of this in the case of a Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several children, because the bride price has not yet been paid. The children belong to his suku, however. Thus there is bride service, matrilocal residence, but the descent remains patrilineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally, has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to get the assistant to say that they still had tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the
624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before
632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evidently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases
[691] are concerned only with land and marriage questions.

Va.

778 notable little stone with lots of agricultural
789 power. The objects which are possessed by the
614 suku and ama have no magic power; they are
823 only a form of wealth.

The eight kampongs of the Mudakaputu ge-
621 meente are:
832

1. Leloba
2. Wailolong
3. Lewohala
4. Lewoneda
5. Mudakaputu
6. Watuwiti
7. Riang Kamiö
8. Riang Kanali

237 Economic note: The tusks are like the stone
583 money of Yap. They are the basis for the local
●436 economy, but have little intrinsic value. The
452 non-existent tusks of Larantuka are even better, and the folklore concerning them is fantastic. They are reckoned with and theoretically exchanged when they don't even exist. They keep the marriage system going. They are parallel to pure paper credit--something like international balances.

621 The first six kampongs are the old time kam-
173 pongs. They were founded by the five sons of Lenurat or their descendants, who came out of Ili Mandiri. Thus the situation runs something like this:

Sons: (1) Belawaburak founded Leloba. (2) Keweluk founded Wailolong. (3) Kewaka founded Lewohala and Lewoneda. (4) Bampowa founded Mudakaputu. (5) Mado founded Watuwiti.

Daughters: (6) Emma married a man of Tandjung Bunga (and the folk there call the people of the Blakang Gunung region "blake," i.e., mother's brother). (7) Hingi married a man of Adonara (perhaps the people there would also

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Little meat is

262 eaten, and this is done only during feasts. There are some eggs. They do not eat much fish, because they must purchase them. They do buy some food from the local store (never any canned food, because this is too expensive), for example, rice and salt. They do not grow [249] any tobacco.

434 To get the small amount of money they need to buy in the toko, they sell coconuts and anything else they may have, which is usually quite little. Fl. 5.00 in cash is a lot of money for a man here.

264 The people here eat three times a day, a little in the morning, and equally heavy noon and evening meals.

262 574 They like dog meat and also horse meat, but these, like pig and goat, are only eaten at the time of a feast. They say that the main feasts are funeral ones. They also say that the people here have no decided preference and will gladly eat any kind of meat. They [266] say they have no memory of cannibalism except for the eating of the hearts of enemies for 224 bravery in warfare. They rarely hunt. If they 262 do they use a bow and are lucky to get monkeys 624 or pigs. There are no deer here. There is a clear case for meat hunger here, and the only material gain of being a mosa laki is that you [465] are always given a piece of meat when an animal [171] is killed. This is like the Toradja pattern, and shows how much of a luxury meat really is. It is the "government man's salary."

436 178 443 Formerly there was no money and there were no toko. Of course there may have been a few gold pieces, but they were really sacred objects. Today they have little cash.

243 177 788 The irrigated rice fields started three years ago and were instigated by Hadji Akbar of Watu Roga. He went to Mecca and saw the many sawah in Bima, Java, and elsewhere. When

R

000 be, the assistant says. Some cotton fluff is
438 sold in the pasar. Thread, however, is not
283 usually bought any more. It is rare and expensive. Thus the wheels and even the hand spindles are busy everywhere.

443 In addition to the market places mentioned before, there is another market in the cycle here. It occurs on the seventh day left out in the arrangement described before (or rather, on the sixth, as there is no market on Sunday), and this is on Thursday, I think. It is at Magekoba, on the way back from Wolowaru, and in the hills above kilometer 33.

[178] The whole market business is new, starting during the last war only. Formerly they did not have a single pasar.

● 436 Before the Dutch came there was no money
177 except the Portuguese dinar, which was in gold
[301] of various denominations. The assistant has heard of most of these only, as all of them have long since been melted down for ornaments. He remembers that the one like a silver rupiah was worth about fl. 12.50, and the ringgit sized one was worth fl. 25.00. There were also bigger coins and others which were smaller. There were also lead Portuguese coins, with holes in them like a gobang [a two and a half sen piece]. These too have disappeared because they were melted down to mix with gold to make an alloy.

436 I note that these people stare and stare at
727 my watch and watch band, and probably this is one thing (gold) which they might steal, as it is irresistible. I note that the women still
[301] have gold decorations. Thus the assistant's wife has a pretty good bracelet. There were big troubles when the NICA came in and the people had only Japanese money. Thousands of rupiah were lost in those times. There are just about no more silver coins here. Occa-

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436 sionally one sees a ten sen ketip.[1] The Japa-
727 nese took everything. They also probably melted down a lot of the coins. There is very
437 little barter here as they have so little merchandise as real surplus. If they need food badly, they may sell cloth in the mountains for some form of food.

No one has a car. No one has ever owned a
493 car here. And no one can drive. Buses are
[435] very little used. The fare to Ende is fl. 0.50.

The owner of all the land is the mosa laki
423 mere of the kampong. He is thus the tuan
614 tanah. Each family has its own house and gar-
622 den land which is inherited. The parcels are in family units. Land is not sold, bought, or rented. There is also suku land, usually too far off in the hills (where the kampong lama of the suku is) to work. Thus the Odja suku has some in Rabu, but they never use it. The suku land in the kampong is under the giri tumba. Evidently there are no kepala suku, and thus no real suku property organization. This is because the mosa laki mere was formerly the kepala suku when the suku were localized. In the kampong, most of the suku land is that of Rewarangga, and indeed if one looks back far enough, all of the land in Roworeke belonged to Rewarangga suku. Note that the mosa laki mere is of Rewarangga. The Odja folk were given land for coming in and, for example, helping the Rewarangga in warfare. Thus it is possible, and evidently indeed usual, for incoming suku to get pieces of land from the mosa laki mere who is land master of the original suku.

There is also undivided kampong land, and
[609] this may be developed by anyone with the consent of the mosa laki mere. Even outsiders may do this, for example, the people from Ende, who live in the kampong.

[1] [i.e., small silver coin --Analyst]

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415 the case. Dishes and forks and spoons have
178 come in to some extent. Formerly they used wooden things, gourds, etc. only. Kitchen stuff is now to be found in the area. Terrac-
241 ing is new. Irrigated rice fields came in
178 only twenty years ago. The use of buffaloes in agriculture and the plow are very recent (five years ago). All the people are still farmers, however.

436 Today the people have much more money than
178 they had, for example, twenty years ago. Fifty years ago there was no money here at all.

342 Formerly there were no tin roofs or nails.
178 Now there are a few. Houses are different in style. In quantity most of the stuff is not changed.

285 Rattan baskets for clothing are no longer
415 made. They prefer wooden containers. However, they still make mats and baskets. The women make these, and the men make their plaited songko.

286 There is no spinning or weaving. This is
784 taboo except in the northeast quarter of Manggarai (Coolhaas[1] is incomplete on this) and Todo-Pongkor and Labuan Hadji. It is beginning to come in in the west.

323 Pottery is made in a few kampongs (Puruk,
784 Mungges, Bolong). This is taboo except in these places. The penalty is the same as for weaving: bad crops, illness, etc. In Pongkor, only one kampong can make pottery, and only one in Todo. Usually one or two kampongs can make pottery in an area.

326 Smiths are new. There was no iron work here
178 before. Formerly they had to buy instruments made from iron. Now they have equipment to do some forms of iron work in Rai and a few other places. Todo-Pongkor has had smithing for perhaps three hundred years (they brought it in evidently). It is not taboo, but they just

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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304 say of such people that they "grew up in school."
178 This is still preserved by almost all others.
562 It must be done before marriage. Thus, the
881 kraeng did not have his teeth filed until he was twenty-five years old, just before marriage. Usually the teeth filing takes place much earlier, especially for the girls, who have theirs filed at about fourteen years. Formerly they filed the teeth down to the gums of both upper and lower teeth. Many of the people here still do this (I saw one young girl with only stumps left for teeth). The ordinary people do the filing. They used a stone before, but now they use an iron file. (I note that these people take to new tools very fast. They use all sorts at once. This means that there are no taboos on new techniques, and this should help.) Nowadays most people merely file their teeth even. And there is no feast.

There never was any cutting here.

439 Imports here include cloth, salt, tobacco and fish. Exports include stock, rattan and a few other wild products. There was not much business of this sort and never was. There are no markets. Formerly there was no money. Now it is plentiful. Formerly barter was the
436 only means of trade. Note: in 1942 the Dutch called in all silver and gave out only paper money. The Japanese thus easily took all the silver (the Dutch were invariably mistaken).

493 There are no cars here. There are three people in all Manggarai who could drive a car. None of these is here.

There is very little traveling done by car. The only autos are those of the traders (Chinese) and the government. Fifty per cent of the population have never ridden in an automobile.

178 The main change here is that formerly no out-
425 sider could buy land in the kampong. Now an

609 We
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
437 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has magical power, but we didn't get into the full
[778] story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

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727 nese took everything. They also probably melted down a lot of the coins. There is very
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[1] [i.e., small silver coin --Analyst]

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There are about ten
326 smiths (are they full time? I doubt it).

241 As before, rice and corn are the staple
177 crops. There has been practically no change except for the introduction of new kinds of bananas, peanuts, and a few vegetables, in
[433] the diet. The local community is still almost one hundred per cent self sufficient.
283 They even make their own thread from their own cotton, although they may buy some thread today.

178 There has been practically no change at all since Vatter's[1] book was written. In Wailolong they still have a tuno wudjo.

[352] Fifty years ago there were no tables or chairs, and there are only a few now. There
291 has been a little change in regard to cloth-
178 ing, especially in that a few men now wear shirts. And a few men also have shoes; there were none before.

A few women wear European dresses; no one wore such dress formerly. They could not sew at all fifty years ago, and there is still not a single sewing machine in Wailolong.

438 A few of the women sell some vegetables and some arak. They buy small quantities of thread, salt, hairpins, soap, medicine, and tobacco. The mountain people sell some of their forest products.

443 There has been no change at all in the mar-
178 ket system here except for the disappearance
●437 of the Delang pasar. This was mostly or entirely a barter pasar. Cash is used at the Okka pasar. Up until seven years ago the Delang pasar was still used. There are no toko or warong here.

483 Very few people have ever ridden in a car here. Roy guesses that at the very most one per cent of the population has had such an experience.

423 The kinds of property in terms of land here are the following: kampong (which is "owned"

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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346 351 788 around the main post as around the lodok (see Coolhaas).!

443 There is no pasar system here. There are only pedlars who carry goods around. Markets are located only in the big towns: Ruteng, Reo, Labuan, Mborong, etc.

● 437 There is some barter, but most transactions are carried on using cash. Before the Dutch came in there was no money here and the people had to barter.

286 784 Note and very important: There is a taboo on weaving all over Manggarai, except in the north-east quarter. The assistant can mark the border of weaving precisely. The only exception is Todo and Pongkor, where there is no taboo and there is a bit of weaving. I asked if it is a taboo or just a lack of knowledge of how to weave. He said both, but that it is definitely a taboo. If they weave, the crops will fail, and illness will spread across the land. There have been a few attempts to introduce weaving, and the crops have proven to turn bad. It has nothing to do with the totem. He says it is not tjek'i at all, but merely ireng, which means taboo. This is a puzzler, and is amazing.

871 In 1912 three 3-grade schools were opened in Manggarai: in Ruteng, in Reo, and in Labuan. In 1924, a five-grade school was opened in Ruteng. There were about forty schools in all Manggarai before the war, but only one went as far as fifth grade (the one in Ruteng). This is what the Dutch did between 1924 and 1942! There are now about sixty schools in Manggarai. The school in Tjantjar opened in 1947. It serves nine kampongs: Tjantjar, Veol, Ndung, Rai, Puruk, Sampar, Nggarang, Meler, and Tjara. The farthest kampong is Sampar, which is three kilometers walk away.

There is a fourth grade here too, serving all of Rahong. The children come from far away.

! [See bibliography, category 113.--Analysi]

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349 set on the rafters a similar chest with bones of
766 the old ancestor of the Odja suku. I was told
769 that this has been there for hundreds of years,
614 but then it was reckoned that it had been there
621 for at least seven generations. It too was covered with ikat clothing. There was no drum in this one. They said that when the ancestor suku feast is held, hundreds of people gather here and buffaloes are killed, as was true in the other place. All around are many other stone cist tombs, all graves of descendants of the big
342 Odja. There are some high houses here, but most of them are lower in construction.

286 In Padjambu we saw many women spinning and weaving. One girl was pressing cotton fluff on a primitive wooden wringer arrangement in order to flatten it before spinning. It looked just like an old-fashioned clothes wringer. We saw an old woman preparing the loom threads in the first stage of ikat work. The white threads were wrapped with fiber windings. We saw several ikat sarongs, all of which were heavy and dull in
[435] color. The kapitan said that I could buy one for
[181] fl. 150.00 and another for fl. 250.00. This again shows the grasping character of these folk.

123 I forgot to say that the kapitan wants to go to Larantuka with us. I refused to let him go along. Also, at the Odja ancestral bone bundle tower an old mother said we had to leave an offering. We left some cigarettes. Perhaps they wanted money.

286 These ikat things are all over. I don't like
386 them very much, but they are genuine. The cotton
531 is grown locally and is pressed and spun. The dyes are blue and black and are made from indigo leaves. The ikat work is done with ties of fiber.
[438] Indeed, the only trade material used here is the red dye they buy in the stores. They also weave regular cloth, but the colors are always dull. The designs are small and indecisive.

632 told me that his mother is from this area, and
later I had her kampong pointed out (Lewoleda).
It is the twin kampong of Watuwiti. As we
passed every kampong the children came out in
droves shouting greetings and then running after
and hanging on the rear of the jeep, just as
Vatter[1] described them almost twenty years ago.
[178] Indeed, many things of his are still the same,
but some are different, for example, Catholicism
has finally destroyed the nubanara, nama, and
the korke of Leloba.

At Wailolong we went off on a new side road
346 to Leloba, and the road ended at the kampong,
797 barred by a fence. As we were talking here, a
583 priest, Krol, came up on his motorcycle and in-
●438 vited us to his hut. He is temporarily here
because the church and pastorie in Riangkamië
was burned two months ago. The people there
caused the fire by burning the hills on the wind-
ward side, and the kampong elders voted to give
a percentage of the bride prices for quite a
long while in order that they might have the new
church. This will be paid in elephant tusks,
[435] which the mission will sell for cash to the
Mohammedan traders (eight tusks of varying
lengths will sell for about fl. 2000.00, and the
priest knew the exact price). The Mohammedan
traders will then resell the tusks to the people
in Larantuka who need them to pay a bride price.
They will probably sell them in the Tandjung
Bunga (Cape Flores area).

797 The priest told how the Catholics work here.
197 They try to keep as much of the old culture as
177 possible. For example, he and others are learn-
ing all about the Solor language, which is the
local language here, so that they can make
prayers in it. They also make prayers in the
797 old style, as though praying to Lerawulan. They
177 use native songs with words in the native lan-
553 guage and in the native style, too. He, musical,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

764 with upright stone. They are built by indi-
211 viduals to commemorate their own name. There
[554] is great vanity here in keeping one's name
alive after death. Thus the ngadu builder
gets his name on the ngadu too. There are no
offerings, however, at these rest places.

The Nageh in Soa kill animals with spears
231 as they are released (probably a hunting sur-
411 vival). Perhaps this is related to Toradja
spearing?

Larantuka: We left Ende on Friday, January
556 6, and after ten and a half hours we got to
237 Larantuka. There we met a young Chinese trader
177 who was born in Lomblem and whose father has a
438 toko there. They are now in Surabaja, but he
comes through Flores and the islands to buy
stuff each year. He is now buying kemiri nuts.
He told me a lot about Lomblem. He said that
there are thousands of tusks in Lomblem alone.
And he said that Maumere, which is relatively
rich in various products, is cornering a large
part of the tusks of Flores. In other places,
for example, in Larantuka, there are fewer
tusks now, and people are beginning to pay
money instead. The Maumere folk, he said,
think nothing of money. The real wealth and
goal of all striving is tied up in the tusks.
He said that the Chinese brought the tusks in
originally and told the radjas here that they
were the teeth of the naga (which was important
locally before that). The radjas paid dearly
for them, and soon all the folk here wanted
them. Hence, thousands were imported by the
Chinese. It may have been the same situation
as that which obtains with the mokko in the
Alor area. They too may well be from China.

This Chinese said that in Lomblem the folk
511 want very little. They work a little, just
461 enough to get the corn going, and then drink
185 enough gin to go to sleep. When drunk they
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511 sing a little and then go to sleep. The only
461 time they work hard, and this consists of
185 bringing in coconuts and other stuff to the
[273] Chinese, is when they want to get clothes for
feasts and when they have to pay taxes. Their
only thorn is taxation. Without taxes they
would be completely happy. I heard later, in
237 regard to the tusks, that there are very few
●438 in Wailolong, perhaps only ten. However, they
556 circulate and keep the system going. The as-
sistant said that many have been sold because
the people need money so badly. Many were sold
to the people in Tandjung Bunga.

We When we went to Wailolong we met the assis-
614 tant on the section of Wailolong which is on
241 the side road near Leloba. He was there getting
796 census material. We went off there and at-
231 tended a rite of the Leworita suku, or rather
one of the ama of the suku. It was the rite
for the beginning of the agricultural season.
The big kampong rite was held first, and here
it was held on Christmas. Then, each suku has
a similar rite, and then again each ama. They
are just now getting around to the ama rites.
[343] In this section there are two kebang (lumbung
or barns) adat, i.e. suku or ama barns. The
big kepala barn is that of the Number One suku
(here Ama Dotang [usually Ama Kottang] which is
near the main korke). The two suku represented
here are Lewodoreng and Leworita. This rite
was held under the adat barn of Leworita (where
jaws of sacrificed pigs hang), but the land is
owned by Lewodoreng. This is why the men who
played the roles of Kottang and Kelen (head
and feet) were not from Leworita but from
Lewodoreng.

The old pagans (some were not so old) did
the rites, but the Christians stood all around,
and they ate what they could get later, probably.
A small pig was brought in and then the prepa-

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582 in other areas, or working in the gardens lo-
476 cated in another kampong. Here again, it is a
602 matter of marriage. Indeed, only if marriage
621 gives a person some sort of privilege to work in the other kampong does one usually engage himself in such work.

632 Relations between districts have not changed
582 much in recent years. If there are marriages
602 between the districts involved, the same situation obtains as between the kampongs just described. Similar situations are those involving different tribes. Bonds are formed if there are marriage links; if there are no such
●[498] links there are no bonds. Trade is so small a factor that it is unimportant in intercommunity relations.

186 The people here love their own kampong and
621 feel that they are lost when they are outside.
166 Figuratively and literally, they have no place in another kampong. They can see good in another kampong, however, and if they go elsewhere and return they tell about the good things there and may even adopt them themselves. Only the young people, and few of them, want to get out and see other places. Once they are married they never leave.

609 They say that if they leave their own kampong for another they become outsiders. They are then nipatale (beyond the fence). The other term used in suku terminology for outsiders is rere. It means "low." The opposite term, which also occurs among the suku, is belolong ("high").

578 All seven kampongs have been enemies of Riang
621 Kamië. The seven have remained about the same
614 in relationship to each other, but tales tell a
173 bit about the ranking among them. Riang Kamië was formed by a union of several kampongs which were separate formerly. These united into one kampong in defense against the Bai Pitu (seven

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000 children. It is remarkable that there is so
858 much freedom exhibited by the children all over here. They do as they please evidently.

463 Nearly everyone is a farmer here, but to
212 be kepala kampong, kapitan, secretary, or
622 the like, an individual must be literate. There are, however, illiterate kepala kampongs, but they must use a literate mandur to help them with the work. There are no openings for clerical people or the like.

[874] The only seminary here is for priests, and
787 as yet there are no students there from here.
[754] The bisa mari (sorcerers) are not trained. They get their call in dreams. They are about
[756] equally male and female. The dukun also get
[844] their call in dreams. However, the ones who are midwives learn from mothers.

463 There are no specialists at all. The local
● 438 population must buy even its ironwork elsewhere.
335 They do not even have carpenters here. Anyone can build a house. This place exhibits a very low level in all such things except weaving. They now learn music in school.

873 Many children who are clever and would like to advance in school cannot do this as it costs Rp 10.00 per month for a higher education. There is plenty of heartache here. Perhaps there is not so very much yet, actually.

212 Fifty years ago no one could read or write, not even in the Ende script.

897 One hundred per cent of the people here speak Ende, including the foreigners from Savu and the Chinese. The latter did not speak Ende when they came in, but after a year they could.

Only about one hundred can speak Malay. No one speaks Dutch. The children are starting to learn a bit of Dutch in school now, but this is evidently only in the higher school.

There are no other languages spoken, except of course, Chinese and Savu. They say that they

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754 the way to Ndona. She has a second sight, and
756 uses stones to divine. She gets her cures
[787] from dreams. I asked whether she had familiars in dreams, but got no satisfactory reply. But now I can at least proceed with further queries regarding the bisa mari, having an actual case in mind. She can save a woman whose child dies inside her. She is a rather handsome old lady, well preserved, with piercing eyes. She looks clean (smells like disinfectant soap, as she just came from the hospital). I note that she, a doctor herself, went
[958] to the hospital. When I went to the hospital this morning, great crowds were waiting. They have all taken to it, but there is no hope of proper care, as there are so many patients and so few doctors.

There has been a small increase in the sale
● 438 of merchandise in order to get cash to buy other items. It has not been a very great
[435] change. The produce sold includes coconut, coconut oil (a few bottles, self made, sell at fl. 0.50), vegetables, bananas, betel leaves, and areca nuts. All are very small items. Coconut seems to be the main thing. All of this is sold in the town of Ende, if at all.

With the money they obtain they buy oil,
[443] soap, salt, tobacco, and even a bit of meat and other food in the toko or warong. They also buy dry fish. The toko buys its supplies in Ende.

I asked about the cloth situation. This is
249 a poor case now as everyone is short and the
433 distribution of cloth by the government has not been too effective. This is a remarkable case. For many years formerly the people here had discontinued planting cotton. Then, when the Japanese came, they started up again and have done so since. Each family plants a little. The yield is not so good, but it could be, the assistant says.

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000 be, the assistant says. Some cotton fluff is
438 sold in the pasar. Thread, however, is not
283 usually bought any more. It is rare and expensive. Thus the wheels and even the hand spindles are busy everywhere.

443 In addition to the market places mentioned before, there is another market in the cycle here. It occurs on the seventh day left out in the arrangement described before (or rather, on the sixth, as there is no market on Sunday), and this is on Thursday, I think. It is at Magekoba, on the way back from Wolowaru, and in the hills above kilometer 33.

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361 hills and down to the coast. This caused much
[648] malaria and misery all over Indonesia. And after many years, the Dutch let them move up higher again, having stopped the spirit of revolt. (One can find this very expression in the reports.)

Five families from Wailolong have moved into Balela, a kampong inside the town of Larantuka (note that several Leloba families have moved there too). Balela is a little uphill, and perhaps this is the reason for the movement. I also think that it may have some relations with the "behind the mountain" area. Anyway, of these five families, only one has moved back to Wailolong. They simply do not move very much.

443 No one, but no one, has moved into the kam-
● 438 pong, except for women marrying in (and the
[166] two gurus). There are no toko or shops in Wailolong. They do not even have warong here. The women come from the beach area to sell and buy a few things (e.g., to buy arak, and to sell fish). These women come from such places as Waibalun, Larantuka, etc. But there is not much trade.

484 Everyone here has seen at least some other kampong, if only a nearby one. There are some old people who have never seen Larantuka town, or at least that is what he thinks.

167 Only two people that he knows have left Wailolong to work in some other place. One of them at least went to Borneo. As yet they have not returned.

697 Roy said that all who have been to jail have
648 seen Larantuka town. This is one way to see the world. There is real bitterness here about the jail business, and I hear it cropping up
648 constantly. The Dutch really ruled here with an iron hand, especially Seegeler, they say, whose report I got from Twerda. He was the

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648 controleur around 1931, when the radja also was an unfit person.

167 I was surprised when he said that just about all the young men here would like to leave and see the world. But they have almost no chance. If they did have such an opportunity, there would be a great exodus here.

721 152 The only great fear in the old days was warfare, and this is an intermittent danger today also. Thus, Leloba was at war with Waibalun last month, and it is feared even to walk near there. He admits that there was some fear of bad spirits formerly, but this was relatively not so bad. Still, my guess is that there are few people who are brave enough to go and sleep in other places.

20 The kakang has a telephone in his office. The only telegraph here is in Larantuka. There is no postal service. Letters must be gotten at the Larantuka Post Office. There is no radio here, and hardly anyone has ever heard one.

The mandur of the kakang transmits important orders from the administration. Rumor is very important as a means of communication, but there is practically no other means here.

The few who receive or read the mission newspaper are asked about what is in the paper. Bulletins are never posted. They see them only in Larantuka town.

443 438 There are a few women who come here to buy and sell some items. The small market at Okka crossroad on the beach is held once a week, on Tuesday, in the afternoon and until Wednesday. There used to be another market on the beach at Delang.

However, there is no market system here. Roy says they simply have too little surplus to sell, and nearly nothing to buy with. In Adonara, which is richer, there is a regular pasar ring system.

Wa

There are about ten
326 smiths (are they full time? I doubt it).

241 As before, rice and corn are the staple
177 crops. There has been practically no change except for the introduction of new kinds of bananas, peanuts, and a few vegetables, in
[433] the diet. The local community is still almost one hundred per cent self sufficient.
283 They even make their own thread from their own cotton, although they may buy some thread today.

178 There has been practically no change at all since Vatter's book was written. In Wailolong they still have a tuno wudjo.

[352] Fifty years ago there were no tables or chairs, and there are only a few now. There
291 has been a little change in regard to cloth-
178 ing, especially in that a few men now wear shirts. And a few men also have shoes; there were none before.

A few women wear European dresses; no one wore such dress formerly. They could not sew at all fifty years ago, and there is still not a single sewing machine in Wailolong.

438 A few of the women sell some vegetables and some arak. They buy small quantities of thread, salt, hairpins, soap, medicine, and tobacco. The mountain people sell some of their forest products.

443 There has been no change at all in the mar-
178 ket system here except for the disappearance
437 of the Delang pasar. This was mostly or entirely a barter pasar. Cash is used at the Okka pasar. Up until seven years ago the Delang pasar was still used. There are no toko or warong here.

483 Very few people have ever ridden in a car here. Roy guesses that at the very most one per cent of the population has had such an experience.

423 The kinds of property in terms of land here are the following: kampong (which is "owned"
[See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

We

000 that is all.

166 There are no rites for ordinary folk who
609 just enter the kampong. In the old days, how-
567 ever, when new slaves came in they had to have
614 rites in order to tell the ancestors that they
769 were new members of the clan. This pretty well clinches the slave entering va'u matter. They just do. This is why the former slaves are members of the clans. Only those on the inside know who is who. The longer the time gets from slavery days the more it is not brought up.

563 The only Europeans here are the pastors.
443 The traders are Chinese and Arabs and natives.
793 The business of the occasional Chinese pedlar with his coolie is quite usual here. They stay usually for only a few hours.

The pastors tell stories to the local people about Europe, etc. The Chinese who are regular
[203] pedlars have been in Manggarai for a long time, and they spread some news.

484 In these local kampongs everyone has been to another kampong. The women go outside their own kampong less often and do not go so far
[438] away as the men. Men go out to trade horses, buy tobacco, etc. During the Japanese occupation they ranged far in order to buy cloth, etc. However, all of this was within Manggarai. All have been to Ruteng.

All have been outside Rahong, as they have been to Ruteng. At least fifty per cent of the local population have never seen the sea. One person has gone to Ende, and two have gone
[167] to Kupang as soldiers. One went to Makassar to work. The Japanese took several to Riung to work, but most of the people have never left Manggarai. No one from here has ever left Indonesia. In all Manggarai, the assistant thinks only one person has ever left Flores. He is a pastor, I think.

We

484 In the Japanese time trips were made to
166 seek cloth, etc., but now this is done to a lesser degree, and the people never leave Manggarai although there is quite a bit of movement
[438] within the area. The people who do this moving are the men who buy and sell horses, tobacco, etc. If they are away for long or at some distance, there is a feast when they return. The four who have left the area have not yet returned. When they do there will be a great gathering to hear their experiences. The assistant has seen this happen in Pau. Formerly there were no relations really with even nearby places like Tjumbi, except for marriages, and if they went to war in the dalu's army, or had internal wars, (which were rare). Nowadays there are many more relations within Manggarai.
[621] In the rituals the only environs mentioned are the environs of the kampong. This comprises the ritual world and the social world of yore.

484 Today they travel more than they did before,
178 but still they do not go very far. Formerly
492 any outsider was fair game for robbery and
166 murder. Thus they were afraid to go afar.
[609] There is little in the way of transportation here. Also, the kampong is a bit too far from Ruteng to make regular trips back and forth easy. However, the horses make Manggarai people greater travelers than, for example, the inhabitants of Larantuka. Every household has
[422] at least one to two horses. They are a big thing here, and now I see why I got the impression at once that there is more internal movement here than in most of the Flores areas. It is the horses. The people are fine riders, and the horses, although small, are fast and
[562] spirited. Women used to mount carefully and the horse on which they rode was led. Now they jump on and gallop off (still, I don't see many women riding horses).

We

326 do not know how to do it.
178 Formerly there was no gold or silver work here. Today there is some. However, it was in Todo-Pongkor for a long time. Only a few people have learned this trade recently. The
[656] Dutch forbade any metal work in any kampongs because it resulted in metal theft (what fools!).
262 There have been very few changes if any in the local diet. There is a little flour, tinned milk, etc. today. However, these things exist in very small amounts. The local people eat almost entirely their own food. The staple foods here are corn and rice, of about equal importance. In most of Manggarai, corn is more important (remember that the pastor said there was more rice now, but as a result of the wet irrigated rice fields there are more mosquitoes and more malaria). Meals are
[264] served three times a day. The people eat vegetables but almost no fruit. Meat is generally reserved for feasts, and this applies even for fowl. They may cut a fowl if there is a guest, but pigs and the like are reserved for feasts. There is no longer much hunting
[224] at all. There is some bird snaring. A lot of
[223] dry fish from the coast is eaten. This they have to buy. There are almost no river fish. The use of milk is new. Cheese and butter are said to make people sick. However, they eat all kinds of animals if they can get them, including cats, pythons, dogs, horses, etc.

The situation regarding food is much better today than it was. There are now many gardens, whereas formerly there were few. Today they
[438] must buy salt, tobacco, fish, betel ingredi-
[435] ents, and in particular, cloth. (This is dear; an ordinary sarong costs fl. 60.00 now.)
241 Irrigated rice fields and terracing tech-
178 niques came in only twenty years ago. Farming tools have been introduced. The buffalo and

Wa

592 The oldest man is the head of the house, and his eldest son succeeds him. This is invariable. The eldest woman is the manager (nu'a luka rumah tangga). The eldest son's wife succeeds her.

783 673 It is interesting to note that both adat sins and church sins are kept track of.

509 We left Larantuka on Tuesday, January 9, and stopped that night in Maumere, so that Kattenburg can get his plane to Makassar on Wednesday.

286 On Wednesday I went on to Ende, and this took six hours, because I went to Sikka (didn't quite get there because the road had been torn up, although I did see Lela, which is near it). Sikka is really isolated, and the road leading there is poor. I noticed all along the road that there were women under or beside the houses weaving. This is true all over Flores. I noticed the drying of threads after dyeing, the looms, the wheels, the piles of cotton, etc. I note the same thing in Roworeke, Wailolong, Leloba, and everywhere.

634 661 439 789 769 I heard much about the radjas' shady business practices (led by the Radja of Sikka, but Larantuka is in on it too) in regard to the surplus distribution sold in Makassar and the copra smuggled into Singapore, etc. The Chinese are in on the deal. Some day these radjas will be out, and this will be better for everyone. I talked with Arriens[1] about them and he was doubtful that they have much magic power here, but I think there is quite a bit. It is perhaps not so directly electrical as in Celebes, but the respect hangs heavy, and they are the apex of the whole ancestor cult. This is true of Larantuka, and I suspect it is true of the other areas.

632 634 Arriens said there has been much trouble in Tana Ai, because they want their own kapitan, but Sikka evidently has his own ideas. Until

[1] [i.e., Controleur at Ende -- Analyst]

We

304 say of such people that they "grew up in school."
178 This is still preserved by almost all others.
562 It must be done before marriage. Thus, the
881 kraeng did not have his teeth filed until he was twenty-five years old, just before marriage. Usually the teeth filing takes place much earlier, especially for the girls, who have theirs filed at about fourteen years. Formerly they filed the teeth down to the gums of both upper and lower teeth. Many of the people here still do this (I saw one young girl with only stumps left for teeth). The ordinary people do the filing. They used a stone before, but now they use an iron file. (I note that these people take to new tools very fast. They use all sorts at once. This means that there are no taboos on new techniques, and this should help.) Nowadays most people merely file their teeth even. And there is no feast.

There never was any cutting here.

439 Imports here include cloth, salt, tobacco and fish. Exports include stock, rattan and a few other wild products. There was not much business of this sort and never was. There are no markets. Formerly there was no money. Now it is plentiful. Formerly barter was the
436 only means of trade. Note: in 1942 the Dutch called in all silver and gave out only paper money. The Japanese thus easily took all the silver (the Dutch were invariably mistaken).

493 There are no cars here. There are three people in all Manggarai who could drive a car. None of these is here.

There is very little traveling done by car. The only autos are those of the traders (Chinese) and the government. Fifty per cent of the population have never ridden in an automobile.

178 The main change here is that formerly no out-
425 sider could buy land in the kampong. Now an

000 bands under their knees formerly.

R Roworeke: On the next day we saw some pro-
582 gress made in making out the census. There are a couple of cases of endogamy, but they are seven "layers" distant.

I asked about the oro pesangga, which Such-
782 telen says are offering posts set before each
346 house in Ende. They said that oro is merely a more polite word for ata, man. And pesangga means merely to stab. Thus it means only a man who stabs, i.e. the one who does the sacrifice. This is very unclear. I got no further with it. Perhaps it is only in the mountains.

The central offering post, tubu musu, mentioned by Suchtelen, is found in Roworeke Asal. I must see it. Suku Gusa has one in Wolowaru,
[361] the deserted kampong lama above here. There the original settlers were Odja and the Gusa folk came in later. Then they both moved down to the present Roworeke.

The Ende folk who live in the border areas
166 of Ndetu and Tana Ri are papalele, i.e., people
361 who have no land generally but who buy and sell.
[441] They have mere huts to live in, and they come for awhile and then leave. However, many of them have been in their huts for four to five years, so all of them will be entered in the census. They are not full members of the kampong, and indeed are regarded as mere "people who have arrived."

632 The list of gemeente in Ende is as follows (and the proper spelling is Rewarangga):

1. Nggobe (town and inland).
2. Rodja (town and peninsula).
3. Rewarangga (five to eight kilometers).
4. Pulo Ende (island).
5. Rukuramba (km. 8 on the way to Badjawa).
6. Berai (km. 6 on the way to Badjawa).
7. Numba (km. 18 on the way to Badjawa).

[See p. 133 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

361 jagged mountains rising all around the town.
[133] There are also two amazing, high, flat topped volcanic peaks. One is called Gunung Medja. The town stretches along the shore, with plenty of red and yellow flowering trees. There is a large impressive alun-alun [field, plaza] going down to the beach in the center. Behind this are a number of good houses. On the east side is the market and on the west side are good
[342] houses too. The houses are well constructed and there was evidently not much bombing here.
[346] As usual, the high church is but a shell, as it was bombed, this time by the Australians.

485 I found that the town of Ende has practically nothing. There was no running water in the pasanggrahan except for a trickle in the morning.
[377] Electricity is weak and tends to break down.
443 The toko have very little in the way of merchandise. It is impossible to buy beer because the stores are out of it. The cigarettes from the distributie have all been used up and one now has to buy such items on the black market.
495 There is no gas pump, and I have to get gas at the V & W, which pours it out dirty from the tin. Because of this I have had trouble with the jeep for the first time. This is a real end-of-the-world-like place, although the appearance is
[132] rather nice. It is also extremely hot and humid, in fact it is the worst I have experienced yet. At midday it is like taking a Turkish bath here.

485 As usual, the pasanggrahan is not arranged for people who work or read. This is the Indonesian style.

634 The town of Ende is the only main town in the state. There is another state in the mountains, Lio, with a radja at Wolowaru. Then to the east is Sikka, with a radja, and east of that Larantuka, also with a radja. To the west of here is the Radja of Nageh Keo, and to the west of that the Radja of Ngada, at the capital

302 Kattenburg in a mountain kampong reported that he had seen a girl wearing lipstick. It was betel stain to which he is not used.

487 We left Ende for Larantuka on Tuesday, December 20, and after a long run through the mountains we reached Maumeri at noon. Then we went on an even harder run to Larantuka. This took all afternoon. The rain in the hills was bad. We passed through Tanai Ai and Lewotobi areas without knowing it. The land was very empty. I suddenly found that I was in Konga.

[485] Larantuka is the end of the world, and the pasanggrahan there was pretty primitive.

[443] It is hard to buy anything here in Larantuka. [377] There is no electricity except in the mission, 797 and the latter runs the town and everything else of a western nature evidently. The place has an air of having been asleep for a long time. Behind it is the Ili Mandiri, the storied mountain of the ancestors of the Larantuka people. The 144 town is a mixture of natives and descendants of intermixed Portuguese as well as Malays from Malaya who came in a long time ago with the Portuguese. One can see all sorts of physical types. Outside the town along the coast is a 361 Mohammedan kampong, Kampong Baru, but there are few Mohammedans elsewhere. Most kampongs are behind the mountain. There are also a few on the way to Lewotobi.

632 361 The next day we started out to see the area behind the mountain, especially Leloba, where Vatter[1] worked. We passed through several kampongs of rather large but shabby look. This was especially true of Mudakaputu (seat of kakang of Mudakaputu formerly, although he is now at one of the other places, in Riangkamiß, I think), Watuwiti, Riangkamiß, and Wailolong. These are all together in one kakangschap (called gemeente here too by the people, and it is also one adat 632 area). This is the Blakang-Gunung. The Radja

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

609 We
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
497 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has
[778] magical power, but we didn't get into the full story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

311 cover for agriculture too, and this causes a
241 great, economic problem.

114 He[1] said that much of Arndt's[2] and other scho-
124 lars' findings were wrong as they use Christian
159 gurus as assistants, and the latter do not tell
634 them exactly what the old men say. The young assistants "doctor up" the information. They also misunderstand some of the old ideologies. This was one of many implications in his talk that showed he was not uncritical of the Christians. He has been radja longer than any other in Flores, thirty-one years and seven months. In his youth he was a Dutch army man too. He says that there was no road built when he was first made radja but the mission was already there. He also says that he is the most important radja in West Flores, although all of the royal families here are interrelated. He says he represents the older sibling branch, and Nageh and Manggarai radjas are the younger sibling branches. It is true that the Manggarai radjadom dates only from 1929, and before this there were only dalu, three of whom were most powerful.

194 The Radja speaks Malay with remarkable gutteral sounds which Arndt[2] says are characteristic of Ngada folk. They also have at least one implosive, as in bhaga. He has his house in the kampong Radja, not far from the town.

961 The town is notably modern in appearance, with
797 the mission influence as usual. In the center there is a large plaza where the football field
[485] is located, as usual. The pasanggrahan is a
622 good one, and the mandur looks like a nickel-
634 head Indian. He was in the army once too and served in Sumatra, especially in Atjeh. He is evidently a friend of the Radja, as he enters
[565] and talks with him freely. The Radja mixes
1143 freely with the people here, as we noted at the pasar malam. The latter, to which we went at

[1] [i.e., the Radja of Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

443 night, was pitiful. There were six gambling
[525] tables in the pasar shed,[1] and that was all.
The Radja tried to get some dancers, but the
women had left for the kampong.

525 The priest, Mommersteeg, said that they all
gamble and that there is plenty of money used
here, although there are also many one sen
stakes. We went to bed in the terrible cold.

In the morning we went to Todabelu with Mom-
114 mersteeg to meet Arndt.[2] We had met the latter
on the day before along the road. We saw an
old bearded man with a rain cape and umbrella
on a horse and asked if he knew where Arndt
was. He said that he was Arndt and that he had
ridden seven and one-half hours from Magilewa
near the south coast where he had gone for
Christmas. His parish is not there but on the
road to Boawai, off to one side. He was a
notable figure on the horse. We talked with
him about Ngada.

Arndt[2] says that there are no tribal units
614 called isi as van Staveren says.[2] There are
173 merely clans called voi. Then, inside these
611 units are bhou, or subclans. The big ancestor
was Djawa, who had seven sons and seven daughters.
The seven sons drop out, but the seven daughters
became the ancestral mothers of seven of the
great voi of Ngada, one of which is Ngada, and
this is the name of the ancestress. There are
a lot of other voi here too, each with a female
ancestor. I asked who the seven daughters
married, and he said this is unclear, but evi-
dently there were men on earth when the seven
were born. Thus it looks like an immigration
and intermarriage with aborigines. The bhou
614 have ancestral fathers, and thus they have a
611 system where the clans look a bit matrilineal
583 and the subclans a bit matrilineal, but the
whole descent is patrilineal unless there is no
bride price paid, when ambil anak occurs. Also,

[1] [i.e., at the night market --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

[124] arrived after dark. We saw a very clear change
144 in physical type.[1] The Manggarai are clearly proto-Malay with a fair amount of Mongoloid blood in them.

[311] We went down to the coast through the empty
361 land, being burned off in large part, to Aimere.
342 Then we went across the wild and jungled peninsula to Mborong. We picked up a small girl from the hospital in Mborong who was going to school in the mountains. She got sick on the way. Then, up in the empty hills again, we saw a tree house on the way. Underneath it were some Mongoloid looking men and they said they were iron workers who were working on a bridge. They sleep in the tree house, which they built
[137] against mosquitoes which are bad here. They were from Ruteng. Later we heard that they have been here for years, "working" on a bridge.

[132] We ran into a terrible fog as we went up and up toward Ruteng. In the evening we attended
[143] the pasar malam, and there in addition to the
[525] gambling was a play with a story about how in-
536 dependence means decency and not rowdiness.
177 It was full of Catholic influence. Between the
533 acts there were instances of poor singing and dancing by a little girl who sang and stepped around and by some sillily dressed boys who went through marching motions to almost inaudible
[534] singing. The orchestra consisted of a violin and a ukelele, nothing else. The band consisted of a few horns. A small child held up the music for the trombone player, who didn't use the slide. The play was incredibly bad. Thus they lose the fine old singing and dancing and drama rites and instead of them they now have these imitation things which are bad beyond belief.

The next morning we went to the mission and
793 met several priests, including the rector, van
124 Bekkum,[2] who wrote an article on Manggarai art. He was a bearded fellow and not bad. He said

[1] [i.e., the Manggarai vis-a-vis the Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

484 day at a time. Some people here go to the mountains, but they never go very far. Almost none has ever left the district, and those who have did so seldom and perhaps only once, for example to Nggobe or to another nearby area. Only the
[625] police have been to Ngada or other Flores areas. And there are only two policemen.

[169] There are no soldiers here. No one here has ever left Indonesia.

[443] There are no regular traders in the kampong. One could say that there are no regular trips made to the outside.

Those few who have been outside of Roworeke relate, on their return, that other places are completely different from Roworeke. How true this is! They are not specific, however.

[178] There has been little change in the very non-moving character of the people here. They just know so little that they never think about leaving.

People here who have never seen any other place than Roworeke and Ende, i.e., just the
[162] road to town and back, number about two hundred and fifty, that is about fifty per cent of the population. For example, these people have never seen even Rukuramba. This is especially true of the old people, although all except the children have seen Ende. Trips to Ende are not frequent. This is perhaps the most completely non-moving place I have seen yet.

484 Reasons given for not moving or visiting or
152 traveling outside of this immediate vicinity are
186 that there is too much work in the kampong for people to leave at any time. And formerly, there was a strong fear of war and a general fear of anyplace except home. There was never any reason to leave the area, but if one wanted to there was no objection. Aside from the war danger in former times (especially did Roworeke fight against Nggobe and Rodja), the old folk

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484 are afraid to sleep outside, even today. They
152 fear evil spirits (they say setan) of the out-
186 [176] side. This is a real and vivid fear to them.

Roworeke does not have a telephone, telegraph
20 or radio. Mail is brought by people who happen to go to Ende, and letters are mailed by the same means. A letter is first sent by the Post Office to the office of the Radja. It may take a long time to get here.

There is a gong used for signaling (it is located near the kapitan's house) on the occasions of the death of a noble, a tax meeting, and the like. News is spread fast by rumor, and the gossip here is uncanny. Everyone in the area knew when the kapitan went with us to Kilimutu.

There are no "local authorities" on the news front. The only people who would approach this are the two police. News bulletins from the Information Service are practically never delivered here. Such things simply do not get this far. There are no traders who give news.

There are markets and there is a market sys-
●443 tem. The district markets are located at:

1. Kilometer 14. An empty place, merely. (Friday)
2. Kilometer 24. The same thing. (Saturday)
3. Kilometer 33. In Lio (Monday)
4. Kilometer 52. In Lio. (Tuesday)
5. Kilometer 66. Wolowaru. Lio. (Wednesday?)

Thus there is a circuit, and the Ende traders (papalele) go by truck, day by day, up to the mountains and then down to the start and then over again. Sunday is evidently out (Christian influence, evidently). These traders make little
[563] money as they are mere tools of the Chinese who
[426] lend to them at high rates or merely pay them salaries, or let them buy and sell on a commission basis.

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●443 basis. They obtain products by purchase in the backland and sell them in Ende. They also sell gewgaws which they bring along with them.

186 829 Interest in local, foreign or international news is at a very low level. They insist that nearly everyone here knows just about nothing in regard to anything outside of the kampong. They are even ignorant of Rewarangga.

614 621 They said that originally each kampong consisted of only one suku. Then others moved in. Thus, at one time Wawatonda was the kampong of suku Rewarangga. Then they came down to Worowai. Here today there is a rumah berhala, [764] but it is a mere bone-grave hut, like Odja in Roworeke.

Rabu is now in three kampongs. It was one at some former time. It is ten kilometers from here. This is the place where the original kampong of the Odja suku was located. But they have now lost contact, and indeed, so complete was the move to Roworeke that probably no Odja folk are left in Rabu today.

124 829 The kapitan said an interesting thing when I was pressing him to give information in this regard. He said that only since I came here had he learned very much about the culture and the past of Rewarangga.

778 614 346 764 These rumah berhala, with images and a real house, or merely with the grave-bone shrines, are suku shrines. There are four real rumah berhala houses in Rewarangga. These are as large as a real old style high roofed house, [753] and in them there are images (ana deo) and per- [782] haps bone bundles too. These run as follows: (and anyone who visits them and looks into them must leave an offering, for example, money or cigarettes, etc.; otherwise he may get sick):

1. Volofeo has a real house and in it there are four ana deo, wooden images. There are no bones. This house was used by all four suku

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621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are
still formed partly of suku or suku sections
coming in and joining the old settlers from
the negri lama.

●443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series
as in Celebes. These wheels run in different
directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru,
and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The
traders follow the pasar week from market to
market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kam-
583 pongs, although there is gift exchange in
562 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male"
things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a
woman gives in return "female" things (cloth,
mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere,
and said that many had drowned there recently.
The water is deep, he said, and there lives a
"head" of a human being. It is still living
and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has
seen it several times, in daylight. It moves
around as though on short legs. It is just a
human head, with hair. They don't know what
it is or where it came from. However, the
people are now scared to bathe here. The vic-
tims have been sucked under. He asked me my
opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
[123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith,
because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu
if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere.
They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head
alone").

622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

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173 can be used in war, as magic, and thus perhaps
621 Mado was the war sorcerer who perhaps did the
565 magic stuff which in the last analysis scared
789 the damned Padji away. This kind of medicine is called breni.

173 I asked if all the children and other people here know this story, and he said yes. It is evidently the main legend. He said that they do not know it perfectly, but the main facts and events are clear and everyone knows the story.

There is a market place at Okka crossroads
443 every Wednesday. There used to be another on the beach on the way to Larantuka (where the Padji once lived) at Delang, but it is no longer there. It was held on Friday. There is a market place in Larantuka town, and the market is held there every day. However, there is no market week system. He knows of one in Adonara. He says it is no use to hold elaborate markets because they have no surpluses to sell.

583 The only exchange here is that connected
614 with marriage. The woman-giving suku gives fish to the woman-receiving suku, and the latter gives fowl to the former. If these suku are in different kampongs, there is the exchange, but it is a matter of suku and not kampongs. And again it shows how marriage is the basis of the whole organization.

829 As a result of the last World War the hori-
[178] zons in terms of the world at large were somewhat extended. For the first time, the people here heard of Japan, the United States and other countries. This was much the same thing that took place all over Indonesia. Fifty years ago no one here knew about such countries. As for other places in Indonesia, all they knew fifty years ago was Sina Djawa, to the west. Since the war they have learned at least the names of a few other islands. This is really epochal on

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Little meat is

262 eaten, and this is done only during feasts. There are some eggs. They do not eat much fish, because they must purchase them. They do buy some food from the local store (never any canned food, because this is too expensive), for example, rice and salt. They do not grow [249] any tobacco.

434 To get the small amount of money they need to buy in the toko, they sell coconuts and anything else they may have, which is usually quite little. Fl. 5.00 in cash is a lot of money for a man here.

264 The people here eat three times a day, a little in the morning, and equally heavy noon and evening meals.

262 574 They like dog meat and also horse meat, but these, like pig and goat, are only eaten at the time of a feast. They say that the main feasts are funeral ones. They also say that the people here have no decided preference and will gladly eat any kind of meat. They [266] say they have no memory of cannibalism except for the eating of the hearts of enemies for 224 bravery in warfare. They rarely hunt. If they 262 do they use a bow and are lucky to get monkeys 624 or pigs. There are no deer here. There is a clear case for meat hunger here, and the only material gain of being a mosa laki is that you [465] are always given a piece of meat when an animal [171] is killed. This is like the Toradja pattern, and shows how much of a luxury meat really is. It is the "government man's salary."

436 178 443 Formerly there was no money and there were no toko. Of course there may have been a few gold pieces, but they were really sacred objects. Today they have little cash.

243 177 788 The irrigated rice fields started three years ago and were instigated by Hadji Akbar of Watu Roga. He went to Mecca and saw the many sawah in Bima, Java, and elsewhere. When

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754 the way to Ndona. She has a second sight, and
756 uses stones to divine. She gets her cures
[787] from dreams. I asked whether she had familiars in dreams, but got no satisfactory reply. But now I can at least proceed with further queries regarding the bisa mari, having an actual case in mind. She can save a woman whose child dies inside her. She is a rather handsome old lady, well preserved, with piercing eyes. She looks clean (smells like disinfectant soap, as she just came from the hospital). I note that she, a doctor herself, went
[758] to the hospital. When I went to the hospital this morning, great crowds were waiting. They have all taken to it, but there is no hope of proper care, as there are so many patients and so few doctors.

438 There has been a small increase in the sale of merchandise in order to get cash to buy other items. It has not been a very great
[435] change. The produce sold includes coconut, coconut oil (a few bottles, self made, sell at fl. 0.50), vegetables, bananas, betel leaves, and areca nuts. All are very small items. Coconut seems to be the main thing. All of this is sold in the town of Ende, if at all.

With the money they obtain they buy oil,
[443] soap, salt, tobacco, and even a bit of meat and other food in the toko or warong. They also buy dry fish. The toko buys its supplies in Ende.

249 I asked about the cloth situation. This is
433 a poor case now as everyone is short and the distribution of cloth by the government has not been too effective. This is a remarkable case. For many years formerly the people here had discontinued planting cotton. Then, when the Japanese came, they started up again and have done so since. Each family plants a little. The yield is not so good, but it could be, the assistant says.

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000 be, the assistant says. Some cotton fluff is
438 sold in the pasar. Thread, however, is not
283 usually bought any more. It is rare and expensive. Thus the wheels and even the hand spindles are busy everywhere.

443 In addition to the market places mentioned before, there is another market in the cycle here. It occurs on the seventh day left out in the arrangement described before (or rather, on the sixth, as there is no market on Sunday), and this is on Thursday, I think. It is at Magekoba, on the way back from Wolowaru, and in the hills above kilometer 33.

[178] The whole market business is new, starting during the last war only. Formerly they did not have a single pasar.

436 Before the Dutch came there was no money
177 except the Portuguese dinar, which was in gold
[301] of various denominations. The assistant has heard of most of these only, as all of them have long since been melted down for ornaments. He remembers that the one like a silver rupiah was worth about fl. 12.50, and the ringgit sized one was worth fl. 25.00. There were also bigger coins and others which were smaller. There were also lead Portuguese coins, with holes in them like a gobang [a two and a half sen piece]. These too have disappeared because they were melted down to mix with gold to make an alloy.

436 I note that these people stare and stare at
727 my watch and watch band, and probably this is one thing (gold) which they might steal, as it is irresistible. I note that the women still
[301] have gold decorations. Thus the assistant's wife has a pretty good bracelet. There were big troubles when the NICA came in and the people had only Japanese money. Thousands of rupiah were lost in those times. There are just about no more silver coins here. Occa-

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462 the men. If a woman gets sick, a man may fetch
[286] water, and some men like to cook. The only
thing which is purely a woman's occupation is
[285] weaving. There is no mat or basket making
here. This is done only in the mountains.

426 Small debts may be accumulated among the kampong folk. Thus if a man has fl. 10.00 he lets it be known that he will lend it, and he does so at interest. People seldom borrow more than fl. 5. For one month for this amount they must repay fl. 7 to fl. 8. Thus there is a fantastic amount of interest. The Chinese will lend only if the borrower has some form of security, for example, a gold decoration. He charges the same rate. There were and are no government pawn shops here.

465 There are about five men who work as coolies
178 in Ende town. These are the only wage earners.

The kapitan receives pay, and the secretary gets a very small amount. The kepala kampong gets eight per cent of the tax yield (this is bad). The mosa laki mere gets meat at all feasts. He also receives rice. Fifty years ago there were no wages at all.

●443 There are two Chinese stores (at kilometer 6 and kilometer 8). There are eight warong, six owned by the papalele Ende folk, and the other two by the guru agama and the kepala kampong. They sell the same merchandise as the Chinese stores but have smaller stock.

622 The posts of kepala kampong and kapitan are
634 new here. This is true also of their mandur.
578 The radja has always been here as a post. There have been changes in the borders too. Thus there is no more Radja of Ndona. The family lives near the bridge but no longer has the post. (All over Flores there must be these fragments of old-time ruling families, and there is a great deal of potential trouble here unless the whole radja complex gets cleared away.)

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511 cloth to spare for their noses. This is really
515 very true!

On Sunday I went to Roworeke again, but at
622 once I was taken into the rear part of the lit-
755 tle warong at kilometer 6, which is owned by
769 the kepala kampong. What a pitiful stock he
[443] has: a few bars of yellow soap, some bananas, and that's about all. In a little compartment behind this area he squatted, looking awful. On one side, on the floor, one of his wives were tending a fire on the earth, and on the other side was his other wife (the second one, whom I had thought a handsome pagan when she was a bit dressed up, but now she did not look so good, with betel stains, etc.). He told me about the blood pouring from his nose a few nights ago, for four to five hours. He had a high fever (still had it), and pains, and dizziness and blackouts. I tried to see what was up, but the blood was queer.

Then the assistant (his brother) said we should go and get the old dukun who was treating him. The dukun lives in Ndona. On the way there the assistant said that the dukun had already treated the kepala kampong, and that is why he had gotten better. At least the blood had stopped. I asked what the diagnosis had been, and he said it was something to do with the ancestors. The idea seemed to be that somewhere or other along the line they hadn't "fed" the ceremonial objects of the family properly, and this was the cause of the illness. The assistant said that he suspected also that the kepala kampong was too harsh in his administration, and the people were not happy about it (he has been in his post for four years now). This information was rather mumbled, perhaps so that the lads in the back seat could not hear us, and I wonder if perhaps he was inferring that someone rubbed wrong by

411 I also noted many spear bearers. The one I talked with in Tana Ai said that his spear (with a regular head) had been bought from a traveling seller who had brought it from Adonara. Over the line in Lewotobi, I asked a man with a spear, whose head had only one barb, what kind of spear he was carrying. He said that it was unique to Lewotobi, and later I saw others like it. I guess they make them themselves.

Then I went on to Larantuka, where the
443 pasanggrahan disintegrates more all the time.
515 This time the place was full of medicine
514 sellers who follow fairs about and do tricks on bicycles. They sang Mohammedan chants endlessly, washed clothes and urinated in the bathroom, and sat around in the way. I had already run into a similarly unsanitary Arab couple in the Ende pasanggrahan. The medicine people were from Celebes. Now this place is really going native. The toilets are falling into ruin. I noted on my way that the tele-
206 graph wire was down at kilometer 44, and I told the next road foreman. Four days later I found the wire still down. The bridges will
491 never be rebuilt, it seems. The road simply uses fords, that's all.

797 I hear from Arriens that letters are coming
648 to the Flores Council asking how long the Dutch
178 are going to remain in their posts. The whole place is on the way down. I hear that Radja Sikka, has appointed Pastor Raats, a Dutchman, as a special adviser. Thus the mission alone will remain of the West here. The new superstition is substituted for the old.

797 I get more and more depressed by Larantuka with its constant Catholic processions. On the way in at a suburb, a long procession with crosses, chanting, etc., came winding out of a church (I wonder if it was the old time one at

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361 hills and down to the coast. This caused much
[648] malaria and misery all over Indonesia. And after many years, the Dutch let them move up higher again, having stopped the spirit of revolt. (One can find this very expression in the reports.)

Five families from Wailolong have moved into Balela, a kampong inside the town of Larantuka (note that several Leloba families have moved there too). Balela is a little uphill, and perhaps this is the reason for the movement. I also think that it may have some relations with the "behind the mountain" area. Anyway, of these five families, only one has moved back to Wailolong. They simply do not move very much.

443 No one, but no one, has moved into the kam-
438 pong, except for women marrying in (and the
[166] two gurus). There are no toko or shops in Wailolong. They do not even have warong here. The women come from the beach area to sell and buy a few things (e.g., to buy arak, and to sell fish). These women come from such places as Waibalun, Larantuka, etc. But there is not much trade.

484 Everyone here has seen at least some other kampong, if only a nearby one. There are some old people who have never seen Larantuka town, or at least that is what he thinks.

167 Only two people that he knows have left Wailolong to work in some other place. One of them at least went to Borneo. As yet they have not returned.

697 Roy said that all who have been to jail have
648 seen Larantuka town. This is one way to see the world. There is real bitterness here about the jail business, and I hear it cropping up
648 constantly. The Dutch really ruled here with an iron hand, especially Seegeler, they say, whose report I got from Twerda. He was the

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648 controleur around 1931, when the radja also was an unfit person.

167 I was surprised when he said that just about all the young men here would like to leave and see the world. But they have almost no chance. If they did have such an opportunity, there would be a great exodus here.

721 152 The only great fear in the old days was warfare, and this is an intermittent danger today also. Thus, Leloba was at war with Waibalun last month, and it is feared even to walk near there. He admits that there was some fear of bad spirits formerly, but this was relatively not so bad. Still, my guess is that there are few people who are brave enough to go and sleep in other places.

20 The kakang has a telephone in his office. The only telegraph here is in Larantuka. There is no postal service. Letters must be gotten at the Larantuka Post Office. There is no radio here, and hardly anyone has ever heard one.

The mandur of the kakang transmits important orders from the administration. Rumor is very important as a means of communication, but there is practically no other means here.

The few who receive or read the mission newspaper are asked about what is in the paper. Bulletins are never posted. They see them only in Larantuka town.

443 438 There are a few women who come here to buy and sell some items. The small market at Okka crossroad on the beach is held once a week, on Tuesday, in the afternoon and until Wednesday. There used to be another market on the beach at Delang.

However, there is no market system here. Roy says they simply have too little surplus to sell, and nearly nothing to buy with. In Adonara, which is richer, there is a regular pasar ring system.

Wa

There are about ten
326 smiths (are they full time? I doubt it).

241 As before, rice and corn are the staple
177 crops. There has been practically no change except for the introduction of new kinds of bananas, peanuts, and a few vegetables, in
[433] the diet. The local community is still almost one hundred per cent self sufficient.
283 They even make their own thread from their own cotton, although they may buy some thread today.

178 There has been practically no change at all since Vatter's book was written. In Wailolong they still have a tuno wudjo.

[352] Fifty years ago there were no tables or chairs, and there are only a few now. There
291 has been a little change in regard to cloth-
178 ing, especially in that a few men now wear shirts. And a few men also have shoes; there were none before.

A few women wear European dresses; no one wore such dress formerly. They could not sew at all fifty years ago, and there is still not a single sewing machine in Wailolong.

438 A few of the women sell some vegetables and some arak. They buy small quantities of thread, salt, hairpins, soap, medicine, and tobacco. The mountain people sell some of their forest products.

443 There has been no change at all in the mar-
178 ket system here except for the disappearance
437 of the Delang pasar. This was mostly or entirely a barter pasar. Cash is used at the Okka pasar. Up until seven years ago the Delang pasar was still used. There are no toko or warong here.

483 Very few people have ever ridden in a car here. Roy guesses that at the very most one per cent of the population has had such an experience.

423 The kinds of property in terms of land here are the following: kampong (which is "owned"
2 [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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624 gendang (the aradjang pattern) from the head tuan tanah of the original kampong.

166 609 [443] [335] The groups of people who visit the village more or less regularly (actually only occasionally) are as follows: (1) pastors, (2) traders to buy stock, Chinese, Arabs, etc., (3) a Chinese pedlar who comes with a coolie carrying a pack, (4) government men, and (5) specialist carpenters who come to build houses.

They stay for a short time only, except for the carpenters, who stay for about two months.

One other class is important. It comprises the outsiders who have gardens in the kampong. They come to work in their gardens, stay awhile and leave. They sleep with the kampong folk as their guests.

[584] Family relationships are definitely interrupted by migration. Usually one starts the ball rolling by marriage or by buying a garden, and then relatives follow. This is important in regard to marriage because the young folk become acquainted in this way. It is a case of "propinquity".

166 609 578 The immigrants must follow the local adat absolutely. They take part in the same rituals, pay the tributes of the land, etc. Thus there is no trouble. However, there are occasional difficulties in managing the gardens. For example, the local people become jealous of the outsiders who have big crops, or argue one way or the other. There is not much trouble, however, and usually things are quite serene.

[783] There are no specific ideas about the outside world. Still, when one returns after a long stay in some other place, they have a rite to "clean the dirt." I am informed that there is no opposition shown toward those who accept the outsiders. However, I wonder if there may not be at certain times. Evidently there is no policy of "exclusion," and my guess is that if outsiders are not welcome they are told so and that is all.

We

000 that is all.

166 609 567 614 769 There are no rites for ordinary folk who just enter the kampong. In the old days, however, when new slaves came in they had to have rites in order to tell the ancestors that they were new members of the clan. This pretty well clinches the slave entering va'u matter. They just do. This is why the former slaves are members of the clans. Only those on the inside know who is who. The longer the time gets from slavery days the more it is not brought up.

563 443 793 The only Europeans here are the pastors. The traders are Chinese and Arabs and natives. The business of the occasional Chinese pedlar with his coolie is quite usual here. They stay usually for only a few hours.

The pastors tell stories to the local people about Europe, etc. The Chinese who are regular [203] pedlars have been in Manggarai for a long time, and they spread some news.

484 In these local kampongs everyone has been to another kampong. The women go outside their own kampong less often and do not go so far away as the men. Men go out to trade horses, [438] buy tobacco, etc. During the Japanese occupation they ranged far in order to buy cloth, etc. However, all of this was within Manggarai. All have been to Ruteng.

All have been outside Rahong, as they have been to Ruteng. At least fifty per cent of the local population have never seen the sea. One person has gone to Ende, and two have gone to Kupang as soldiers. One went to Makassar to [167] work. The Japanese took several to Riung to work, but most of the people have never left Manggarai. No one from here has ever left Indonesia. In all Manggarai, the assistant thinks only one person has ever left Flores. He is a pastor, I think.

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346 351 788 around the main post as around the lodok (see Coolhaas).!

443 There is no pasar system here. There are only pedlars who carry goods around. Markets are located only in the big towns: Ruteng, Reo, Labuan, Mborong, etc.

437 There is some barter, but most transactions are carried on using cash. Before the Dutch came in there was no money here and the people had to barter.

286 784 Note and very important: There is a taboo on weaving all over Manggarai, except in the northeast quarter. The assistant can mark the border of weaving precisely. The only exception is Todo and Pongkor, where there is no taboo and there is a bit of weaving. I asked if it is a taboo or just a lack of knowledge of how to weave. He said both, but that it is definitely a taboo. If they weave, the crops will fail, and illness will spread across the land. There have been a few attempts to introduce weaving, and the crops have proven to turn bad. It has nothing to do with the totem. He says it is not tjek'i at all, but merely ireng, which means taboo. This is a puzzler, and is amazing.

871 In 1912 three 3-grade schools were opened in Manggarai: in Ruteng, in Reo, and in Labuan. In 1924, a five-grade school was opened in Ruteng. There were about forty schools in all Manggarai before the war, but only one went as far as fifth grade (the one in Ruteng). This is what the Dutch did between 1924 and 1942! There are now about sixty schools in Manggarai. The school in Tjantjar opened in 1947. It serves nine kampongs: Tjantjar, Veol, Ndung, Rai, Puruk, Sampar, Nggarang, Meler, and Tjara. The farthest kampong is Sampar, which is three kilometers walk away.

There is a fourth grade here too, serving all of Rahong. The children come from far away.

! [See bibliography, category 113.—Analyst]

Wa.
778 notable little stone with lots of agricultural
789 power. The objects which are possessed by the
614 suku and ama have no magic power; they are
823 only a form of wealth.

The eight kampongs of the Mudakaputu ge-
621 meente are:
832

1. Leloba
2. Wailolong
3. Lewohala
4. Lewoneda
5. Mudakaputu
6. Watuwiti
7. Riang Kamiß
8. Riang Kanali

237 Economic note: The tusks are like the stone
583 money of Yap. They are the basis for the local
436 economy, but have little intrinsic value. The
452 non-existent tusks of Larantuka are even better,
and the folklore concerning them is fantastic.
They are reckoned with and theoretically ex-
changed when they don't even exist. They keep
the marriage system going. They are parallel
to pure paper credit--something like interna-
tional balances.

621 The first six kampongs are the old time kam-
173 pongs. They were founded by the five sons of
Lenurat or their descendants, who came out of
Ili Mandiri. Thus the situation runs something
like this:

Sons: (1) Belawaburak founded Leloba. (2)
Keweluk founded Wailolong. (3) Kewaka founded
Lewohala and Lewoneda. (4) Bampowa founded
Mudakaputu. (5) Mado founded Watuwiti.

Daughters: (6) Emma married a man of Tand-
jung Bunga (and the folk there call the people
of the Blakang Gunung region "blake," i.e.,
mother's brother). (7) Hingi married a man of
Adonara (perhaps the people there would also

797 ever, he says that this was not caused by mis-
178 fortunes. I asked about the Catholics trying to kill all of the old culture, and he said that they use no force. I gave the case of
[34] the church and the taboo on the expense of rebuilding a korke, and how the Catholics allowed for the great cost of a new church in Riang Kamië. He saw my point, but then when I asked about the sale of tusks in order to pay for the church, he said that this was a suggestion of the Riang Kamië folk themselves (no urging by the priest?) and that this was to be done only by a few families or groups which set the disastrous fire.

583 This led us on to a talk about the tusks.
452 He says that they do not need many to keep the marriage system going. Thus both in Wailolong and Leloba they have about twenty-five left today. This is enough. But they must have at least five, as this is the minimum price for a girl. As long as they have the price for one girl they can keep the system going on a credit scheme. This is amazing. It is necessary, and absolutely so, to keep five.

I told about Roworeke, which has lost all their tusks, and he said haggardly that this might possibly happen here, but he didn't want to think of the results. The minimum number of five holds for this part of the district, but in the Riang Kamië sector it is only three, so they could keep the system going with a minimum of three. The reason Roy is so firm on this matter concerning the tusks is that he insists that one cannot get married without tusks, or at least credit for tusks. There is nothing else that can be used for the bride price. Thus there are no animals, gold, money, or anything else used.

684 Error: I said before that the animals killed
231 in the incest cases were part of the bride price.

764 with upright stone. They are built by indi-
211 viduals to commemorate their own name. There
[554] is great vanity here in keeping one's name
alive after death. Thus the ngadu builder
gets his name on the ngadu too. There are no
offerings, however, at these rest places.

231 The Nageh in Soa kill animals with spears
411 as they are released (probably a hunting sur-
vival). Perhaps this is related to Toradja
spearing?

Larantuka: We left Ende on Friday, January
556 6, and after ten and a half hours we got to
237 Larantuka. There we met a young Chinese trader
177 who was born in Lomblem and whose father has a
438 toko there. They are now in Surabaja, but he
comes through Flores and the islands to buy
stuff each year. He is now buying kemiri nuts.
He told me a lot about Lomblem. He said that
there are thousands of tusks in Lomblem alone.
And he said that Maumere, which is relatively
rich in various products, is cornering a large
part of the tusks of Flores. In other places,
for example, in Larantuka, there are fewer
tusks now, and people are beginning to pay
money instead. The Maumere folk, he said,
think nothing of money. The real wealth and
goal of all striving is tied up in the tusks.
He said that the Chinese brought the tusks in
originally and told the radjas here that they
were the teeth of the naga (which was important
locally before that). The radjas paid dearly
for them, and soon all the folk here wanted
them. Hence, thousands were imported by the
Chinese. It may have been the same situation
as that which obtains with the mokko in the
Alor area. They too may well be from China.

511 This Chinese said that in Lomblem the folk
461 want very little. They work a little, just
185 enough to get the corn going, and then drink
273 enough gin to go to sleep. When drunk they

511 sing a little and then go to sleep. The only
●461 time they work hard, and this consists of
185 bringing in coconuts and other stuff to the
[273] Chinese, is when they want to get clothes for
feasts and when they have to pay taxes. Their
only thorn is taxation. Without taxes they
would be completely happy. I heard later, in
237 regard to the tusks, that there are very few
438 in Wailolong, perhaps only ten. However, they
556 circulate and keep the system going. The as-
sistant said that many have been sold because
the people need money so badly. Many were sold
to the people in Tandjung Bunga.

We When we went to Wailolong we met the assis-
614 tant on the section of Wailolong which is on
241 the side road near Leloba. He was there getting
796 census material. We went off there and at-
231 tended a rite of the Leworita suku, or rather
one of the ama of the suku. It was the rite
for the beginning of the agricultural season.
The big kampong rite was held first, and here
it was held on Christmas. Then, each suku has
a similar rite, and then again each ama. They
are just now getting around to the ama rites.
[343] In this section there are two kebang (lumbung
or barns) adat, i.e. suku or ama barns. The
big kepala barn is that of the Number One suku
(here Ama Dotang [usually Ama Kottang] which is
near the main korke). The two suku represented
here are Lewodoreng and Leworita. This rite
was held under the adat barn of Leworita (where
jaws of sacrificed pigs hang), but the land is
owned by Lewodoreng. This is why the men who
played the roles of Kottang and Kelen (head
and feet) were not from Leworita but from
Lewodoreng.

The old pagans (some were not so old) did
the rites, but the Christians stood all around,
and they ate what they could get later, probably.
A small pig was brought in and then the prepa-

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291 for sarongs and slendangs [shawls worn over the
286 head or the chest]. I see plenty of tooth fil-
304 ing here. And nearly all the women, young and
276 old, have the awful looking betel teeth. The
older men have the same betel teeth. The younger
men seem to chew betel less, and I can see that
their teeth are evened but are not filed down.

304 I saw a tattoo on the back of a woman and was
178 told that it is fairly common all over here. (I
later noticed a young girl in Roworeke with an
initial tattooed on her arm.) This tattooing,
however, is no longer significant here. The de-
sign I saw looked like a kind of anchor design

291 Many of the women here, mainly the old but
several of the young, go about with bare breasts.
When working this seems to be quite common.

252 I saw several women pounding corn. They use
412 a small round tree trunk mortar, and for a pestle
462 a mere pole. The corn is small and brownish.
They call it djagung Solor or mata kuching, and
it does look like small cats' eyes [the meaning
of the latter term, in Indonesian].

231 This area is full of goats. There are also
many pigs and a fair number of buffaloes, but I
saw no cattle. There are many small horses here
too. High in the mountains I saw an amazing
band of fine looking horses who had gone wild
after escaping. They can never be recaptured.
I was told that there are deer, wild pigs, and
wild buffaloes here.

776 At the lakes I asked if it might not be a
fine place for nitu and suwanggi, and they looked
sharply. They reverted to this cautiously and
asked me if I could see the spirits. They are
going to be cagey about pagan ideas, but when
they are caught off-guard they agree that there
are probably spirits in this mysterious place.

961 The plazas are of pounded earth, bare, with
houses scattered about and the most conspicuous
things being the stone graves.

609 We
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
497 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has magical power, but we didn't get into the full
[778] story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

000 only technical changes have occurred here.

592 I noted that as we were walking out of Weol, and I asked the priest how many families there were per house, he asked a man and the fellow said there were five in one of the big round houses nearby. Another man rebuked him and said no, there were only three in it. The priest said this is because the government has the law that only three families may live in a house, for health reasons. However, the folk secretly manage to have more. The first man was giving the folk away.

541 697 I forgot to say that at the whip fights (main tjatjih)[1] there was a band of extra gay fellows who did a lot of the sideline chanting and chorusing. They had red and white banners and at one time when we were taking photographs they came dancing en masse and singing across the field like a slow moving army. At 5 P.M. they raised the banners, singing lustily, and marched off. I asked who they were, and the Radja said that they were the prisoners of the jail, who had been given the day free, and that they were now marching back to jail!

463 462 231 The assistant says that all or nearly all men in Weol are farmers. Some, but very few, have specialist skills, but even those farm too. Not one woman has any other job than that of helping in the fields and making mats or weaving in her spare time. Nearly every man has a few to many horses, and some have other animals.

354 A bad feature of the old houses is the smoke from the fire which coats everything with soot and makes for additional darkness, but on the good side is the warmth which comes with the smoke.

769 718 342 173 614 Theory on reading Coolhaas:[2] The Ngada nadu which is for the male ancestors is a small replica of the conical houses of Manggarai. The small bhaga houses of the female houses are

[1] [See pp. 91-92, cat. 116 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

346 This costs money, at least. With cleverness,
797 Pastor Krol told how the scheme is working to get the folk to sell their tusks in order to get money to contribute to the new church. This works on the grounds that the people were careless with their fire in the fields when there was a high wind, and this caused the burning of the church. It is all a wily game, and the pagans are lost.

797 This whole religious matter is endless. It
182 is the most powerful acculturation thing here,
769 and the whole weight of Catholicism is on the last few pagans. The guru is full of the propaganda of rationalization. For example, he says, how do we know where the ancestors are? If they led good lives they are in heaven; and if not, they are in the sea (hell). And if they were good they must be in heaven, even though they were not Catholic, because they knew nothing of the Word when they lived.

632 The next day we started by clearing up a point
614 about the radja tuan. He may come from another ama than the No. 1 or waru'ing ama. Thus in Ama Datong suku the present Radja tuan is the kelake of Ama Radja, which is the No. 3 ama.

789 Roy said that not only officials have magic
565 power, but that also all members of the noble
171 families have some, though not so much as the
865 chiefs. They definitely have more than common folk. This is why one must show respect to the uppers. It is like Bone in Celebes, but less so perhaps. For example, they are very much afraid of hitting a noble child.

756 A sorcerer (molang) receives respect too,
754 even though his post is not hereditary. Some
[462] sorcerers, however, are noble. Sorcerers may be male or female, and indeed Roy thinks most of them are women. I asked how one got to be a molang, and he said that in general they get a call while dreaming. It is a matter of getting

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754 a message that they then have the power. After
756 that the person tries out his dreamed cure on a sick person. If it works, he begins to build up a reputation, and if he continues to have good results, he then becomes a molang. As for the medicine the molang makes, it does not require any formal training. He observes how some practiced molang makes it. There is no "theorie" (and the guru used this word) to be learned. Also, they get prescriptions in dreams. Thus dreams may be the crux of the affair. It is all pretty informal.

I forgot to ask whether the molang may have familiars. Bugis, the molang of Wailolong,
[774] got the call when he was already an adult. A molang can recapture the errant soul of a person who is ill. To make the recapture, the molang rubs betel on the head and joints of the patient and thinks that this replaces the soul. A now discontinued trick of the molang was to discover who did some wrong, for example, in the case of a theft, by looking in his magic mirror. It is quite common to say, "Let's got see what the mirror shows," and then go to a molang. Thus the molang is a person who receives his post through dreams which give him medicine, the ability to recapture souls, and the ability to be a seer.

759 In addition, there are dukun. These are
844 mostly women, but may also be men. They give medicines. The women may also be midwives.
● 462 They get their medicines from others, for example, from their mothers, or invent them, or obtain prescriptions in dreams. Although Leloba has no more molang, it does have at least one dukun, and there are quite a few in the area.

793 The Catholic priests have magic power too,
789 but it comes from God rather than ancestors or other pagan sources. They can even make rain, by prayer.

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684 This was not so. They were merely a kind of fine
231 for committing the wrong, and the animals were all those of the groom. Both parties give animals at the wedding feast.

665 There are no political parties here, not even
181 internal factions. At any given time they may have a kind of loose lineup on an issue, but this is purely ephemeral. There is not even enough issue feeling to have meetings on any subject. Roy keeps saying that the folk here are stupid, and when it comes to politics they are youngsters. This is an illustration of the prevailing habit in East Indonesia of running themselves down. This may be a form of politeness or modesty or a real feeling of self-disparagement learned through many years of subjection to the radjas and to the Dutch.

462 No posts are held by women. This adat. Women
562 are household managers, and work on clothing, food cooking, and the arranging of marriages (or at least advising the men on how to arrange good marriages). They also hold the positions in ritual of nu'a luka and tuno wudjo. If there is a discussion taking place in a house, for example, a group of lads sitting about and talking on political topics (at this level), etc., the women of the house may join in a bit. This is all. However, I don't get the impression that women are suppressed here at all.

186 In the old days, the local people were very proud of Larantuka, and they remember now that Larantuka alone, in all Flores, remained independent when the rest was under Bima. Larantuka was free, and as Roy says, "It bordered on Bima." As for feelings in regard to other radjadoms in Flores, there seems to be no rivalry or enmity. They have not come up enough to do as the people in Ambon do, and say that Flores is the "forgotten island." They do not yet know enough to complain about their share in the Indonesian government.

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000 up together again.

Some of the suku are large, some are small,
614 and some have died out. They have the same
171 idea in this regard as I noted on Ambon: that
789 a group which dies out may well have disappeared because of a wrong committed in the old days. It is as though there were a curse on them. Roy mentioned a case of an ama (I think) which did a lot of killing. Now it is extinct. Another group used too much magic, and it too died out. (Magic keeps cropping up. They have taken on my term kekuatan adjaib with a vengeance. I often wonder if they are kidding
[123] me, seeing that I like the pagan stuff.)

562 Roy says that the roles of the sexes has
178 not changed at all. However, when there was
708 much warfare formerly, the women were important in helping the men by bringing in supplies, encouraging them, and in making magic against the enemy behind the lines. (Supply, psychological warfare, morale division, and "research.")

178 One firm rule which is changing today, however,
● 462 is that in the old days the women never did work
241 in the field, except for helping in planting and in the harvest. This is still so in a large degree, and it is true enough that the women are seen around the kampong all day while the men are off in the fields. However, nowadays more women go out and help with agricultural work. This is a slow trend. In the old days men would be ashamed to have women doing agricultural work. This was not their role (and there is a very sharp sex division of labor here).

Indeed, women have no work, properly speaking, except house work. They do very little agricultural work, even today. The planting stuff they do is clearly ritually linked, at least in part, and the harvest is evidently always an exception.

562 Roy says that the women have equal status,

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423 sons a parcel before he dies. Also, he may split
428 up his land among the brothers as the group gets
614 too large. When a group is really too large
592 for the estate, some may go to the mosa laki
[622] mere and get consent to develop a new piece of
waste kampong land. Also, if there are too
many people for the estate, the men or some of
them may work on their wives' families' land.
This is considered all right.

428 As for houses, the eldest son takes over
592 the paternal house, and if there is room enough
614 all brothers and families may live there too.
Some may move off into new houses. Thus the
present kepala kampong, Pala, is the eldest
brother of the assistant, Migo. Their father
was Pega. They are of the Pega lineage. Pala
occupies the old house, Migo a new one. If
Pala dies, Migo will take over the house and
management of the family land. The eldest son
is the big man all through the system, and
posts descend via the eldest branch all the way
down. The younger branches are always under-
neath. Nevertheless, they may set up a new line-
age at any time. Thus there could be a branch-
off with Migo, and his sons would be the mem-
bers. However, they may keep the unit Pega for
several generations, before splitting.

422 There is also the matter of the family
428 ritual possessions. These go down from eldest
614 son to eldest son all the way. Thus Migo has
none, because in his family the pusaka belongs
to his brother Pala. However, a father may
divide it up before he dies.

The family or lineage is the important
property unit. Small articles, for example,
clothing, may be individually owned, and the
suku and even the kampong has property. But
the crucial unit is the great family.

●462 There is not such a strong division by sex
here. The women work at agriculture just like

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462 the men. If a woman gets sick, a man may fetch
[286] water, and some men like to cook. The only
thing which is purely a woman's occupation is
[285] weaving. There is no mat or basket making
here. This is done only in the mountains.

426 Small debts may be accumulated among the
kampong folk. Thus if a man has fl. 10.00 he
lets it be known that he will lend it, and he
does so at interest. People seldom borrow more
than fl. 5. For one month for this amount they
must repay fl. 7 to fl. 8. Thus there is a
fantastic amount of interest. The Chinese will
lend only if the borrower has some form of se-
curity, for example, a gold decoration. He
charges the same rate. There were and are no
government pawn shops here.

465 There are about five men who work as coolies
178 in Ende town. These are the only wage earners.
The kapitan receives pay, and the secretary
gets a very small amount. The kepala kampong
gets eight per cent of the tax yield (this is
bad). The mosa laki mere gets meat at all
feasts. He also receives rice. Fifty years
ago there were no wages at all.

443 There are two Chinese stores (at kilometer 6
and kilometer 8). There are eight warong, six
owned by the papalele Ende folk, and the other
two by the guru agama and the kepala kampong.
They sell the same merchandise as the Chinese
stores but have smaller stock.

622 The posts of kepala kampong and kapitan are
634 new here. This is true also of their mandur.
578 The radja has always been here as a post.
There have been changes in the borders too.
Thus there is no more Radja of Ndona. The family
lives near the bridge but no longer has the post.
(All over Flores there must be these fragments
of old-time ruling families, and there is a
great deal of potential trouble here unless the
whole radja complex gets cleared away.)

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423 by the radja tuan), suku, ama, and family. Houses are categorized in the same fashion.

Houses, however, are strictly speaking owned by the family or lineage. The eldest [428] son inherits the house, and other sons build their own houses or may live in with the eld- [591] est son and his family. The women have no houses, as residence is patrilocal except in unusual cases.

●462 The only specialization here is by sex.

426 He says there is no lending of money. They may borrow food, and the interest on such accrued during the following year is from fifty to one hundred per cent.

465 The only wage earners are the gurus. There are no other paid jobs. (How about the three kepala kampongs? I suppose they get eight per cent of the taxes as usual?) There is not one commercial enterprise here.

622 The chiefs, says Roy, are regarded as fathers. 789 The genealogical organization is strong here. Indeed, their posts depend on hereditary descent entirely. The people here obey them because they are in the place of their fathers. The curse of a father is a terrible thing, and this goes for the chiefs too. It should be remembered also that the chiefs have magic power, derived from the sanction of the ancestors and visibly shown by the stone fetishes in front of the chiefly houses.

567 The nipatale intermarry with other people, although they originally were slaves. Thus there is a slave class, but it is integrated with the others, and it has only a few marks.

[555] The only ones who have risen are the gurus. 554 And those in Wailolong are from some other area. There are no visible signs of status except that of living in a chiefly house, belonging to a "big house" suku, and having the stones of status in front of the house. I note also that

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178 outsider can buy land in the kampong. Also, the
425 kraeng privileges have been cut sharply. In
[422] regard to property in houses, things have remained the same except for the new private houses (see below). There has been no change in the personal articles and ceremonial objects.

423 The land is family-owned, but there are some
428 individual pieces (for example, the assistant's).
562 The kampong has eminent domain, and it is a tuan tanah's. When an old man dies, the land is divided, but the eldest son gets his choice and the larger share. If there is only one garden, he gets it. But generally each son gets a share. Women get no land. Personal effects are divided. They work the land as a family unit until the old man dies.

423 Houses which are large are the property of
178 the inhabitants, who build them. Thus ownership is communal. But a great change has taken place since they have been building single houses, e.g., the assistant's. The eldest son gets this new kind, after all others have married off.

574 I note the remarkable ease of sleeping in houses here. There is no fuss to put someone up. Thus the assistant slept in the tuan tanah's house last night in Veol, and tonight the tuan tanah will sleep in his house at Pau (they are going to talk much more, and he promised the tuan tanah some palm wine for which I paid).

462 As far as specialization goes, the women make mats, do the cooking, wash clothes, fetch water, do the gardening, sew, and take care of the children. They also care for the fowls and pigs. There is not a single sewing machine here. The women also pound grain.

Men plait songko, work in the gardens, carry on trade, gather wood, and do heavy work around the house, and care for buffaloes and horses.

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462 and goats.

There is no shame, however, if one has to do
[887] the work of the other sex. The old people
putter about, for example, the old women make
mats, and the old men carve spoons, etc.

426 If one borrows corn or rice, which is done
686 for the most part, interest is charged at the
rate of one hundred per cent annually. This is
redoubled each year, and if it is finally un-
paid, there may be a court case and the person
may have to pay a horse (the present price of
[435] a horse is fl. 200 and for a buffalo fl. 350).

Money is not borrowed. The reason they bor-
row rice and corn and why they do this from
kampong fellows is that many families are too
311 large. Land is now all divided. The kampong
511 is full. Therefore there is actual hunger in
November and December, when the crops are grow-
ing. Thus if the population continues to in-
crease, some will have to move. The reason
the Dalong folk repossessed one of the Radja's
gardens was that there was an actual shortage
of land. I didn't realize this trouble before.
There are actually poor people here because
the land is all occupied. Therefore, not even
new gardens are possible here. But no one
starves. I asked what the main worry was.
They said getting cloth. It is very hard to
get. Food is a worry only for some people.

465 There are no wage earners except for those
who do a bit of work in other people's gardens.
The present wage is fl. 1.00 a day. Before
even this was not done.

634 In regard to political life there were Bima,
632 dalu, gelarang, and kraeng (some kampongs), and
622 the tuan tanah fifty years ago. In 1940 there
624 were the Dutch, the radja (since 1929), the dalu,
gelarang, tuan tanah, and kepala kampong. In
1950 there are the radja, the dalu, the gelarang,
the tuan tanah, and the kepala kampong.

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000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass
thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in
area where there is a large bench for sleeping.
There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the
roof and often in front too. Here sit the women
while they work. If there are two families to a
house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
797 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel
as in other kampongs. The church to which every-
one here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamiß, but
since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are stan-
dard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are
nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have
brown hair or hair which is partly brown.

[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk
along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-
bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue
and black mostly. The designs are even poorer
than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used
for men and for women. They say that a cloth
takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many
304 men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
few old people, it seems especially the women,
have a little tattooing, and the guru says thi

000 only technical changes have occurred here.

592 I noted that as we were walking out of Weol, and I asked the priest how many families there were per house, he asked a man and the fellow said there were five in one of the big round houses nearby. Another man rebuked him and said no, there were only three in it. The priest said this is because the government has the law that only three families may live in a house, for health reasons. However, the folk secretly manage to have more. The first man was giving the folk away.

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462 men in Weol are farmers. Some, but very few,
231 have specialist skills, but even those farm too. Not one woman has any other job than that of helping in the fields and making mats or weaving in her spare time. Nearly every man has a few to many horses, and some have other animals.

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769 <u>Theory on reading Coolhaas</u>:[2] The Ngada nadu
778 which is for the male ancestors is a small
342 replica of the conical houses of Manggarai. The
173 small bhaga houses of the female houses are

614 [1] [See pp. 91-92, cat. 116 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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000 children. It is remarkable that there is so
858 much freedom exhibited by the children all over here. They do as they please evidently.

463 Nearly everyone is a farmer here, but to
212 be kepala kampong, kapitan, secretary, or
622 the like, an individual must be literate. There are, however, illiterate kepala kampongs, but they must use a literate mandur to help them with the work. There are no openings for clerical people or the like.

[874] The only seminary here is for priests, and
787 as yet there are no students there from here.
[154] The bisa mari (sorcerers) are not trained.
They get their call in dreams. They are about
[156] equally male and female. The dukun also got
[844] their call in dreams. However, the ones who are midwives learn from mothers.

463 There are no specialists at all. The local
438 population must buy even its ironwork elsewhere.
335 They do not even have carpenters here. Anyone can build a house. This place exhibits a very low level in all such things except weaving. They now learn music in school.

873 Many children who are clever and would like to advance in school cannot do this as it costs fl. 10.00 per month for a higher education. There is plenty of heartache here. Perhaps there is not so very much yet, actually.

212 Fifty years ago no one could read or write, not even in the Ende script.

197 One hundred per cent of the people here speak Ende, including the foreigners from Savu and the Chinese. The latter did not speak Ende when they came in, but after a year they could.

Only about one hundred can speak Malay. No one speaks Dutch. The children are starting to learn a bit of Dutch in school now, but this is evidently only in the higher school.

There are no other languages spoken, except of course, Chinese and Savu. They say that they

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178 In terms of technology and occupation, there
463 have been very few changes. They still farm
in the old way, and there have been no new jobs
342 created. There are today such houses as the
178 kapitan's, with a bit of cement work. This is
354 new. And every house has a pelita [a kind of
lamp] for which they buy kerosene. Few of
them have any real lamps like the kapitan's.
The assistant has one, but it is typically out
291 of order. Shirts here are new, but they are
178 rare and cost much. Shoes are new here and
[413] are very rare. Pens, etc., are extremely rare.
The women no longer wear the homespun blouses.
They wear homespun sarongs like the men do,
but buy kebaya of thinner cloth today.

286 They cannot make thin cloth with their
looms, and this is a great handicap. What
they make is too heavy. This is mainly a mat-
ter of thread. They can't spin thread any
thinner than they do and have it strong enough
so that it will not break in the loom. Thus,
if they could get trade thread, they might be
able to weave thinner cloth (?).

[346] The only tin roofs are on the grave-bone
shrines of Odja and Wanda.

Every woman spins thread and weaves. There
are no specialists, however, who sell cloth.
This is done only rarely.

463 There are no smiths or specialists of any
326 kind. There were about twenty men who worked
563 at making pots here, and this started evidently
about two years ago. It was a Chinese company
(evidently tied in with the Radja some way),
and these lads worked in their spare time. As
there are no orders now, they are working
there no longer. It is not a native craft.

241 The most important local agricultural crop
and food source is maize, by far. Then come
rice, vegetables, and yams. There is no sago;
000 they have never heard of it. Little meat is

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000 ring system.

829 Since the war, there has been plenty of talk and interest in Indonesian affairs. Before the war one never heard of such things. Formerly, the people knew only of the Dutch as far as the outside world was concerned. They knew very little about other parts of Indonesia. The war "opened the world" to these remote people. (But, I'd say, this was still a very slim opening.)

871 There was no school here at all fifty years ago. In those days, however, there was one guru in Wailolong and one guru in Leloba who could read and write. No students from here have studied at a university or at an HBS. Two students from here are now attending the middle school, in class six. All children from here now go to the lower school. One from Wailolong goes to school in Larantuka. There is also a middle school at Maumere. There are no native schools here.

[185] Roy reports that the people here like school today, and want their children to go as high as possible. (I doubt this. I think many, if not most, are rather vague about this subject. But I have to take his word for it.)

[463] There are no noticeable differences in activities connected with the level of education achieved by individuals in this area. This is because everyone is a farmer. The only exceptions would be the guru, but there are no local men of Wailolong who are guru.

[876] There is no non-official individual training. At one time they tried (evidently under government propaganda) a system where "everyone teaches another" but it stopped fast.

[797] The mission runs the schools here, but the government subsidizes them. I think this is [658] true for nearly all of the schools in Flores (check).

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592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more people in many of the houses. The complex ar-
243 rangement of rice fields stretches out far below and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but perhaps this is done merely by flooding. I must ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly situated on rises and they are small, for example, Weol has only about thirty houses in it. The priest says that there are many of the stones in kampong Ruteng located about 1½ km. outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each day, and the guru will bring the table and chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel. The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary, which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
177 houses were introduced here by a priest. The guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the
55 folk here, including the priests. Bathing is not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the relationship between partners is distant enough. Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans, called panga, and one may marry within these in the same way, according to the guru. I must find out more about this and also get the kin system. We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in the center of the town where they were playing football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

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632 I asked first for the history of the kapitan-
634 schap here. I found that it is only about
622 thirty-seven years old. That means that it
[77] dates from the Dutch entry (which began in
1907). And the kepala kampong dates from the
same time. Before that they had only the
adat chiefs, the mosa laki. The record:

1.	Present radja (Odja)	5 years.
2.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	1 year.
3.	Preceding radja (Odja)	2 years.
4.	Preceding radja (Odja)	11 years.
5.	Preceding radja (Odja)	15 years. (approximate).
6.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	3 years (approximate).
Total		37 years

Then we talked about the election of radjas, and I found out that the only "voters" are the nine kapitans and the nine mosa laki mere of the gemeente. The kepala kampong may attend, but he has no voice. This shows how important the mosa laki still are.

622 The ata nggaeh is not the adat kepala kam-
887 pong as I had supposed. What happens is that
624 in every kampong there is an old man who is
called ata nggaeh, and he knows all about adat.
He attends all the adat cases. Thus the man is
Bapa Ketjil. The post is not hereditary, but
is based merely on cleverness. It is that of
the "adat master." His word outweighs even
that of the kapitan in adat cases.

624 Each kampong has varying numbers of mandur,
465 assistants of the kepala kampong. Roworeke
has four of these assistants, Manunggo'o has
two, etc. They receive no pay, but are tax free,

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624 like the marinyo of Ambon. I asked what the
465 secretary got, and he said cigarette money only. The pay is evidently very little.

583 Correction: Although he says there is no
614 case here now, he has found out that if the
611 bride price is not paid, the children are of
784 the suku of the mother. And the bride price must be paid at marriage. There is no post-marriage payment in order to get the children back. Thus there is real ambil anak here. The man remains a member of his own sib, and the wife a member of hers. Thus she assumes the "married woman" totem taboos of her own sib, not those of her husband's sib, as is the more usual thing.

346 I asked about the rumah berhala of Wolofec.
778 This group has a real house, and in it there
614 are four ana deo, two in bad repair. There is one for each of the four suku. There are no other suku in the kampong. There are also plenty of belongings in the house. It is rather large, about twelve meters on a side. There are baskets and other objects therein. This old kampong is only one kilometer off the road in the hills at kilometer 17. I may go there one day. The four suku are Mbonggi (the kepala kampong is from this), Djo'bi, Soa, and
[769] Woro. The oldest suku is Mbonggi. There is also a grave-bone shrine here, of the suku Djo'bi.

791 The folk here are now mostly Catholic, but
769 they do have an annual ancestor rite, and the Catholics attend too. The kampong Ratebedi, far off in the hills, has fewer Catholics, as is the case with the far off Bu'ube'i. The distant ones remain pagan longer.

872 Fifty years ago there was no school. It came
178 in 1921. No one went to school before this.
212 They were totally illiterate (this shows how
000 recently the schools came in here). They were

R Little meat is

262 eaten, and this is done only during feasts. There are some eggs. They do not eat much fish, because they must purchase them. They do buy some food from the local store (never any canned food, because this is too expensive), for example, rice and salt. They do not grow [249] any tobacco.

434 To get the small amount of money they need to buy in the toko, they sell coconuts and anything else they may have, which is usually quite little. Fl. 5.00 in cash is a lot of money for a man here.

264 The people here eat three times a day, a little in the morning, and equally heavy noon and evening meals.

262 574 They like dog meat and also horse meat, but these, like pig and goat, are only eaten at the time of a feast. They say that the main feasts are funeral ones. They also say that the people here have no decided preference and will gladly eat any kind of meat. They [266] say they have no memory of cannibalism except for the eating of the hearts of enemies for 224 bravery in warfare. They rarely hunt. If they 262 do they use a bow and are lucky to get monkeys 624 or pigs. There are no deer here. There is a clear case for meat hunger here, and the only material gain of being a mosa laki is that you [465] are always given a piece of meat when an animal [171] is killed. This is like the Toradja pattern, and shows how much of a luxury meat really is. It is the "government man's salary."

436 Formerly there was no money and there were 178 no toko. Of course there may have been a few 443 gold pieces, but they were really sacred objects. Today they have little cash.

243 The irrigated rice fields started three 177 years ago and were instigated by Hadji Akbar 788 of Watu Roga. He went to Mecca and saw the many sawah in Bima, Java, and elsewhere. When

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462 the men. If a woman gets sick, a man may fetch
[286] water, and some men like to cook. The only
thing which is purely a woman's occupation is
[285] weaving. There is no mat or basket making
here. This is done only in the mountains.

426 Small debts may be accumulated among the
kampong folk. Thus if a man has fl. 10.00 he
lets it be known that he will lend it, and he
does so at interest. People seldom borrow more
than fl. 5. For one month for this amount they
must repay fl. 7 to fl. 8. Thus there is a
fantastic amount of interest. The Chinese will
lend only if the borrower has some form of se-
curity, for example, a gold decoration. He
charges the same rate. There were and are no
government pawn shops here.

465 There are about five men who work as coolies
178 in Ende town. These are the only wage earners.
The kapitan receives pay, and the secretary
gets a very small amount. The kepala kampong
gets eight per cent of the tax yield (this is
bad). The mosa laki mere gets meat at all
feasts. He also receives rice. Fifty years
ago there were no wages at all.

443 There are two Chinese stores (at kilometer 6
and kilometer 8). There are eight warong, six
owned by the papalele Ende folk, and the other
two by the guru agama and the kepala kampong.
They sell the same merchandise as the Chinese
stores but have smaller stock.

622 The posts of kepala kampong and kapitan are
634 new here. This is true also of their mandur.
The radja has always been here as a post.
578 There have been changes in the borders too.
Thus there is no more Radja of Ndona. The family
lives near the bridge but no longer has the post.
(All over Flores there must be these fragments
of old-time ruling families, and there is a
great deal of potential trouble here unless the
whole radja complex gets cleared away.)

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423 by the radja tuan), suku, ama, and family. Houses are categorized in the same fashion.

Houses, however, are strictly speaking owned by the family or lineage. The eldest [428] son inherits the house, and other sons build their own houses or may live in with the eld- [591] est son and his family. The women have no houses, as residence is patrilocal except in unusual cases.

462 The only specialization here is by sex.

426 He says there is no lending of money. They may borrow food, and the interest on such accrued during the following year is from fifty to one hundred per cent.

465 The only wage earners are the gurus. There are no other paid jobs. (How about the three kepala kampongs? I suppose they get eight per cent of the taxes as usual?) There is not one commercial enterprise here.

622 The chiefs, says Roy, are regarded as fathers.
789 The genealogical organization is strong here. Indeed, their posts depend on hereditary descent entirely. The people here obey them because they are in the place of their fathers. The curse of a father is a terrible thing, and this goes for the chiefs too. It should be remembered also that the chiefs have magic power, derived from the sanction of the ancestors and visibly shown by the stone fetishes in front of the chiefly houses.

567 The nipatale intermarry with other people, although they originally were slaves. Thus there is a slave class, but it is integrated with the others, and it has only a few marks.

[555] The only ones who have risen are the gurus.
554 And those in Wailolong are from some other area. There are no visible signs of status except that of living in a chiefly house, belonging to a "big house" suku, and having the stones of status in front of the house. I note also that

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462 and goats.

There is no shame, however, if one has to do
[887] the work of the other sex. The old people
putter about, for example, the old women make
mats, and the old men carve spoons, etc.

426 If one borrows corn or rice, which is done
686 for the most part, interest is charged at the
rate of one hundred per cent annually. This is
redoubled each year, and if it is finally un-
paid, there may be a court case and the person
may have to pay a horse (the present price of
[435] a horse is fl. 200 and for a buffalo fl. 350).

Money is not borrowed. The reason they bor-
row rice and corn and why they do this from
kampong fellows is that many families are too
311 large. Land is now all divided. The kampong
511 is full. Therefore there is actual hunger in
November and December, when the crops are grow-
ing. Thus if the population continues to in-
crease, some will have to move. The reason
the Dalong folk repossessed one of the Radja's
gardens was that there was an actual shortage
of land. I didn't realize this trouble before.
There are actually poor people here because
the land is all occupied. Therefore, not even
new gardens are possible here. But no one
starves. I asked what the main worry was.
They said getting cloth. It is very hard to
get. Food is a worry only for some people.

● 465 There are no wage earners except for those
who do a bit of work in other people's gardens.
The present wage is fl. 1.00 a day. Before
even this was not done.

634 In regard to political life there were Bima,
632 dalu, gelarang, and kraeng (some kampongs), and
622 the tuan tanah fifty years ago. In 1940 there
624 were the Dutch, the radja (since 1929), the dalu,
gelarang, tuan tanah, and kepala kampong. In
1950 there are the radja, the dalu, the gelarang,
the tuan tanah, and the kepala kampong.

We

614 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and
778 broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive. It is located a little to the side of the path and in a rather inconspicuous place.

[773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about this: it is a woman turned to stone with her child because she bathed naked) is located four kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong Bangkavelo.

231 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,[1]
241 they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the
782 garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connec-
114 tion with agricultural rites. They do this in the kampong. In the garden itself they kill only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent, Coolhaas is right.

565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The term kraeng is used for all three levels of nobles.

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632 the people here still give tribute to the dalu
651 when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls,
466 etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now
624 wants a new house he may no longer expect free
476 labor. Now he must pay for such service. If, however, there is need of a new tuan tanah house, labor is given without pay. And if there is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps, although other kampongs may assist in some way or other.

567 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi).
565 Their descendants are still known. It is also
114 true that new slaves were put in stocks (lampang) until it was certain that they would not run away. It is also correct that slaves who had been in a family for a long time might even marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 10 --Analyst]

5: Kennedy--337 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

We In regard to the Radja and the land matter,
425 I finally got it straight. The radja and kraeng
565 used to take what they wanted, worked or un-
634 worked. Also, they used to make the lampang
661 work the unworked fields and gardens. Starting
466 about two years ago there has been no more free
178 labor, but the radja and the kraeng must pay wages. If anyone resisted before, he and the whole family could be enslaved instantly. Even now, they can generally get undeveloped land for the asking when a new field is laid out, but they must work it themselves or pay laborers wages. They do not need to pay for undeveloped fields, any more than the local folk have to pay for them. But other aliens, like the assistant here, must buy such land. If the radja or kraeng wants to obtain developed land today, he must pay for the labor done on it. Even the last remaining privilege, to ask and get a piece of undeveloped land, is in danger. A year ago, in Dalong, the folk took back from the radja a piece of land that had been given him and that he had worked. Thus the old privileges die under merdeka.

565 All of the above information about the dalu
624 being here only since 1880 is wrong. Coolhaas 1
167 has reported that dalu were in Manggarai in
174 the eighteenth century. Their origin is unknown. The assistant says that they all came from overseas. The gelarang were merely tuan tanah. The kraeng were among the dalu. They were originally the dalu of the Todo-Pongkor area. Thus the dalu have been here for a long time. They were evidently pro-consuls of Bima and Makassar (which fought long over Manggarai). The pastor says that he thinks some of them were originally locals who were elevated, and others came from the outside. The assistant insists that their family trees are different from those of the gelarang. Maybe they represent a partly elevated gelarang and partly kraeng from Todo-

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

1:Alkema & Bezemer--418 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1
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Flores OF9

I 241 243 [412] [372 cont.]
she presses each stalk against the blade of the knife and collects them in her left hand.

When a piece of land is more or less exhausted after being worked for three or four years, it is abandoned, sometimes for good, and a new piece of land elsewhere is cleared in the same way.

S B [241 412] When land is cultivated after being abandoned for a time, it does not require so much work before planting. The only agricultural implement used in this form of farming is the hoe, in Malayan tjangkoel, in Javanese patjoel. It is generally known by this last name ("patjol").

Where the condition of the land permits, it is worked in a peculiar way. The top layer of soil is turned up by means of large, pointed sticks. A whole row of people, each with a stick in his hand and each at the same time, drives the stick into the earth. All the sticks are then pulled around and the top layer of earth is turned over. This method of working the land is used by the Karo-Batak, on Sumba, and elsewhere. Outside the archipelago it is used on the D'Entrecasteaux Islands southeast of British New Guinea.

F 241 [476] [373] A peculiar form of this primitive agriculture is found on western Flores (Manggarai). Each year the toean tanah (see p. 407) selects a piece of land to be prepared for the ladang, and it is cleared by all the inhabitants of the kampong, who work together from one center, and then divided, like a spiderweb, into plots for cultivation. The spiderweb form is accentuated by the big felled trees that are placed ray-like from a center, while concentric circles of the same trees cut through the rays at definite intervals. According to Meerburg, one of the plots thus fenced off remains at the disposal of its rightful claimant for three years (1).

F [423]

1. Meerburg, "Proeve eener beschrijving van land en volk van Midden-Manggarai [Description of the land and people of Central Manggarai]," Tijdschrift van het Batavian

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632 most extinct, with only about twenty members.
614 The kapitan is elected by the orang besar of the eighteen kampongs in the kapitanschap.
634 The Radja of Ende is also elected, in this case by the orang besar of the whole state. This means that he is elected evidently by the kapitan. I must inquire further about this matter.
632 The present kapitan is a nephew of the former
578 kapitan. He was chosen because the son of the former kapitan was not satisfactory. I noted that as I asked about this there seemed to be some embarrassment and I wonder if perhaps there was not a little fuss attached to the selection of a new kapitan even in the past. This seems to bear out the evidence for a feud pattern of which I see so much at first glance in Flores. Anyway, both the radja and the kapitan are elected with a tendency to heredity in the male line. They are elected by the officers of the sections of their domain. It is similar to the electors of Goa.
583 They say that the bride price is necessary
614 for marriage, and that the price is really high.
476 They say that some people go bankrupt in order to pay the bride price. Nevertheless, everyone
237 in the suku helps the man pay his bride price and in turn all helpers are later helped. This bride price is a clan affair. Formerly the price had to
[436] be paid in elephant tusks and in gold pieces called wea. Now most of the tusks are gone be-
[727] cause they have been sold or stolen (during the Japanese time). There are still quite a few of the gold pieces left, however. There were hundreds of thousands of tusks in Flores before. Sikka used only very long ones, but in this area they evidently used both long and short tusks. They are remarkable and I must learn more about them.
614 Marriage is exogamous as far as suku are con-
582 cerned and residence is patrilocal. They did
[591]

Weo

614 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and
778 broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive. It is located a little to the side of the path and in a rather inconspicuous place.

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[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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578 land disputes, head-hunting, and women. Or
721 perhaps the latter two should be reversed. Another cause was molesting a child if done by a neighboring kampong. There were also radja wars, in which the people served, but this was involved in high politics. Finally, there were also the early wars against the aborigines, the Padji folk.

721 The reasons for head-hunting were linked
346 with the new korke (this is still a reason for
796 the largest feast, when all kampongs come to-
782 gether. Nowadays, the feast for the new church takes over this function). When a new korke is built, if the six posts do not fit into the rafter posts, it is a sign that the posts are not happy because they are in need of food, so they are pledged food. Formerly the people then went out and got a head and hung it in the korke. Then everything was all right. Note that nowadays at such rites they give food to the posts. For example, yesterday they smeared rice on the four barn posts. The korke must have six posts.

346 The korke was the center of the war cult and
769 the ghost cult (ancestor cult). The barns were
343 the center of the agricultural cult. The little
241 kebang (barn) of the suku and the ama is called sebua.[1]

582 Relations between villages are kept up by
621 marriages. In fact, they are almost the sole
602 reason for such relations. This shows that genealogical relationship is nearly everything here. It shows also why descent is the basis for the whole organization of power, etc., and why marriage rules are so complex and strongly held to. There have even been marriage relations with Riang Kamiĕ, although they have not been too pronounced.

476 Another reason for relations with other com-
582 munities is work. That is, there is mutual aid
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621

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 202 -- Analyst]

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582 in other areas, or working in the gardens lo-
476 cated in another kampong. Here again, it is a
602 matter of marriage. Indeed, only if marriage
621 gives a person some sort of privilege to work in the other kampong does one usually engage himself in such work.

632 Relations between districts have not changed
582 much in recent years. If there are marriages
602 between the districts involved, the same situation obtains as between the kampongs just described. Similar situations are those involving different tribes. Bonds are formed if there are marriage links; if there are no such links there are no bonds. Trade is so small a [438] factor that it is unimportant in intercommunity relations.

186 The people here love their own kampong and
621 feel that they are lost when they are outside.
166 Figuratively and literally, they have no place in another kampong. They can see good in another kampong, however, and if they go elsewhere and return they tell about the good things there and may even adopt them themselves. Only the young people, and few of them, want to get out and see other places. Once they are married they never leave.

609 They say that if they leave their own kampong for another they become outsiders. They are then nipatale (beyond the fence). The other term used in suku terminology for outsiders is rere. It means "low." The opposite term, which also occurs among the suku, is belolong ("high").

578 All seven kampongs have been enemies of Riang
621 Kamië. The seven have remained about the same
614 in relationship to each other, but tales tell a
173 bit about the ranking among them. Riang Kamië was formed by a union of several kampongs which were separate formerly. These united into one kampong in defense against the Bai Pitu (seven

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533 797 [562] school is overcrowded, and it is the only place where girls can rise above the lowest level in Manggarai. There were plenty of sisters around. The whole thing shows the good organization of the Catholics here.

[124] I used the last two days of work here to get through the rest of the schedule.

585 For weddings, the Christians go to church for a service as well as going through the old rites.

583 Formerly the bride price was not payable in money, but today it is, in part. The bride price (padja) includes buffaloes, horses, and formerly copper or brass (?) boxes. There are no more of these last objects, and money has been substituted for them. Also, cattle are now used, but were not included formerly.

The return gift (vida) includes cloth, bracelets, ear ornaments, etc. Also included are small elephant teeth (used as pendants on bracelets). They are about two inches long. The bride price goes to the girl's family, and the return gift to the boy's family. Formerly the bride price was not very high. Today it is higher. An average bride price includes about five animals.

Both Catholics and pagans still pay the bride [591] price and make the return gift. If a bride [611] price is not paid, the couple must live matrilocally until it is paid. However, the children are always patrilineally descended.

582 614 The distances of mate selection are about the same as they were fifty years ago. There is a bit more marriage within the va'u, which was taboo before. However, the panga remain exogamous.

● 476 602 614 If the relatives-in-law live too far off, there is no real, actual mutual aid. If they are near, mutual aid is carried out between three groups: one's own va'u ana rona, and ana vina. The help comes especially in aiding a help-mate

[i.e., at Veol.—Analyst]

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476 602 614 [585] to obtain the bride price, but also in such cases as the building of a new big house. The va'u helps with the costs of a wedding feast. The rona get animals for their women, and the vina give animals for theirs. The return gifts go in the opposite direction: the rona give the gifts and the vina receive them.

I get the impression that there is more to it than just this simple roundabout exchange. Thus, a family has several relations of rona and vina, and the same ones will not always be involved in a given marriage. The ones not directly involved evidently help out, or can be called upon to help in a marriage in which they are not directly involved. But this is not too clear to me. Cornelius[1] says that the whole thing is quite a burden, as when they are called upon they must give this aid. The nearer the groups live, the more they are called upon. If they are far off, this is not too much of a burden.

582 563 There are no marriages here with foreigners, but in other places a few Manggarai women have married Chinese men. These are definitely not liked. They are "lost." They are outside the adat and the magic circle.

582 291 178 At the time of marriage, local males are sixteen (some are fifteen to twenty-one years old. The majority fall within the age groupings sixteen to seventeen. Females, at the time of their marriage, are fourteen to twenty years old. Formerly they married later. The youngest was about nineteen (I think this was for males). He says that this was because they "got clothes" when they were older. The boys did not even wear loincloths until about the age of sixteen. The girls wore only a little cloth from about the age of twelve on. This was because it was so hard to get clothes. They married only two to three years after getting clothes. The rich

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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[493] [492] 481 178 The fact that there are no buses here is a big hindrance. However, the horses help for short runs. The assistant gives the travel times on foot in the old days and now. It shows that they walk much faster now than before. The world is speeding up! It used to take a day to walk to Ruteng; now they do it in three hours!

829 789 609 In general there is no fear of the outside. In the old days they feared robbery and murder, as outsiders were fair game for such. Magical danger is only encountered in certain places which are well known.

776 784 There are many kinds of roro, or spirits, e.g., darat (tree), naga (house and kampong), potiwolo (woods). Although the others may be good or evil, the potiwolo are always wicked. They live in woods. For example, they live in the taboo grove on the way to Ruteng. Darat live there too. The potiwolo sneak up and hit their victims. Thus it is dangerous to go into the woods in such an area, and they never enter such a grove alone. The assistant tells that as a boy with his father he was afraid to enter this wooded area. These potiwolo look like men but have goat bodies. They have two arms but only one leg. They either run on all three, or hop along on the one leg. There are other local spirits, and the places where they live are avoided.

20 Formerly no letters were sent in this area at all, and even today, nearly none is written. There is no telephone here and no telegraph. There is a telephone and there are phonograms in Ruteng. There is no radio here. Letters come to Ruteng and stay there until the post office sees a man who happens to be going the right way. Then he passes the word along. A letter may take three months to be received. Even the phonogram I sent was delayed for two

291 similarity. The ikat work and weave patterns
184 of sarongs especially show certain differences.
302 In Sikka the children have the front half of
482 their hair shaved. Here also the women and children usually employ a tumpline.

[527] We[1] had one day in Roworeke as December 27
123 was Independence Day. We left for Badjawa on the latter, after a ceremony. As appears to be usual in Roworeke, which is a most annoying environment with constant requests for jeep rides and a general lack of respect, the kapitan and a large group had to be taken first to kilometer 10 where they had a garden. The kapitan and the kepala kampong pleaded that we come to haul them to Ende for the ceremony tomorrow, but we refused firmly. Today the kepala kampong
[292] wore a woman's felt hat with a chin string.
304 His wife who is pregnant had a tattoo over her arm, but it consisted of a name and random marks. I see this sort of thing everywhere. The old patterns seem to have gone. Today the thing to have tattooed is your name. Then we went back to Roworeke and went to work in the "office" which was full of flies and people.

621 The kampongs in Roworeke are as follows (the
361 area extends from kilometer posts 5 to 8):

1. Nuamere (kilometer 7; the kapitan's area)
2. Bita (across the road, north of Watu Roga)
3. Kopoëdo (inside from Nuamere)
4. Puïdjambu (same)
5. Roworeke Asal (same)
6. Ae Boü (along the road below Nuamere)
7. Ae Utu (along the road below Ae Boü)
8. Wolomere (across the road from Ae Utu; the secretary's area)
9. Tana Ri (kilometer 6)
10. Ndetu (kilometer 5; many Ende folk live here)

1 [i.e., Kennedy and Kattenburg --Analyst]

574 He furnished us with fair food, rice and chicken, and coffee, and then fixed up the beds without mosquito nets in one room. The son of
872 the mandur of the pasanggrahan of Badjawa was with us, on his way to school in Ende, and he had a little packet of clothes, a canteen and a ukulele. The latter was in sad condition.
484 He slept on the floor on a mat. The next morning we just about made it across the river with our goods lifted by the men in order to lighten the jeep. This was a hard experience, and we decided to make the western run only once
132 more, at the end. This rainy season is too hard here and it is dangerous because there is always a risk of delay from floods or landslides. Ende seemed luxurious after this run to the west.

The assistant was in Ende for a tax meeting
124 of kapitan, and after noon I took him and the kapitan and the latter's servant to Roworeke. They had to work on taxation in the afternoon, so I decided to start in tomorrow morning. Roworeke, as usual, is always troublesome. The jeep was overcrowded with many riders. I took them out, and came back with a load.

Incidental notes on Flores: We saw the use
482 of a tumpline in Sikka. This is true also for Nageh and Ngada. They use this for carrying loads especially in Sikka and also for betel ingredients in Ngada. They use small plaited bags.

Girls in Ngada and Nageh have half-shaved
302 tonsures. This is not true of all, but certainly of many of the girls. There are variations in style, including topknots. I note the latter on boys too.

721 A Ngada man denied head-hunting at any time
346 and said that there is no head under the new
231 ndaru, but rather a red dog, a pig, and a cock, all buried alive. But ENI says that there was
[554] head-hunting and that Ngada heroes had goatskin bands under their knees formerly.

Wa

There are about ten
326 smiths (are they full time? I doubt it).

As before, rice and corn are the staple
241 177 crops. There has been practically no change except for the introduction of new kinds of bananas, peanuts, and a few vegetables, in
[433] the diet. The local community is still almost one hundred per cent self sufficient.
283 They even make their own thread from their own cotton, although they may buy some thread today.

178 There has been practically no change at all since Vatter's book was written. In Wailolong they still have a tuno wudjo.

[352] Fifty years ago there were no tables or chairs, and there are only a few now. There
291 has been a little change in regard to clothing, especially in that a few men now wear
178 shirts. And a few men also have shoes; there were none before.

A few women wear European dresses; no one wore such dress formerly. They could not sew at all fifty years ago, and there is still not a single sewing machine in Wailolong.

438 A few of the women sell some vegetables and some arak. They buy small quantities of thread, salt, hairpins, soap, medicine, and tobacco. The mountain people sell some of their forest products.

443 There has been no change at all in the mar-
178 ket system here except for the disappearance
457 of the Delang pasar. This was mostly or entirely a barter pasar. Cash is used at the Okka pasar. Up until seven years ago the Delang pasar was still used. There are no toko or warong here.

● 483 Very few people have ever ridden in a car here. Roy guesses that at the very most one per cent of the population has had such an experience.

423 The kinds of property in terms of land here are the following: kampong (which is "owned"
[See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

We. The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof,
are easier to keep clean and are better in
general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the
kampong, and even fewer move out of or into
the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration
from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas
beyond Larantuka.

20 The kakang has the only telephone here.
There is no telegraph. There is no mail ser-
vice. There is no postman. The priest has a
battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië.
Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not
Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to
change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few
people have much knowledge about the world.
This is really the lowest place I have been in
yet. Most of the people are strongly attached
to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is
very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong
is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they
had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at
war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an
enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

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chicken, and coffee, and then fixed up the beds
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bands under their knees formerly.

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614 like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now. Woro
361 came from Ndungga (Lio). It is unknown at present where Soa, Songo, and Mboti came from. Fongi came from Wolotope (Lio). Sue came from Tombe (Rabu; Rewarangga). Wai came from Wolotolo (Lio). Mbonggi came from Volofeo (Rewarangga). Pare came from Mbomba (Berai). Lenalaba came from Dile (Lio). Watu came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Gusi came from Watusipi (Berai). Wadja came from Potu (Nggobe).

622 Then we got onto the matter of who may be-
565 come kepala kampong. They said that he must be of the bangsawan class or the people will not follow him. Thus he must be of a mosa laki family. There are three possibilities in the rank of the kampongs:

(1) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are the same man.

(2) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are brothers.

(3) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are of the same family.

Thus Roworeke has a kepala kampong of the mosa laki family. The same situation is true in Worowai and Manunggo'o. Worowaku has a kepala kampong and mosa laki mere in the same person. In Arereke they are in the same family, and so on.

632 The offices in the gemeente are: kapitan, the Big Four, the oppas (oppa), djurutulis (djurutuli), and mandur (oro kuni).

624 The officers of the kampong are: kepala kampong, the Little Four, mandur (oro kuni).

875 The two school teachers live in Waturoga. The head teacher is from Maumere, the other from Ndona. The religious teacher lives in Roworeke.

●484 Everyone here in Roworeke has at least gone to Ende. They have seen little else, however. When they go to Ende they usually go for a single

484 day at a time. Some people here go to the mountains, but they never go very far. Almost none has ever left the district, and those who have did so seldom and perhaps only once, for example to Nggobe or to another nearby area. Only the
[625] police have been to Ngada or other Flores areas. And there are only two policemen.

[169] There are no soldiers here. No one here has ever left Indonesia.

[443] There are no regular traders in the kampong. One could say that there are no regular trips made to the outside.

Those few who have been outside of Roworeke relate, on their return, that other places are completely different from Roworeke. How true this is! They are not specific, however.

[178] There has been little change in the very non-moving character of the people here. They just know so little that they never think about leaving.

People here who have never seen any other place than Roworeke and Ende, i.e., just the
[162] road to town and back, number about two hundred and fifty, that is about fifty per cent of the population. For example, these people have never seen even Rukuramba. This is especially true of the old people, although all except the children have seen Ende. Trips to Ende are not frequent. This is perhaps the most completely non-moving place I have seen yet.

484 Reasons given for not moving or visiting or
152 traveling outside of this immediate vicinity are
186 that there is too much work in the kampong for people to leave at any time. And formerly, there was a strong fear of war and a general fear of anyplace except home. There was never any reason to leave the area, but if one wanted to there was no objection. Aside from the war danger in former times (especially did Roworeke fight against Nggobe and Rodja), the old folk

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484 are afraid to sleep outside, even today. They
152 fear evil spirits (they say setan) of the out-
186 side. This is a real and vivid fear to them.
[776]

Roworeke does not have a telephone, telegraph
20 or radio. Mail is brought by people who happen to go to Ende, and letters are mailed by the same means. A letter is first sent by the Post Office to the office of the Radja. It may take a long time to get here.

There is a gong used for signaling (it is located near the kapitan's house) on the occasions of the death of a noble, a tax meeting, and the like. News is spread fast by rumor, and the gossip here is uncanny. Everyone in the area knew when the kapitan went with us to Kilimutu.

There are no "local authorities" on the news front. The only people who would approach this are the two police. News bulletins from the Information Service are practically never delivered here. Such things simply do not get this far. There are no traders who give news.

There are markets and there is a market sys-
443 tem. The district markets are located at:

1.	Kilometer 14. (Friday)	An empty place, merely.	
2.	Kilometer 24.	The same thing.	(Saturday)
3.	Kilometer 33.	In Lio	(Monday)
4.	Kilometer 52.	In Lio.	(Tuesday)
5.	Kilometer 66.	Wolowaru. Lio.	(Wednesday?)

Thus there is a circuit, and the Ende traders (papalele) go by truck, day by day, up to the mountains and then down to the start and then over again. Sunday is evidently out (Christian influence, evidently). These traders make little
[563] money as they are mere tools of the Chinese who
[426] lend to them at high rates or merely pay them salaries, or let them buy and sell on a commission basis.

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721 guages and thus carry on negotiations) would
[634] request soldiers. Such wars were usually
against the coastal folk on the north, that
is, Lio and Ende there. In the old days, just
721 about every outside kampong was considered
●484 dangerous and it was seldom that a trip was
578 made there unless a bond of friendship existed
178 between one's kampong and the area visited.
[608] Now all of these kampongs are friendly. Still
I note that they don't like to sleep all night
outside the kampong. This is especially true
of the old folks.

829 Note on ideas concerning the "place" of the
local kampong in the world: In just about
every kampong, when I ask about the ranking of
world countries in population, they do not
know what to say (although a young boy knew
that China was the largest), but at once the
assistant and others get paper and copy down
the exact ranking from me with figures. They
evidently want to spring the question on other
people and stick them. It does show a definite
curiosity about these things.

608 The people here have a sort of pela bond
574 between kampongs, or at least they did at one
578 time in the past. They do not drink the blood
178 of each other as in Ambon, but they hold a
feast and drink the blood and eat the hearts of
the animals killed. And they eat together.
They pledge that they will not war against each
other and that they will show a certain degree
of hospitality to each other. Thus Roworeke
has such a bond with Waturoga, Waturoga with
Ndona, etc. This was all in the past, and I
didn't find out if there are any survivals.
I think there are, because the guru from Ndona
said that it is easy for him to live in Watu-
roga as his kampong had a bond with it. In
721 addition, he married in.

648 War was tabooed by the Dutch in 1908, and
656 since then there have been no wars.

We

000 Radja's kampong.

721 There used to be much warfare with the Mohammedan coastal folk too. And war was waged with other districts and tribes, but this was rare, and was largely tied up with the higher politics of the radja. A pure border war, however, was one carried on with the district Lewotala.

186 Only a very few people locally have been in
621 other places enough to have inferiority feel-
484 ings about their own village. They have all seen the town of Larantuka, but this is not much and they get tired of it after a little while. Those who have, for example, seen Makassae, of whom there are very few, are less happy when they come back. This is a real difference. They tell a lot about the big town. Thus, the truth is that in all Flores the towns are so little and are so much like the kampongs (i.e. dull), that there is little contrast. Therefore, they see no advantage locally as over against the kampongs. Of the kampongs here all are about the same in wealth and land holdings. Lewohala and Watuwiti have a bit better land and perhaps more of it; thus, in general, one place is about as good as another.

721 Wars were waged over borders, women, and mo-
178 lesting children. Now warfare is outlawed, al-
578 though they still carry it on in a modified way.
691 For example, there is a dispute of this kind
693 going on now between Leloba and Waibalun, although the chief says that they must not carry on a war. There have been repeated grievances; their patience is gone. A band goes out hot for revenge and although the chiefs in general try to keep the people from war they are unsuccessful. Most disputes are settled by legal procedures, with the kakang as the main judge and the
693 kepala kampong, radja tuan, and kelake of the kampongs concerned making up the court.

614 For inter-suku cases, the court is made up

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829 a small scale.

Everyone here knows the places in and the arrangement of the kampong and the district and the Larantuka town road. Perhaps only ten people know about the setup as far as Maumere, and probably only the guru is clear about the rest of Flores. Perhaps only two people know about the general arrangement of the geography of Indonesia. And except for a few place names and countries, no one knows about world geography.

One boy who is in the fifth grade knew the population of Indonesia, and he also knew the population of the United States! He was absolutely correct. Other people could not give this information, and as for other countries even he had no idea.

As usual we got a terrific reaction when we told them how few people there were in Holland. They muttered for several minutes. They said
[797] that two men in Wailolong and one in Leloba
[204] receive the mission paper. Perhaps ten other people borrow and read it.

484 The very few people who have visited towns
521 outside of Flores are loquacious in telling
203 about their experiences, mostly limited to kampong life. Others listen to this, but there is evidently very little reaction.

178 There has been just about no change in the
632 political structure in the last fifty years
651 here. The kakang and all others were here long ago. The kakang has shifted from one kampong to another and that's about all. The traditional system of government has seen little change. Taxation started forty years ago. Now they pay a tax of fl. 1.00 for each animal killed for food, and fl. 10.00 for each animal killed for sale. (This just about stops any chance of a meat-selling market or animal industry.)

000 Today there are more meetings and greater

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797 that there was less open conflict than in Leloba.
798 There was a chance to mix the pagan with the new
177 and develop a syncretism. In Leloba it was a
184 life and death struggle, and indeed it was, as
578 the issue shows, a showdown. Perhaps Roy refused to compromise. This is a very interesting contrast. They had their fight out in Leloba and gave up paganism, while Wailolong held onto a little of the old. Indeed, he says that the Catholics in Wailolong do many of the pagan rites today, whereas the Catholics of Leloba have no ceremonies left to participate in.

[665] Since there are no political parties here, and the real issue in Wailolong now is religion, 79[illegible] since all depends on it, I went right back to
177 the struggle on this point too. The leader of
798 the Catholics in Wailolong is the guru from
578 Bama. His outside origin is a handicap. (I am just about sure that Roy is the main man to destroy paganism in Leloba. He was the perfect man for the job.) The leader of the pagans is Blawa, the kelake of one of the Datong ama. He is the one who shares the office with the legitimate kelake, Doeng, who is less able to do so. The Radja tuan of this head suku is not so eloquent, and so Blawa is the center of resistance. I asked if he got along all right with the guru and with Roy, and he said yes. Again the mild-
[181] ness of the folk stands out, together with their
[152] tolerance. They simply do not show anger.

Anyway, the pagans, even Blawa, have given up. Their only struggle is over little things (please let us have at least one little girl for a tuno wudjo!). They just try to hold on, like their last gasp. They are going down the road to death, and after them the pagans will be eclipsed. It is dramatic.

166 The only people who go away from here usually
●484 go to jail, as Roy says. This is the only trip they make.

Wa.

582 Larantuka market and likes her. He finds that
584 she is from, for example, Lewotala. Then he tells his father, and the latter goes there and asks "whence her blood." If the relationship is not close, or there is a relationship but they figure it out to be all right, then they go ahead with arrangements (how these people work at their rules!) Anyway, when
[583] they marry outside the area of the local pattern, they must pay a higher bride price in order "to fix it up." Thus, this is not the right thing to do, and it requires the same kind of thing in a way as a breach of exogamy. In a way, it is a breach of endogamy, in a sense that one should marry within the "adat belt."

"The Ordered World of Ili Mandiri."

582 Roy says that he believes that if more people
621 traveled outside of the area there would be more marriages outside of the area. This might, I think, lead to a final confusion of the rules. To keep such a complex scheme going they have to keep the marriages from going out of bounds, where the rules are off. If the rules get far enough off they may go out of vogue.

Marriages outside of East Flores are very
[484] rare, and only in a few cases has this happened. They have been local men who have traveled outside, for example, the few soldiers.

[609] There is not a single case of a marriage with foreigners.

582 The average marriage age used to be older.
178 It might be even thirty or thirty-five for men. Now it tends to be anything over eighteen for girls and anything over twenty for boys. They still have the feeling against too early a marriage. They say that if the couple are too young, it is not good as the children will not be so healthy and it will not be too good for the health of the parents. Young people can marry more easily today because the children

361 hills and down to the coast. This caused much
[648] malaria and misery all over Indonesia. And after many years, the Dutch let them move up higher again, having stopped the spirit of revolt. (One can find this very expression in the reports.)

Five families from Wailolong have moved into Balela, a kampong inside the town of Larantuka (note that several Leloba families have moved there too). Balela is a little uphill, and perhaps this is the reason for the movement. I also think that it may have some relations with the "behind the mountain" area. Anyway, of these five families, only one has moved back to Wailolong. They simply do not move very much.

443 No one, but no one, has moved into the kam-
438 pong, except for women marrying in (and the
[166] two gurus). There are no toko or shops in Wailolong. They do not even have warong here. The women come from the beach area to sell and buy a few things (e.g., to buy arak, and to sell fish). These women come from such places as Waibalun, Larantuka, etc. But there is not much trade.

484 Everyone here has seen at least some other kampong, if only a nearby one. There are some old people who have never seen Larantuka town, or at least that is what he thinks.

167 Only two people that he knows have left Wailolong to work in some other place. One of them at least went to Borneo. As yet they have not returned.

697 Roy said that all who have been to jail have
648 seen Larantuka town. This is one way to see the world. There is real bitterness here about the jail business, and I hear it cropping up
648 constantly. The Dutch really ruled here with an iron hand, especially Seegeler, they say, whose report I got from Twerda. He was the

We

000 that is all.

166 There are no rites for ordinary folk who
609 just enter the kampong. In the old days, how-
567 ever, when new slaves came in they had to have
614 rites in order to tell the ancestors that they
769 were new members of the clan. This pretty well clinches the slave entering va'u matter. They just do. This is why the former slaves are members of the clans. Only those on the inside know who is who. The longer the time gets from slavery days the more it is not brought up.

563 The only Europeans here are the pastors.
443 The traders are Chinese and Arabs and natives.
793 The business of the occasional Chinese pedlar with his coolie is quite usual here. They stay usually for only a few hours.

The pastors tell stories to the local people about Europe, etc. The Chinese who are regular
[203] pedlars have been in Manggarai for a long time, and they spread some news.

● 484 In these local kampongs everyone has been to another kampong. The women go outside their own kampong less often and do not go so far
[438] away as the men. Men go out to trade horses, buy tobacco, etc. During the Japanese occupation they ranged far in order to buy cloth, etc. However, all of this was within Manggarai. All have been to Ruteng.

All have been outside Rahong, as they have been to Ruteng. At least fifty per cent of the local population have never seen the sea. One person has gone to Ende, and two have gone
[167] to Kupang as soldiers. One went to Makassar to work. The Japanese took several to Riung to work, but most of the people have never left Manggarai. No one from here has ever left Indonesia. In all Manggarai, the assistant thinks only one person has ever left Flores. He is a pastor, I think.

Wec

484 In the Japanese time trips were made to
166 seek cloth, etc., but now this is done to a
lesser degree, and the people never leave Mang-
garai although there is quite a bit of movement
[438] within the area. The people who do this moving
are the men who buy and sell horses, tobacco,
etc. If they are away for long or at some dis-
tance, there is a feast when they return. The
four who have left the area have not yet re-
turned. When they do there will be a great
gathering to hear their experiences. The as-
sistant has seen this happen in Pau. Formerly
there were no relations really with even near-
by places like Tjumbi, except for marriages,
and if they went to war in the dalu's army, or
had internal wars, (which were rare). Nowadays
there are many more relations within Manggarai.
[621] In the rituals the only environs mentioned are
the environs of the kampong. This comprises
the ritual world and the social world of yore.
484 Today they travel more than they did before,
178 but still they do not go very far. Formerly
492 any outsider was fair game for robbery and
166 murder. Thus they were afraid to go afar.
[609] There is little in the way of transportation
here. Also, the kampong is a bit too far from
Ruteng to make regular trips back and forth
easy. However, the horses make Manggarai peo-
ple greater travelers than, for example, the
inhabitants of Larantuka. Every household has
[422] at least one to two horses. They are a big
thing here, and now I see why I got the impres-
sion at once that there is more internal move-
ment here than in most of the Flores areas. It
is the horses. The people are fine riders, and
the horses, although small, are fast and
[562] spirited. Women used to mount carefully and
the horse on which they rode was led. Now they
jump on and gallop off (still, I don't see many
women riding horses).

We

20 weeks before the letter from the pastor about it reached the assistant.

[202] There are no regular messengers, but when, formerly, the dalu were sending orders, a messenger with a kris brought the orders. The kris showed that he had the authority of the dalu. Even today a bearer of news of death carries a spear (yesterday one was going about here with a spear). Formerly, if there was a war, a messenger carried a tomato leaf and firewood. The assistant remembers in 1931 seeing the last one of these messengers, when Pau was all ready to go to war against another kampong. The police heard of this and stopped it. It was a border dispute.

[203] There are no markets and no heralds here. News travels by rumor. As yet there are no local "authorities" on the news front. The bulletins from Makassar are posted in the school at Tjantjar.

484 There are no sailors from this village at all, but plenty of the men go out to trade. However, they do not go far away.

829 In regard to interest in news, the local attention is directed to Veol and Rahong events and somewhat to those in Manggarai. Little is known about the rest of Flores or Indonesia, and nothing about the world. The war opened the doors only a crack, which is really inconsiderable. It is evident that this opening did not hit very hard here. And the effects of the Indonesian revolution have hardly hit here either. It is increasing a bit here now, but the tempo is still quite slow. This is simply a very remote place, and this kampong is especially remote. Just imagine those farther off.

In regard to the rest of Indonesia, some of the people know only various place names. Concerning the rest of the world, many, perhaps

We

538 but many are still remembered. I get the idea that the decline here is not so great as in many other areas.

484 There is practically no desire here yet to go to places which are "happier."

721 There was no head-hunting here at any time,
266 nor was there any cannibalism, although they did drink blood for revenge pleasure in war. There was no human sacrifice and no torture.

681 The death punishment was given for murder, a slave having sex relations with a kraeng woman, primary incest (but more distant incest was punished by a purifying rite only). The way the death punishment was carried out here and in Pongkor was to throw the victim down into a river from a high point.

411 Note: To kill a beast the people here use
231 a spear or a long knife. It is nearly always the latter.

778 The tjompang tree may be only either waringin
824 or dadap.

515 I see plenty of lice-plucking here. The pretty wife of the head guru I saw plucking the head of another woman. And I see this all over. And here, judging by the smell, they seldom bathe. I see no bathing places. Toilets are evidently holes in the ground enclosed by a screen. I don't remember seeing lice-plucking in Makassar or Buginese areas, but perhaps they do it too. I also do not remember seeing it in Ambon. The Toradja certainly do it. Note that the Endenese and people in Larantuka bathe. The Toradja don't. I think it is probably mountain people (especially the dirty Ngada) who do not bathe and also who have more lice. In this regard, note the Manggarai Ngada, Toradja, and Batak. The Minangkabau, although living in the mountains, bathe (a sign of former coastal life?).

124 Thus ended the Manggarai work, and the as-

5: Kennedy--1 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

FIELD NOTES ON INDONESIA, 1949-1950

PART III

FLORES

Roworeke - Wailolong - Weol (Veol)

Flores (preliminary): I talked with Riekerk,
124 who was there three years ago, and got this:
647 The Assistant Resident at Ende is Twerida; the
485 Controleurs are Hettinga and Ariens; the Finance man is Fekkes. There are government station houses (pasanggrahans) at least in Ende, Detusoko, Wolowaru, Larantuka, Badjawa, Ruteng, Reo, and a place ten kilometers from Maumere.

Distances are: Maumere--Larantuka 130 km.,
131 Maumere--Ende 140 km., Ende--Badjawa 125 km., Badjawa--Ruteng 125 km., Ruteng--Reo 60 km. Running times, respectively, are 4, 5, 5, 6, and 2 hours.

694 The kepala daerah is the Radja of Sikka, Dom Tomas da Silva.

124 Possible kampongs for investigation are Sita, 50 km. south of Ruteng, or Ruteng kampong or one nearby, for Manggerai; Wologai, 50 km. east of Ende, and there is a pasanggrahan at Ndetosoko, 9 km. to the south, or a part of Ende itself, or Roworeke (population: five hundred)
161 near Ende in the hills, for Ende. The population of Ende is five thousand. The population of Maumere is about the same.

694 Kringa is the center of Tana Ai. There are many troubles here over the succession of the radjas and it has resulted in a number of difficult cases. He says to watch out.

634 from Kupang was large, round, and of an almost
142 Caucasoid Negro type. He was very pleasant. He sweats a lot. Next to the Radja of Adonara, he seemed to be the most agreeable and the most intelligent. The Radja of Nageh Keo was obviously a minor radja in comparison to the others, while he was a nice lad, looking exactly like a Negroid Abdul Careem.

There were also two members of parliament, one from Larantuka but now resident in Ende, and the other from Kupang. They were young and agreeable lads. There was also the Radja of Ende, a smooth faced but dark fellow with straight hair. He looked a little like a dark Bao Dai. He was very pleasant and later helped a lot with getting a start in Ende. I had a few talks with these fellows, but I did not learn much.

122 We landed at Ende early on the morning of December 14, and I had to take the jeep off on a double barge. I drove it down the ramp to the beach.

As usual, the Information Office in Makassar had not sent the wire, or at least that is what the Dutchman said who met us. The Dutchmen who did come to meet us were Twerda, the Assistant Resident; two Controleurs, Ariens and Hettinga; and a Finance man Fekkes. The best one of these was the tall Ariens. All the radjas went
● 485 to the pasanggrahan and we nearly had to go to another one. Finally, however, we got a little room for two. We had lunch in state with the radjas at the pasanggrahan. The Ende radja was met by a delegation of hadjis recently back
771 from Mecca. The Ende radja is Mohammedan, and he told me later that in Ende the proportion of Christians to Mohammedans is about sixty-forty, but plenty of the people are pagan.

361 The town here is on a very picturesque bay,
133 with Pulo Ende rearing in it and with impressive

361 jagged mountains rising all around the town.
[133] There are also two amazing, high, flat topped volcanic peaks. One is called Gunung Medja. The town stretches along the shore, with plenty of red and yellow flowering trees. There is a large impressive alun-alun [field, plaza] going down to the beach in the center. Behind this are a number of good houses. On the east side is the market and on the west side are good
[342] houses too. The houses are well constructed and there was evidently not much bombing here.
[346] As usual, the high church is but a shell, as it was bombed, this time by the Australians.

● 485 I found that the town of Ende has practically nothing. There was no running water in the pasanggrahan except for a trickle in the morning.
[377] Electricity is weak and tends to break down.
443 The toko have very little in the way of merchandise. It is impossible to buy beer because the stores are out of it. The cigarettes from the distributie have all been used up and one now has to buy such items on the black market.
495 There is no gas pump, and I have to get gas at the V & W, which pours it out dirty from the tin. Because of this I have had trouble with the jeep for the first time. This is a real end-of-the-world-like place, although the appearance is
[132] rather nice. It is also extremely hot and humid, in fact it is the worst I have experienced yet. At midday it is like taking a Turkish bath here.

485 As usual, the pasanggrahan is not arranged for people who work or read. This is the Indonesian style.

634 The town of Ende is the only main town in the state. There is another state in the mountains, Lio, with a radja at Wolowaru. Then to the east is Sikka, with a radja, and east of that Larantuka, also with a radja. To the west of here is the Radja of Nageh Keo, and to the west of that the Radja of Ngada, at the capital

302 Kattenburg in a mountain kampong reported that he had seen a girl wearing lipstick. It was betel stain to which he is not used.

487 We left Ende for Larantuka on Tuesday, December 20, and after a long run through the mountains we reached Maumeri at noon. Then we went on an even harder run to Larantuka. This took all afternoon. The rain in the hills was bad. We passed through Tanai Ai and Lewotobi areas without knowing it. The land was very empty. I suddenly found that I was in Konga.

● [485] Larantuka is the end of the world, and the pasanggrahan there was pretty primitive.

[443] It is hard to buy anything here in Larantuka.
[377] There is no electricity except in the mission,
797 and the latter runs the town and everything else of a western nature evidently. The place has an air of having been asleep for a long time. Behind it is the Ili Mandiri, the storied mountain of the ancestors of the Larantuka people. The
144 town is a mixture of natives and descendants of intermixed Portuguese as well as Malays from Malaya who came in a long time ago with the Portuguese. One can see all sorts of physical types. Outside the town along the coast is a
361 Mohammedan kampong, Kampong Baru, but there are few Mohammedans elsewhere. Most kampongs are behind the mountain. There are also a few on the way to Lewotobi.

632 The next day we started out to see the area
361 behind the mountain, especially Leloba, where Vatter[1] worked. We passed through several kampongs of rather large but shabby look. This was especially true of Mudakaputu (seat of kakang of Mudakaputu formerly, although he is now at one of the other places, in Riangkamiß, I think), Watuwiti, Riangkamiß, and Wailoleng. These are all together in one kakangschap (called gemeente here too by the people, and it is also one adat
632 area). This is the Blakang-Gunung. The Radja

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

311 cover for agriculture too, and this causes a
241 great, economic problem.

114 He[1] said that much of Arndt's[2] and other scho-
124 lars' findings were wrong as they use Christian
159 gurus as assistants, and the latter do not tell
634 them exactly what the old men say. The young
assistants "doctor up" the information. They
also misunderstand some of the old ideologies.
This was one of many implications in his talk
that showed he was not uncritical of the Chris-
tians. He has been radja longer than any other
in Flores, thirty-one years and seven months.
In his youth he was a Dutch army man too. He
says that there was no road built when he was
first made radja but the mission was already
there. He also says that he is the most impor-
tant radja in West Flores, although all of the
royal families here are interrelated. He says
he represents the older sibling branch, and
Nageh and Manggarai radjas are the younger sib-
ling branches. It is true that the Manggarai
radjadom dates only from 1929, and before this
there were only dalu, three of whom were most
powerful.

194 The Radja speaks Malay with remarkable
gutteral sounds which Arndt[2] says are character-
istic of Ngada folk. They also have at least
one implosive, as in bhaga. He has his house in
the kampong Radja, not far from the town.

361 The town is notably modern in appearance, with
797 the mission influence as usual. In the center
there is a large plaza where the football field
● [485] is located, as usual. The pasanggrahan is a
622 good one, and the mandur looks like a nickel-
634 head Indian. He was in the army once too and
served in Sumatra, especially in Atjeh. He is
evidently a friend of the Radja, as he enters
[565] and talks with him freely. The Radja mixes
443 freely with the people here, as we noted at the
pasar malam. The latter, to which we went at

[1] [i.e., the Radja of Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

R

546 the sound track was just a gramophone playing a kind of spoken accompaniment to the pictures! This shows either that he has actually never seen a movie since sound came in, or that he did not understand. If the latter, it shows that few if any Malay language films come to Ende. Yet the Dutch I asked said that they thought there had been a few (but they seemed to be not certain about this). What a revelation, if this is true, it will be in Ende to a lot of folk when the first Malay movies come in. I can hardly believe this. Maybe the kapitan has seen only silent movies at the mission. I should have asked more closely, but I always have such trouble working with these restless people that I forget to follow up, and I am glad to get what I can and move on.

538 I get the idea that tales are important here, though probably much less so than in such places as Larantuka.

527 I wonder if any of the three holidays they have here mean much to these people, who work only in the gardens. They probably just keep on going. But I seem to note more men about on Sundays than on other days, and my guess is that Sunday has become a kind of holiday.

167 651 486 They say that many young men would like to see the world but have no opportunity to do so. The kapitan says that perhaps nearly all in the town districts of Nggobe and Rodja would leave if they got the chance. But the radja would not give permits anyway. I asked Arriens[1] about this infringement of freedom of movement, and he says it is for the purpose of collecting taxes. I guess it is also because traditionally these small units have been like nations, with everything outside the radjadom to be considered as foreign. I can see why there is chiseling and why the radjas do not want their

[1] [i.e., Controleur at Ende--Analyst]

R

167 men to leave, as the tax is on each household
651 headed by an adult man (fl. 12.50 annually),
●486 and thus the radja would lose income if they emigrated.

266 There was head-hunting here before. They
681 say that the only cannibalism was the eating
754 of the hearts of enemies in order to gain additional strength. There was no human sacrifice, they say, but they have heard of the Lio stuff (and I checked with Arriens[1] and noted that de Bruine[2] in a report on Lio did not list this as among the crimes of the executed Radja of Lio--whose alias was Pius!--but Arriens says that he did it anyway). The only way a person could be given the death punishment was to be proven a suwanggi.

778 More about the tubu musu. They say that
831 "musu" means "two become one." If so, this is
178 perfect, and indeed the tubu musu is similar to the linggam-yoni. Indeed, they say that it consists of an upright stone, less than a meter high, standing on a flat one. "Tubu" they say means "stone," but I note that Arndt gives it an "obscene" meaning (or is it the musu part that is obscene? check Arndt's Lio dictionary).

They have a rather vague idea that this tubu musu may represent male and female. And it can have children. Thus it is like many such stone-bearing stones in Indonesia, including the stones of Larantuka and some on Ambon. I asked if the tubu musu still had children, and this is beautiful, "no more." It is like Roy saying that the familiars of his father appear no more (but they are there and he could call them: "I can call the spirits from there, etc." "Yes, but will they come?") He has no doubt that they would come. I should have asked if the stones still could have children. Anyway, both they and Roy are completely serious about what used to happen. There are no more rites held at the tubu musu, but plenty were held formerly.

1 [Controleur at Ende--Analyst]; 2 [Probably Controleur at Lio--Analyst]

123 only six, including me and Kattenburg, in the jeep. A wisecracking and obnoxious religious guru, who had started right off giving us a lecture on the virtues of Catholicism, got right in and displaced a better man.

632 The kapitan has no authority as I see it, and I remember the kapitan of Gunung Rodja who Ariens said has real power. He had told me that he had to help this kapitan all the time because he is so weak. He looks and acts this way, and is young anyway. He should have thrown the guru out. I would have done so, but I did not know what his influence really amounted to. Anyway, we finally got off with this unpleasant guru, who talked all the time in a raucous voice, the kapitan, the secretary (assistant) a nice lad, and a quiet relative of the kapitan who was dressed in adat clothes, a young man who sat in the rear box who said nothing. We went up the
● 481 dangerous road for 52 km., beyond Ndetosoko, pass-
133 ing a few kampongs, including the magnificent hillside kampong of Wologai, and Ndoeria. At km.
& 52 we turned off onto a grassy road and passed two kampongs on the twisting and high road to the mountain. We got there in two and one quarter hours in all, and it was a fine sight, on top of the world. The elevation is 1550 meters. Red lake is really almost brown. The green one is Nile green, and the blue one is robin's egg blue.
[262] We ate lunch, during which I found that in
521 Roworeke they eat dogs. The guru talked constantly, and the kapitan seemed to be dominated by him. The secretary was his butt and he constantly punched and pushed him like a real joker.

123 I got so sore at the pressure to take more than four of them along that I threatened to go
181 home and call off the trip. All the way I thought of how disagreeable these people were, except for the secretary and a few other young ones. The old ones are almost uniformly O.K. The guru is oily and loud and hearty.

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[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

R

614 here the process has gone much further and they
124 are slower in general to respond. Anyway I got
to the point where they said that there are
really only two "native" suku here in Roworeke,
[622] Odja and Rewarangga. Only an Odja can become
kepala kampong.

622 Incidentally, they agreed that in the old
624 days they had only four adat chiefs. The kepala
[177] kampong were superimposed by the Dutch. They
know this. I asked who were really higher in
rank, the mosa laki mere or the kepala kampong,
and they said that they were just different.
614 Other suku than the main two here are for example, Wanda, Ndoru, Songo, Soa, Fongi; all of which are from Lio, and are represented here by women who have married in mostly. Then there is Djawa, which has been here for a long time. Also there is Meo, from Nggobe; Gusi, from another Ende gemeente; Gusa (or Tibo), from Koavena; another Rewarangga kampong; and Woro (same).

778 Koa is the negri lama of the Gusa suku, and there the rumah berhala is located. It is the one that has the images. Many of the oldtimers live there. It is one kilometer uphill from the km. 10 mark on the road, just above the kapitan's garden. There is a rumah berhala in Worowai, where rites are held. I must get to see this.

614 There is no question here but that the Rewarangga suku has the greatest power in all the gemeente. It may also have been the original suku. Next in order is Odja, and evidently next in line comes Reandona, whose native kampong is Manunggo'o, in the hills above Roworeke.

527 On December 27, after the ceremony of independence, came the same sort of thing as on flag day, but now for nearly a week there will be no
● 487 work. We left for Badjawa, the capital of Ngada. The road went along the coast through a number

487 of dirty, mixed kampongs, and then went up along
the cliffs over the sea to Nangapanda. Then
the road headed into the mountains, and after
[361] a long stretch which appeared to be practically
uninhabited (as usual between the coast and
mountain folk, here as in the Toradja country),
and finally we arrived in Badjawa. Before we
797 reached Badjawa we saw a large mission station
at Todabelu, where there were many modern
buildings, a seminary, and a model farm as well
as a trade school. All of these were notably
advanced over anything else we have seen in
Flores. As usual, it is connected with the
526 mission. In Badjawa there was a great crowd
for the day, and football games were held.
These are the great sport all over Indonesia
now, and it is coming even into the remote kam-
pongs. It is the national sport [i.e., soccer].

We saw here the dirty but spirited Ngada,
291 with dull clothes. The adat dress, however, is
striking, especially that of the men. It con-
sists of a dark blue cloak and a red headcloth.
304 We also noted that a lot of the people had filed
teeth, and in addition many had blackened them.
Earboring is a general practice here, but as
usual the younger men may have the holes but no
rings. (For example, the assistant in Roworeke
is like this and so is the younger guru in Le-
[771] loba.) This is a pretty primitive looking lot,
although most of them are Christian.

361 The Ngada kampongs are hard to see as they
342 are nearly all behind bamboo thickets. Ngada
houses are rectangular with low hanging hooded
roofs. They are built on piles definitely,
unlike Ende (or at least most of the houses in
[778] Ende) and Larantuka. In these kampongs there
are not many stones that I could see, but as
769 yet I have not seen a kampong fully. Notable
346 are the inverted pyramid-like ancestor houses
built on a single post. They are called nadu

342 this area which are round, because the rectan-
574 gular ones last longer and the people like
123 them on this account, because all of them
must pay for a new one). They gave me roasted
bits of pork (tough and with plenty of fat),
and the palm beer, which was milky and strong.
I took photographs of them and they were
amazed.

342 This is a new kampong, and is merely named
[103] six (Anam). There are plenty of round houses,
but all of them with partly wooden walls. The
assistant says that there are still a fair
number of the real old style round houses with
no walls, especially in Tjibal.

574 In the afternoon I went to the mandur's house,
592 where he served a fine dish of ear corn, fresh
from the garden, and also some corn cooked by
steam in the leaves. We also had rice, etc.
He is a real host, and his old father talked
some. I took photographs of the family, includ-
ing his handsome wife. She is from Pongkor.
Plenty of her sisters seemed to be about, and
he said something about how this is quite usual
for a wife's sisters to live with her.

114 Finally we pulled out of Ruteng in the morn-
ing on January 31, expecting to ship out of Reo
that day. I stayed in Reo waiting two days.

[487] Going down the mountains I noticed that the
567 land was largely empty. The road led through
the dalu Tjibal. Down this road used to come
the slaves for shipping to Bima from Reo.
They were sold especially for firearms. Many
Manggarai descendants must be all over Indonesia,
because so many slaves were exported. Thus
there is a section "Manggarai" in Batavia. And
of course there are plenty in Bima.

114 In Reo, which is a poor place, I went to
Kedindi, the port, or rather the beach with
sheds of palm. There was no ship. Therefore
I went back to Reo and stayed at the pasanggra-

411 I also noted many spear bearers. The one I talked with in Tana Ai said that his spear (with a regular head) had been bought from a traveling seller who had brought it from Adonara. Over the line in Lewotobi, I asked a man with a spear, whose head had only one barb, what kind of spear he was carrying. He said that it was unique to Lewotobi, and later I saw others like it. I guess they make them themselves.

Then I went on to Larantuka, where the
443 pasanggrahan disintegrates more all the time.
515 This time the place was full of medicine
514 sellers who follow fairs about and do tricks on bicycles. They sang Mohammedan chants endlessly, washed clothes and urinated in the bathroom, and sat around in the way. I had already run into a similarly unsanitary Arab couple in the Ende pasanggrahan. The medicine people were from Celebes. Now this place is really going native. The toilets are falling
206 into ruin. I noted on my way that the telegraph wire was down at kilometer 44, and I told the next road foreman. Four days later I found the wire still down. The bridges will
●491 never be rebuilt, it seems. The road simply uses fords, that's all.

797 I hear from Arriens that letters are coming
648 to the Flores Council asking how long the Dutch
178 are going to remain in their posts. The whole place is on the way down. I hear that Radja Sikka, has appointed Pastor Raats, a Dutchman, as a special adviser. Thus the mission alone will remain of the West here. The new superstition is substituted for the old.

797 I get more and more depressed by Larantuka with its constant Catholic processions. On the way in at a suburb, a long procession with crosses, chanting, etc., came winding out of a church (I wonder if it was the old time one at

114 The island is fascinating for pure ethnography, as I always expected. I am tempted every time I look at the map to take time off and go into those far hills. The entire northwest half of
●491 Flores has no roads except for the Reo-Ruteng one, and here would be good territory. The
793 priests know a lot, and really should be mobilized for an ethnographic survey. And many of them, for example Mommersteeg,[1] would like it.
103 The kapitan insists that the proper name is
114 Tanah Djea, and indeed this is a town to the north of Nangapanda. Maybe the old authors confused dj with r.[1] [pastor at Todabalu --Analyst]

As for Wolowai, which Wouden[2] (check his source and track this down!) says is reported to be matrilineal, there is a place to the north of Nangapanda in the hills (thus in Tanah Rea part of Ende shown on the Bruine[3] map) so named. This is Wolowai and it is in Ende. I wouldn't be surprised to find any kind of social
R organization in this island! What a place to do
614 a real survey. I asked about a few other things
582 in Roworeke. I made a final try to get a circulating scheme out of the suku here, knowing that they have mother's brother's daughter marriage. I thought I had something when the assistant started off saying that an Odja man should take a Gusa woman, and that a Rewarangga suku man should take a Wanda woman. But right away it broke down, as the assistant himself, an Odja, married a Wanda, and his son will marry a Wanda, he says, in line with mother's brother's daughter marriage. Also, Bapa Ketjil, an Odja, married a Rewarangga. So what? He seemed to think that perhaps once it went like this:

Men	married	Women
Odja		Gusa
Gusa		Some other
Some other		Odja

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]
[2] [probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]

534 drums and gongs were brought here from several
535 kampongs. They are the real tuan tanah articles.
[624] At one time three little girls danced with their eyes downcast and with very little movement of the feet. They wore slendang and nice dresses. The oldest man, looking like a nickel
[292] head Indian, had on an amazing costume with rich embroidery, and a silver fringe under his chin like a beard. For a head decoration he had a gilded horse. He also carried two kris, and each of the other men had one.

526 Now, at 6 P.M., after all day of it, taking turns, the men are still whipping. This is a tireless business.

609 We get the impression of real remoteness
178 here. These men are from the kampong nearby, and in this large bowl of distant mountains they are in their old dress doing the weird old practices and it has little to do with modern freedom and independence. When we go to such a place they look more at us than at the performers. We steal the show. But this is so all over Indonesia for whites. And they stare at us endlessly.

304 The tuan tanah of Weol has an elaborate set of patterns tattooed on his arms.

291 The Manggarai men often wear plaited, flat, songko-like headgear.

The horses here are important. Men and women
●492 ride them, but mainly the former. The whole
[139] open land looks like the wild West. The priests use only horses here. They are small and spirited and bells are usually placed around their necks.

614 The next day we went again to Weol and asked
[624] if the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong were really brothers. If so, how could they belong to different panga. I found out that they are not brothers but merely distantly related.

The three panga names in Weol are the names

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484 In the Japanese time trips were made to
166 seek cloth, etc., but now this is done to a lesser degree, and the people never leave Manggarai although there is quite a bit of movement
[438] within the area. The people who do this moving are the men who buy and sell horses, tobacco, etc. If they are away for long or at some distance, there is a feast when they return. The four who have left the area have not yet returned. When they do there will be a great gathering to hear their experiences. The assistant has seen this happen in Pau. Formerly there were no relations really with even nearby places like Tjumbi, except for marriages, and if they went to war in the dalu's army, or had internal wars, (which were rare). Nowadays there are many more relations within Manggarai.
[621] In the rituals the only environs mentioned are the environs of the kampong. This comprises the ritual world and the social world of yore.

484 Today they travel more than they did before,
178 but still they do not go very far. Formerly
●492 any outsider was fair game for robbery and
166 murder. Thus they were afraid to go afar.
[609] There is little in the way of transportation here. Also, the kampong is a bit too far from Ruteng to make regular trips back and forth easy. However, the horses make Manggarai people greater travelers than, for example, the inhabitants of Larantuka. Every household has
[422] at least one to two horses. They are a big thing here, and now I see why I got the impression at once that there is more internal movement here than in most of the Flores areas. It is the horses. The people are fine riders, and the horses, although small, are fast and
[562] spirited. Women used to mount carefully and the horse on which they rode was led. Now they jump on and gallop off (still, I don't see many women riding horses).

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[493] [492] 481 178 The fact that there are no buses here is a big hindrance. However, the horses help for short runs. The assistant gives the travel times on foot in the old days and now. It shows that they walk much faster now than before. The world is speeding up! It used to take a day to walk to Ruteng; now they do it in three hours!

829 789 609 In general there is no fear of the outside. In the old days they feared robbery and murder, as outsiders were fair game for such. Magical danger is only encountered in certain places which are well known.

776 784 There are many kinds of roro, or spirits, e.g., darat (tree), naga (house and kampong), potiwolo (woods). Although the others may be good or evil, the potiwolo are always wicked. They live in woods. For example, they live in the taboo grove on the way to Ruteng. Darat live there too. The potiwolo sneak up and hit their victims. Thus it is dangerous to go into the woods in such an area, and they never enter such a grove alone. The assistant tells that as a boy with his father he was afraid to enter this wooded area. These potiwolo look like men but have goat bodies. They have two arms but only one leg. They either run on all three, or hop along on the one leg. There are other local spirits, and the places where they live are avoided.

20 Formerly no letters were sent in this area at all, and even today, nearly none is written. There is no telephone here and no telegraph. There is a telephone and there are phonograms in Ruteng. There is no radio here. Letters come to Ruteng and stay there until the post office sees a man who happens to be going the right way. Then he passes the word along. A letter may take three months to be received. Even the phonogram I sent was delayed for two

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243 he came back, he at once made a sawah, and the
177 others saw that it was good. Now, everyone
788 plants at least one sawah. Formerly there were no sawah. This is an excellent case of acculturation via the hadj.

412 Formerly the people here did not use hoes
177 or shovels. These came in at the time of the Dutch entry. Before that they had an iron tipped digging stick only. There are no carts.
493 They thought about my proposal for a group to buy one as an investment for hiring. Perhaps there is too little money even to pay for a bicycle here.

352 There are no tables, chairs, or lamps, ex-
354 cept in rare houses like the kapitan's. The
178 only new thing is the kerosene wick, not the lamp. It is called pelita.

342 The house type has changed here from a
178 larger to a smaller structure, and many of the old style roofs are still to be seen.

291 Women now use bought cloth to make thin
178 kebaya. Formerly they made blouses of homespun, but these are all gone. Men and women still wear homespun sarongs. Men wear this alone and are usually bare above the waist. If a man wears a selendang, he is a big man. If he wears a shirt, this is really very slick attire. There were no shoes here at all before, and few now.

301 Men and women wore earrings before, the men
753 ones of gold (look like silver) which the pagans still wear, and the women ones of a different
[304] style. The assistant's ears are pierced, but this is no longer done to the boys, only to the girls. Beads are worn by men and women on festive occasions. These are great ceremonial objects and are worn by the people who are proud of them. If one is not entitled to them, he will become sick if he wears a string of beads.

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436 sionally one sees a ten sen ketip.! The Japa-
727 nese took everything. They also probably melted down a lot of the coins. There is very
437 little barter here as they have so little merchandise as real surplus. If they need food badly, they may sell cloth in the mountains for some form of food.

● 493 No one has a car. No one has ever owned a car here. And no one can drive. Buses are
[435] very little used. The fare to Ende is fl. 0.50.

429 The owner of all the land is the mosa laki
614 mere of the kampong. He is thus the tuan
622 tanah. Each family has its own house and garden land which is inherited. The parcels are in family units. Land is not sold, bought, or rented. There is also suku land, usually too far off in the hills (where the kampong lama of the suku is) to work. Thus the Odja suku has some in Rabu, but they never use it. The suku land in the kampong is under the giri tumba. Evidently there are no kepala suku, and thus no real suku property organization. This is because the mosa laki mere was formerly the kepala suku when the suku were localized. In the kampong, most of the suku land is that of Rewarangga, and indeed if one looks back far enough, all of the land in Roworeke belonged to Rewarangga suku. Note that the mosa laki mere is of Rewarangga. The Odja folk were given land for coming in and, for example, helping the Rewarangga in warfare. Thus it is possible, and evidently indeed usual, for incoming suku to get pieces of land from the mosa laki mere who is land master of the original suku.

There is also undivided kampong land, and
[609] this may be developed by anyone with the consent of the mosa laki mere. Even outsiders may do this, for example, the people from Ende, who live in the kampong.

! [i.e., small silver coin --Analyst]

R

622 the kepala kampong had put a hex on him. They
755 show the pagan beliefs more and more now. Later
[769] on I discussed the case with the assistant, and he said that I didn't understand why the blood situation had come about. Perhaps the dukun was right: it was a curse of the ancestors for unfulfilled duties to the ceremonial objects.

At Ndona, where there is a big church, school, etc., and in a rather clean kampong there is an enormous cement block on which is set a big flat stone from an old grave heap. There the assistant got off to get the dukun, who lives a one kilometer walk away. Great crowds from the church stood around the jeep and stared at me. He came back after awhile, and with him was a very old man with a chin beard. He had on an old sarong and headcloth. He had never been in a car before, and they had to tell him how to get in, which he did gingerly. He was almost blind. Then we went off to see the patient. When the old man got out I saw his baggage: a kris and a cloth with a lot of things in it, including a brass container. The assistant said that he was to stay with the patient for a week and treat him. If the sick man got better, he would have to give a feast and sacrifice an animal. The dukun is the last terrifically powerful one left in the whole area. When he dies, his children have learned
[759] only a part of his lore. It is too bad for the public health, because there are no doctors here, and it is better to have a dukun than no one. (Think of the psychological need.)

493 Then we went to the house of the kapitan, who luckily was not there. (We had met him on the way to Ende, with his new bicycle, which cost fl. 300.00.)

513 Boys sleep in separate houses. In this area
882 (are there others in the kampong elsewhere? there must be) it is a "bivak," i.e., a wall-

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241 178 [493] plow came in only five years ago. Still, there are no wheeled vehicles. They cannot make them.

291 178 Fifty years ago men dressed only in loincloths. Only the rich had pants or sarongs. They also had shoulder cloths. There has been no change in the dress for women. They used the same kilt down to just below the knees as they use today. Now, however, more women dress in sarongs and kebaya. Pants, shirts, kebaya and sarongs are carefully kept for special events. They are really one's "best," and they are not plentiful. Nevertheless, nearly everyone owns something of this sort.

There is probably not a single pair of shoes in the two kampongs.

[287] Formerly, a long time ago, they used tapa. And in the Japanese time the people made tapa again. They also made wooden hats. The tapa making was pre-Dutch.

[301] [304] In remoter areas a few loincloths are still seen. So are earrings, rings, and bracelets (no leglets). Men never puncture the ear lobe.

302 301 292 The style of cutting the hair short for men came in only twenty years ago. Formerly the men were great for beads. Now they are of little importance. The festive ceremonial clothes I saw in Ruteng on the dancers are pusaka. They are mostly men's pusaka. The horns are made of buffalo hide.

304 178 Tattooing (tikam) is brand new. It came in only ten to fifteen years ago and is now going out. It was done by men who learned how, that's all. However, it is just about gone, and there were not very many people who had tattoos at any time.

304 178 562 881 Women always puncture their ear lobes. Both sexes file their teeth, and this must be done before marriage. Some young people (for example, the assistant) do not do this, but they

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304 say of such people that they "grew up in school."
178 This is still preserved by almost all others.
82 It must be done before marriage. Thus, the
881 kraeng did not have his teeth filed until he was twenty-five years old, just before marriage. Usually the teeth filing takes place much earlier, especially for the girls, who have theirs filed at about fourteen years. Formerly they filed the teeth down to the gums of both upper and lower teeth. Many of the people here still do this (I saw one young girl with only stumps left for teeth). The ordinary people do the filing. They used a stone before, but now they use an iron file. (I note that these people take to new tools very fast. They use all sorts at once. This means that there are no taboos on new techniques, and this should help.) Nowadays most people merely file their teeth even. And there is no feast.

There never was any cutting here.

439 Imports here include cloth, salt, tobacco and fish. Exports include stock, rattan and a few other wild products. There was not much business of this sort and never was. There are no markets. Formerly there was no money. Now it is plentiful. Formerly barter was the
436 only means of trade. Note: in 1942 the Dutch called in all silver and gave out only paper money. The Japanese thus easily took all the silver (the Dutch were invariably mistaken).

● 493 There are no cars here. There are three people in all Manggarai who could drive a car. None of these is here.

There is very little traveling done by car. The only autos are those of the traders (Chinese) and the government. Fifty per cent of the population have never ridden in an automobile.

178 The main change here is that formerly no out-
425 sider could buy land in the kampong. Now an

361 jagged mountains rising all around the town.
[133] There are also two amazing, high, flat topped volcanic peaks. One is called Gunung Medja. The town stretches along the shore, with plenty of red and yellow flowering trees. There is a large impressive alun-alun [field, plaza] going down to the beach in the center. Behind this are a number of good houses. On the east side is the market and on the west side are good
[342] houses too. The houses are well constructed and there was evidently not much bombing here.
[346] As usual, the high church is but a shell, as it was bombed, this time by the Australians.

485 I found that the town of Ende has practically nothing. There was no running water in the pasanggrahan except for a trickle in the morning.
[377] Electricity is weak and tends to break down.
443 The toko have very little in the way of merchandise. It is impossible to buy beer because the stores are out of it. The cigarettes from the distributie have all been used up and one now has to buy such items on the black market.
●495 There is no gas pump, and I have to get gas at the V & W, which pours it out dirty from the tin. Because of this I have had trouble with the jeep for the first time. This is a real end-of-the-world-like place, although the appearance is
[132] rather nice. It is also extremely hot and humid, in fact it is the worst I have experienced yet. At midday it is like taking a Turkish bath here.

485 As usual, the pasanggrahan is not arranged for people who work or read. This is the Indonesian style.

634 The town of Ende is the only main town in the state. There is another state in the mountains, Lio, with a radja at Wolowaru. Then to the east is Sikka, with a radja, and east of that Larantuka, also with a radja. To the west of here is the Radja of Nageh Keo, and to the west of that the Radja of Ngada, at the capital

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789 that the Larantuka radja does have an aradjang, but this is not the word for it here. I must
554 get the right word. There seem to be no out-
614 ward signs of status. The main thing seems to be a general knowledge of everything in the kampong and also whether a person lives in a "big house" or not. The Lango'Bele' system is impressive.

551 Notes on Larantuka: The mandur in the pasanggrahan is a Madurawho married a Catholic woman here. His name before was Ali, but now since he became A Catholic he is known as Andreas. His children have taken their mother's Larantuka name, Dosari, and their forenames are Dominicus, Paulus, and Maria. One who died was named Aloysius.

501 There was one prau owned in Leloba. It was owned by the guru. It was wrecked yesterday.

651 The tax here now is fl. 23.50 per adult man. In the prewar period it was fl. 5.00. The people have trouble paying it and always have had this difficulty.

656 In the prewar period if one did not obey
687 the government one could be jailed easily. Since the war this government control has weakened. For example, in a recent land case the present kepala kampong would not sign a paper of the government, nor would the guru. The kepala kampong was jailed, but the guru tried to bail him out. The government refused to accept bail unless he signed. He asked if it would be possible to re-open the case later if he signed. They said yes, but then refused to re-open the case afterwards.

R Roworeke: On Christmas, we came back through
796 the mountains. On the way, especially in the
535 kampongs in the Lio mountains, we saw many small processions with drums, singing, and many people who were drunk. While dancing the people seem to use handkerchiefs most of the time. This is

F 114 C 634 han, which had no mandur or kitchen or bed. I set up a camp bed with the help of the Radja of Kolaka (who was waiting[1] for a Makassar ship with his family after six months banishment in Ruteng by the Dutch) and his assistant. I then went to the dalu's house where Degens worked for awhile. Then I had lunch with the dalu, a sullen young man, whose still living grandfather is the last radja naib of Reo.

F 634 565 632 578 The dalu was bitter about the Radja of Manggarai. He says that he should be radja, but that the mission put in a Catholic. He says that next to him the proper royal house is Tjibal, which is descended from Daeng Tamema of Reo. The proper royal house is not Todo, because Todo was under Bima only, and the Radja is only a dalu subordinate. He also said that his territory was very small, because the Catholics do not like Mohammedans, nor did the Dutch. Only he, the dalu of Pota, and the dalu of a couple of other coastal places are Mohammedan here. He told me a long story about the past, and why his line is the right one. He also said that the Do Donggo are descendants of Manggarai slaves in Sumbawa. He said that Reo, being Mohammedan, was not favored by the schools. In general, he is quite sore.

C 634 565 648 The Radja is a good man, and fed me. He told me a lot about the Celebes radjas returning now to Celebes after exile by the Dutch. He doesn't want to go back to Kolaka, because he said one would get "bodo" if one stayed there. He is traveling on government expense. He will seek an office job in Makassar. Kolaka and Kendari (Laiwui) are under Luwu.

F 505 On the last morning, part of the plaster wall fell down, and I am glad to be getting away. After watching the loading of animals all day at the beach, I got onto a float with the jeep (first loading of a car ever to take place in

[1] [i.e., in Reo --Analyst]

505 Reo) and went out to a good cattle ship Waikelo.
166 I talked with a Manggarai lad who was a guard at the pasanggrahan, and he said that there were plenty of Manggarai in Reo now, living in a mixed kampong. They are all Catholics. They no longer have any ceremonies. They have no tjompang. They are from all over and come to seek work because the mountains are so poor.

000 After one day in Sumba: I went to Waingapu, in the Kambera area, and there I met Oudehand, who was formerly at Larantuka. He is a fine man, but is looking for funds to carry on adatrecht work in North Halmahera where he was located before. He is quitting his job soon. We talked for a long while about Leloba, as is apparent from the notes. He lent me his car to drive around the area.

Most of the people in the town of Waingapu are from Savu, Roti, or Minahasa; mainly the former two. The real Sumba folk live in the kampongs. I saw no real big old stone tombs, but I did see a cement one which was large. It was the tomb of a radja, with two horse-riding human figures on top. The stone table grave monuments are all over. They are flat and heavy and are set on uprights. I talked with one of the main radjas at the house. In front were the cement tomb and many tables. He chewed betel and had a headcloth, and a Minahasa assistant (who like many Minahasa officials here can speak a bit of English), and he was a terrible drinker. He is a big radja, but not so big as the two biggest (for East and West Sumba respectively). Oudehand said later that he is supposed to be a Christian (most of them here are Catholics) but seldom goes to church unless he is drunk, when he rides his horse into church.

I asked about the clans (kabisu), and he made a classic gesture of thumbs and fingers in a

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592 The oldest man is the head of the house, and his eldest son succeeds him. This is invariable. The eldest woman is the manager (nu'a luka rumah tangga). The eldest son's wife succeeds her.

783 673 It is interesting to note that both adat sins and church sins are kept track of.

•509 We left Larantuka on Tuesday, January 9, and stopped that night in Maumere, so that Kattenburg can get his plane to Makassar on Wednesday.

286 On Wednesday I went on to Ende, and this took six hours, because I went to Sikka (didn't quite get there because the road had been torn up, although I did see Lela, which is near it). Sikka is really isolated, and the road leading there is poor. I noticed all along the road that there were women under or beside the houses weaving. This is true all over Flores. I noticed the drying of threads after dyeing, the looms, the wheels, the piles of cotton, etc. I note the same thing in Roworeke, Wailolong, Leloba, and everywhere.

634 661 439 789 769 I heard much about the radjas' shady business practices (led by the Radja of Sikka, but Larantuka is in on it too) in regard to the surplus distribution sold in Makassar and the copra smuggled into Singapore, etc. The Chinese are in on the deal. Some day these radjas will be out, and this will be better for everyone. I talked with Arriens[1] about them and he was doubtful that they have much magic power here, but I think there is quite a bit. It is perhaps not so directly electrical as in Celebes, but the respect hangs heavy, and they are the apex of the whole ancestor cult. This is true of Larantuka, and I suspect it is true of the other areas.

632 634 Arriens said there has been much trouble in Tana Ai, because they want their own kapitan, but Sikka evidently has his own ideas. Until

1 [i.e., Controleur at Ende -- Analyst]

000 notable.
797 The church in Riangkamiß is built with refer-
177 ence to the four ritual sibs of Kottang, Hurin,
346 Keleng, and Marang. This is an example of the
[64] rule used: anything of a social nature is all
right, but if it is of a religious nature and
related to the old spirits or ghosts, etc.,
Catholicism won't take it. This is like the
[171] death feasts in the Toradja country, where the
Protestants will let the Christians go to these
social rites but not to the great exorcism
rites. Thus the Catholics here are not allowed
to go to the old rites on the nama in front of
the korke, but as the priest admitted, it is
hard for the folk here to see the difference,
and they tend to regard these retained aspects
of paganism as full paganism because they are
symbols of the whole pagan system.
797 He told much that was interesting. There is
178 in paganism here a need for a girl to be the
243 rice maiden for the fertility rites (Vatter[1]
796 tells the story too), and the old adat chiefs
insisted in one kampong that at least one girl
should not be converted, as at least one is
needed to be the rice maiden. This shows the
desperate plight of paganism. They must beg to
have something vital allowed to remain. "Give
us one only," they ask. He said it is true that
just about all of the young people are Catholic,
but many of the old remain pagan.
[771] Later, in Wailolong the guru Roy said there
are few, but very few young people who are pagan.
578 He told us about a war in which a man was killed
411 yesterday. It was a border war between Leloba
and Waibalun and the police had to stop it.
They fight these wars all the time, with bow and
spear and knife. I asked if maybe it were not
511 because they were hungry and need land. And
[578] hunger and misery cause aggression anyway. He
denied this, but I think it is true, especially

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We
511 as I see more of this country. This area is terribly poor and overcrowded, full of stones, and has little water. The girls and women have
[312] to haul water for Leloba from the coast, which is three kilometers off. And there is little food in the town. They are really hungry.

Vatter told of great illnesses here, and I
164 can see many examples of this today. Sore eyes
511 are terrible and probably caused by lack of vitamins. There are many children with large bellies, skin sores, etc. Nowhere before have I seen such misery in regard to mere existence. Last year, a priest told us later, there was a famine here. And now I can see how vital the old rainmaking and the practices of the tuan tanah must be here.

797 At the mission headquarters in Larantuka we
634 were told that it is hard for the mission to
661 make plans here, because every time they get an
423 improvement, for example, in the land system,
427 the radja comes in and seizes the best land.
624 Also the tuan tanah stands up against all changes, and he is a "chiseler" also. Thus if they have a project which brings acres of improved land, the bigwigs wait until the work is done on it and then take the best part for themselves. The local people thus lose their land and many have thus been forced to work on the radja's land or for other big men as sharecroppers. Evidently the common division here is one-fourth of the crop for the sharecropper. The priests seem to regard the tuan tanah, who is the ritual and adat leader, as the worst.

622 We had some gin with the priest and then went
159 to the house of the guru Roy. He was Vatter's[1] assistant, and his house is the biggest in the kampong. He could be the kepala kampong, but because he is a guru, he passed the post on to his younger brother. They belong to the Hurin suku, which is different from the usual thing,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113—Analyst]

764 with upright stone. They are built by indi-
211 viduals to commemorate their own name. There
[554] is great vanity here in keeping one's name
alive after death. Thus the ngadu builder
gets his name on the ngadu too. There are no
offerings, however, at these rest places.

The Nageh in Soa kill animals with spears
231 as they are released (probably a hunting sur-
411 vival). Perhaps this is related to Toradja
spearing?

Larantuka: We left Ende on Friday, January
556 6, and after ten and a half hours we got to
237 Larantuka. There we met a young Chinese trader
177 who was born in Lomblem and whose father has a
438 toko there. They are now in Surabaja, but he
comes through Flores and the islands to buy
stuff each year. He is now buying kemiri nuts.
He told me a lot about Lomblem. He said that
there are thousands of tusks in Lomblem alone.
And he said that Maumere, which is relatively
rich in various products, is cornering a large
part of the tusks of Flores. In other places,
for example, in Larantuka, there are fewer
tusks now, and people are beginning to pay
money instead. The Maumere folk, he said,
think nothing of money. The real wealth and
goal of all striving is tied up in the tusks.
He said that the Chinese brought the tusks in
originally and told the radjas here that they
were the teeth of the naga (which was important
locally before that). The radjas paid dearly
for them, and soon all the folk here wanted
them. Hence, thousands were imported by the
Chinese. It may have been the same situation
as that which obtains with the mokko in the
Alor area. They too may well be from China.

511 This Chinese said that in Lomblem the folk
461 want very little. They work a little, just
185 enough to get the corn going, and then drink
273 enough gin to go to sleep. When drunk they

511 sing a little and then go to sleep. The only
461 time they work hard, and this consists of
185 bringing in coconuts and other stuff to the
[273] Chinese, is when they want to get clothes for
feasts and when they have to pay taxes. Their
only thorn is taxation. Without taxes they
would be completely happy. I heard later, in
237 regard to the tusks, that there are very few
438 in Wailolong, perhaps only ten. However, they
556 circulate and keep the system going. The as-
sistant said that many have been sold because
the people need money so badly. Many were sold
to the people in Tandjung Bunga.

614 When we went to Wailolong we met the assis-
241 tant on the section of Wailolong which is on
796 the side road near Leloba. He was there getting
231 census material. We went off there and at-
tended a rite of the Leworita suku, or rather
one of the ama of the suku. It was the rite
for the beginning of the agricultural season.
The big kampong rite was held first, and here
it was held on Christmas. Then, each suku has
a similar rite, and then again each ama. They
are just now getting around to the ama rites.
[343] In this section there are two kebang (lumbung
or barns) adat, i.e. suku or ama barns. The
big kepala barn is that of the Number One suku
(here Ama Dotang [usually Ama Kottang] which is
near the main korke). The two suku represented
here are Lewodoreng and Leworita. This rite
was held under the adat barn of Leworita (where
jaws of sacrificed pigs hang), but the land is
owned by Lewodoreng. This is why the men who
played the roles of Kottang and Kelon (head
and feet) were not from Leworita but from
Lewodoreng.

The old pagans (some were not so old) did
the rites, but the Christians stood all around,
and they ate what they could get later, probably.
A small pig was brought in and then the prepa-

462 and goats.

There is no shame, however, if one has to do
[887] the work of the other sex. The old people
putter about, for example, the old women make
mats, and the old men carve spoons, etc.

426 If one borrows corn or rice, which is done
686 for the most part, interest is charged at the
rate of one hundred per cent annually. This is
redoubled each year, and if it is finally un-
paid, there may be a court case and the person
may have to pay a horse (the present price of
[435] a horse is fl. 200 and for a buffalo fl. 350).

Money is not borrowed. The reason they bor-
row rice and corn and why they do this from
kampong fellows is that many families are too
311 large. Land is now all divided. The kampong
511 is full. Therefore there is actual hunger in
November and December, when the crops are grow-
ing. Thus if the population continues to in-
crease, some will have to move. The reason
the Dalong folk repossessed one of the Radja's
gardens was that there was an actual shortage
of land. I didn't realize this trouble before.
There are actually poor people here because
the land is all occupied. Therefore, not even
new gardens are possible here. But no one
starves. I asked what the main worry was.
They said getting cloth. It is very hard to
get. Food is a worry only for some people.

465 There are no wage earners except for those
who do a bit of work in other people's gardens.
The present wage is fl. 1.00 a day. Before
even this was not done.

634 In regard to political life there were Bima,
632 dalu, gelarang, and kraeng (some kampongs), and
622 the tuan tanah fifty years ago. In 1940 there
624 were the Dutch, the radja (since 1929), the dalu,
gelarang tuan tanah, and kepala kampong. In
1950 there are the radja, the dalu, the gelarang,
the tuan tanah, and the kepala kampong.

000 showing the basis of the elective system here.

In regard to Roti, the radio repair man said that there are seventeen radjas in the island, and all are jealous of each other's rights. It is more civilized than Savu, where there are still plenty of pagans. In both islands the main food in the mountains is sugar water. And the islands are so overpopulated that they will fight even over a bit of wood to cook sugar from a palm. This is why, Arriens says, so many people from Roti are outside, and many of them are in the government too. They are clever and are forced to leave because of the population problem.

Roti is hard to deal with as they are always having lawsuits. Every new controleur is the signal for all of the old cases to be brought up again, for generations back. The recent controleur broke down under the strain. They also spied on him, even looking at what his boy bought in the market. They are terrible troublemakers. I remember Nunuhitu saying in Makassar that his family was just getting under way again on an old lawsuit, and this time he was determined to win. Thus it is an example of the feud pattern under the pressure of great need. And there is some of the clan business too.

634 661 The radjas here are operating on a small scale, and have to make their own way, for example, Nageh has plenty of gold articles, but it is ceremonial property and cannot be sold. He has part share in a movie in Ende, along with the Chinese. The Radjas of Sikka and Larantuka are evidently in a smuggling business and in also on the sale of distribution supplies with the Chinese.

511 515 Why don't the children have their noses blown? Mrs. Arriens has a good answer, aside from general filth. It is that there is no

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511 515 cloth to spare for their noses. This is really very true!

622 755 769 [443] On Sunday I went to Roworeke again, but at once I was taken into the rear part of the little warong at kilometer 6, which is owned by the kepala kampong. What a pitiful stock he has: a few bars of yellow soap, some bananas, and that's about all. In a little compartment behind this area he squatted, looking awful. On one side, on the floor, one of his wives were tending a fire on the earth, and on the other side was his other wife (the second one, whom I had thought a handsome pagan when she was a bit dressed up, but now she did not look so good, with betel stains, etc.). He told me about the blood pouring from his nose a few nights ago, for four to five hours. He had a high fever (still had it), and pains, and dizziness and blackouts. I tried to see what was up, but the blood was queer.

Then the assistant (his brother) said we should go and get the old dukun who was treating him. The dukun lives in Ndona. On the way there the assistant said that the dukun had already treated the kepala kampong, and that is why he had gotten better. At least the blood had stopped. I asked what the diagnosis had been, and he said it was something to do with the ancestors. The idea seemed to be that somewhere or other along the line they hadn't "fed" the ceremonial objects of the family properly, and this was the cause of the illness. The assistant said that he suspected also that the kepala kampong was too harsh in his administration, and the people were not happy about it (he has been in his post for four years now). This information was rather mumbled, perhaps so that the lads in the back seat could not hear us, and I wonder if perhaps he was inferring that someone rubbed wrong by

F [404 cont.]
342 be mentioned. Here the house stands on piles 1.50 to two meters above the ground and has vertical walls about 1.50 meters high. Above this there is a very high roof which, except in front, F drops to the height of the floor, offering double protection inside [132] against the often very cold winds in these areas. [405] An inner gallery is built against the house on the front, with the floor lower than that of the house; it is partially closed off at the front by a wooden or bamboo balustrade. In front of it and somewhat lower still is an outer gallery that is not closed off. [Illustration appears here.] This is often attached to the galleries of the adja- F cent houses, so that a number of houses in the same row are con- [531 554] nected with one another. The houses of prominent persons often have three galleries. Woodcarvings are common around the door and in other places. The houses of the Ngada serve as dwellings F for only one or two small families [gezin]. During the day peo- [512] ple stay in the front gallery and at night inside the house where a fire always burns.

I From the foregoing description it is already obvious that the 342 building materials are always wood and bamboo, never stone. An exception to this general rule is found in the houses on Bali B and a part of Lombok where clay and natural stone are used. L 342 "The typical Balinese dwelling is an oblong rectangle divided into three parts. The front part includes the rice granaries, or in some cases the cattle shed, and accommodations for guests; the second, the [406] sleeping rooms and the kitchen of the B family; and the third, the house temple. The living rooms are [314] of clay and covered with thatch or atap. In the stony areas of Karangasem and Bangli, which are poor in clay, natural stone is used for the walls and bamboo laths for the roof covering. Well-to-do Balinese divide their compounds, which cover a greater area, into more sections, each of which is used for a particular purpose" (1). [Illustration appears here.]

1. Encyclopaedie van Nederlands Indië, Vol. I, p. 121. See also the detailed

Wae
000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass
thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in
area where there is a large bench for sleeping.
There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the
roof and often in front too. Here sit the women
while they work. If there are two families to a
house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
797 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel
as in other kampongs. The church to which every-
one here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamiß, but
since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are stan-
dard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are
nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have
brown hair or hair which is partly brown.
[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk
along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-
bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue
and black mostly. The designs are even poorer
than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used
for men and for women. They say that a cloth
takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many
304 men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
few old people, it seems especially the women,
have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

Wai.

832 those rascals. They scolded them, saying that
684 if they wanted women, they should ask about
628 them, and speak up about it. That is, they were willing to hear a request, but it had to be done through regular channels without chiseling. ("If you had come to us decently, etc.")

582 In regard to the relative ages of the couple when marriage takes place, the ideal is to have a couple whose ages are nearly the same. If either is older it is better for a boy to be a bit a girl's senior. If there is too great a discrepancy in age, it is not good.

595 His grandfather had four wives. I note that
183 he does not seem to regard polygyny as very bad, even now. And he does not hesitate to tell me that other Christians do this. It is simply that they do not get the sacramen for the second, or third, or even later wife. That's all. Dispensation is called isin.

582 He says that the people in Tandjung Bunga
836 marry when they are very young, and that they begin their sex life as early as nine years old.

178 In the old days, the boys in Leloba and Wailo-
513 long slept regularly in the korke or sebuang
882 (the ama korke, and this is a correction:
[316] sebuang does not refer to the barns of the ama,
[614] but to the cult houses).[1] I think he said that this is not done any more in Wailolong. It was not required, but they just did it. This took place after a boy reached the age of about sixteen. Roy did it himself. They liked this because it was more fun. They could talk, sing, discuss girls, etc. (I think it was practically a rule, and I wonder what they would have said if a boy did not go there.)

What has happened now is peculiar. The boys
178 sleep together in groups, wherever it seems
513 good. They get in the habit, for example, of
882 sleeping on the benches of a certain house, or
171 in a vacant house, etc. (Thus I see that the

1 [See cat. 111, p. 166 -- Ana 4 51]

513 882 178 [171] Ambon and Ceram youth-club houses are really survivals of the regular thing.) In Leloba the main hangout is the "pasanggrahan" (bivak), where there are seldom any guests, and the boys simply take over. Kattenburg inspected it and found that it has sleeping benches and even a [836] few walled compartments. He asked the kepala kampong if perhaps the girls did not slip in, and the kepala kampong said that this was absolutely not the case.

178 513 882 177 644 In Wailolong there is a guru from Bama, where they have regular boy's houses. This fellow has introduced a new type of boy's house in Wailolong (but no other kampong in this area has one), i.e., he has built three on the Bama pattern and the boys sleep there. One of these is our "office" when we use it. These boys' houses are arranged according to suku, and are shared by suku. This is a remarkable case of acculturation within a pattern from one district to another.

[562] 882 561 887 513 The girls have no such houses, and never did. However, before, as today, they seldom sleep with their parents when they get older. Groups of them have hangouts where they sleep together. These groups are of friends. They weave together, etc., and like to gossip, sing, etc., at night. They just fall asleep there, together. This may be a sleeping bench, or it may be that they get a section of a sleeping bench in one of their parents' houses. There they bunch up. Everyone knows where the groups hang out. Kattenburg found that even old women sleep in groups. They may be, I think, groups of "the girls" who are old and widows, and who go back to their girlhood days and sleep with their coevals, and have a good time. If this is so, it is practically a revived age-grade for the girls who in their youth grew up and slept together and now at the end of their life bunch up together again.

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622 the kepala kampong had put a hex on him. They
755 show the pagan beliefs more and more now. Later
[769] on I discussed the case with the assistant, and he said that I didn't understand why the blood situation had come about. Perhaps the dukun was right: it was a curse of the ancestors for unfulfilled duties to the ceremonial objects.

At Ndona, where there is a big church, school, etc., and in a rather clean kampong there is an enormous cement block on which is set a big flat stone from an old grave heap. There the assistant got off to get the dukun, who lives a one kilometer walk away. Great crowds from the church stood around the jeep and stared at me. He came back after awhile, and with him was a very old man with a chin beard. He had on an old sarong and headcloth. He had never been in a car before, and they had to tell him how to get in, which he did gingerly. He was almost blind. Then we went off to see the patient. When the old man got out I saw his baggage: a kris and a cloth with a lot of things in it, including a brass container. The assistant said that he was to stay with the patient for a week and treat him. If the sick man got better, he would have to give a feast and sacrifice an animal. The dukun is the last terrifically powerful one left in the whole area. When he dies, his children have learned
[759] only a part of his lore. It is too bad for the public health, because there are no doctors here, and it is better to have a dukun than no one. (Think of the psychological need.)

493 Then we went to the house of the kapitan, who luckily was not there. (We had met him on the way to Ende, with his new bicycle, which cost fl. 300.00.)

513 Boys sleep in separate houses. In this area
882 (are there others in the kampong elsewhere? there must be) it is a "bivak," i.e., a wall-

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513 less pondok where in the daytime I see women
882 weaving. They call the boys' houses "kuwu." There are no girls' houses. The girls sleep with their parents, or rather each grown girl has a separate apartment in the parental house.

562 Males are more influential, and they give most
178 of the orders, but women will revolt if men do not behave. They will not give the men food, they will scold the men, etc. They act up, however, only if the men misbehave. And they are not afraid of doing so. The girls nowadays are a bit freer than before in regard to talking up, etc., but there is very little change, in general. The old folk are not too pleased about having the girls in school. They can't see the use of this.

614 Correction: It suddenly turned out that
597 there are two ata nggaeh nua in this kampong, Bapa Ketjil, for the Odja suku; and the brother (older) of the kapitan for the Gusa suku. If the suku is large enough, it has such an adat expert in a kampong. These are the only ones large enough here. Then the true story of the kapitan came out. He is not classified as a member of Odja, but actually he was born a Gusa. The former kapitan adopted him. He became a foster child, or ana gave (the g here is pronounced like the French uvular r). I asked if this was what Wouden[1] called ndueh, and they were surprised. It turns out that ndueh means "to have two wives." (How could Wouden's source have made this error?)

Such a foster child becomes a member of his foster father's suku. There is no ceremony; he just moves in. He takes on a new set of relatives, but also keeps his own. He becomes a kind of "double-suku" man. Thus the kapitan calls his real brother kaka, and also uses this term for his new brothers in Odja. But I note that he married an Odja woman, and it seems

[1] [See pp. 20-85 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -Analyst]

411 I also noted many spear bearers. The one I talked with in Tana Ai said that his spear (with a regular head) had been bought from a traveling seller who had brought it from Adonara. Over the line in Lewotobi, I asked a man with a spear, whose head had only one barb, what kind of spear he was carrying. He said that it was unique to Lewotobi, and later I saw others like it. I guess they make them themselves.

Then I went on to Larantuka, where the
443 pasanggrahan disintegrates more all the time.
515 This time the place was full of medicine
● 514 sellers who follow fairs about and do tricks on bicycles. They sang Mohammedan chants endlessly, washed clothes and urinated in the bathroom, and sat around in the way. I had already run into a similarly unsanitary Arab couple in the Ende pasanggrahan. The medicine people were from Celebes. Now this place is really going native. The toilets are falling into ruin. I noted on my way that the tele-
206 graph wire was down at kilometer 44, and I told the next road foreman. Four days later I found the wire still down. The bridges will
491 never be rebuilt, it seems. The road simply uses fords, that's all.

797 I hear from Arriens that letters are coming
648 to the Flores Council asking how long the Dutch
178 are going to remain in their posts. The whole place is on the way down. I hear that Radja Sikka, has appointed Pastor Raats, a Dutchman, as a special adviser. Thus the mission alone will remain of the West here. The new superstition is substituted for the old.

797 I get more and more depressed by Larantuka with its constant Catholic processions. On the way in at a suburb, a long procession with crosses, chanting, etc., came winding out of a church (I wonder if it was the old time one at

634 Badjawa (the capital of Nageh Keo is Boawai). The Ngada radja is an old style man with thirty wives who hunts and does nothing else. A relative, a wakil, does the work. To the west is the Radja of Manggarai, with the capital at Ruteng. The Dutch Controleur, Degens, also resides in Ruteng. The former radja died three to four months ago, and the new one has not yet been installed.

361 I began by riding out along the road toward Badjawa, and got to a ford about fifteen kilometers out. On the way I saw plenty of small and disorderly looking kampongs, with a definitely different arrangement and house style from
● 515 any other of the places I have been. Also, I noticed that the people here are slovenly, dirty, and strange in appearance. This is a real mongrel zone, and neatness is noticeably lacking in the people and in the villages. On
771 this west side of Ende in the coastal kampongs the people are mainly Mohammedan. On the east side and into the mountains they are mainly Christian. But in both cases, there are just about as many pagans, and sometimes the pagans are in the majority.

563 The next day I rode out to the east and into
361 the mountains as far as Ndetosoko, high in the
291 mountains. On the evening of the day before I
515 rode out to the other side of the Ende peninsula to Ipi beach. Along this stretch is a kampong made up mostly of Savunese. The houses are of a different style and the people are more like those from Roti in appearance (somewhat of a Hindu type), with sarongs having nice designs and horizontal patterns. I was told by the Controleur's wife that the Savunese are clean and are used here as babu, etc. The Savunese also keep their kampong clean and neat.

764 I stopped here and there along the road into the mountains of Lio and noted some remarkable

159 wherein the kepala kampong is a Kottang. This is
[622] all right according to adat, he says. The guru is
an old fellow, sick with a cough. He was not there,
and his daughter, who might be any age from eighteen
to thirty, talked with us. She seems to be a queer
type, and it is strange that she is not married. I
get the idea there is some friction between her and
her father. She had five years of schooling at the
sisters' school in Larantuka. A son of the guru is in
Makassar as a clerk (I think in a church office),
and he married a Leloba girl recently. The guru
[582] married a woman from the same suku, but the daugh-
ter says this is all right as she was from Laran-
tuka. If she were from any kampong behind the moun-
tain, this would have been impossible. The house
was adorned with holy pictures. The guru said he
[797] was converted in 1907, and as he is now perhaps
771 sixty, that was when he was about eighteen. There
178 are no more pagans in Leloba, a change from Vatter.[1]
The old pagan stuff in a material form is all gone.

124 After our talk we decided that perhaps Wailolong
121 was the best community in which to work, because
Leloba is entirely Christian. In addition, Leloba
was done by Vatter. Wailelong is about the same
size as Leloba and at the crossroads below. We
talked a great deal about adat and then came back
to Larantuka with the guru, who wanted to visit
the children in the school there.

312 In the afternoon we picked him up and went to
Wailolong. On the way we picked up the kepala kam-
pong Leloba and a few others. They were at the
[515] other crossroad near the spa, and here there were
many women bathing (there is no water in the kampong
for this). Women were also hauling water from this
place. The guru said they had to go even farther
778 for water originally. It seems as though all of the
kampongs have a higher negri lama, as in Ambon.
There are holy stones here too.

361 Wailolong is along the main road and is located
161 on both sides of this highway. It may have as
many as one hundred houses and a possible population
of seven hundred.

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 113 - Kennedy]

771 the young folk are Christian. Most of the old
[624] people are largely pagan however. There are
no other obvious signs of pagan religion in
the lower kampong. The same goes for Weol.
342 Here there are more round houses, but the new
ones are all rectangular. At the entrance of
778 the kampong there is a mound which I must ask
about. It looks as though it might have been
a cult hill. Then there is the holy tree and
the stones around it. The photo of the stone
figure, Ine Amba, which Vroklage gives as from
Weol, is really from a kampong which can be seen
across the rice fields.

621 There are many old people here, including two
[624] remarkable old men, one of whom is one of the
two tuan tanah in the kampong. This is a double
kampong, with two main parts, and it has there-
fore two tuan tanah. The children here are
[515] dirty and so are the adults, for the most part.
[231] There are pigs all over. However, the houses
[361] are better spaced than, for example, in Laran-
tuka kampongs. The people here have poor clothes,
[291] and many, especially the women, were seen with
304 filed teeth and some of them with teeth beauti-
fully blackened. We noticed no tattooing nor
cutting.

243 Looking off from the high kampong one can see
the wet rice fields below. These are in wedge
shapes with a common center. There are many
adjacent, star-shaped arrangements. This is
unique in Indonesia. The priest says this is
because it is easier to fence them in this fashion,
but I suspect there is some cosmological signifi-
cance, perhaps reflected in the circular houses
too. The houses have all sorts of decorations
342 on top of them. The round ones seem to have an
531 upright wooden thing on them. The rectangular
ones have at the ridge ends a stylized pair of
wooden horns, often with a bird in the middle,
and some with two birds, one at each horn tip.

[See pp. 390-91 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography cat. 113--Analyst]

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592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more people in many of the houses. The complex ar-
243 rangement of rice fields stretches out far below and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but perhaps this is done merely by flooding. I must ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly situated on rises and they are small, for example, Weol has only about thirty houses in it. The priest says that there are many of the stones in kampong Ruteng located about 1½ km. outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each day, and the guru will bring the table and chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel. The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary, which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
177 houses were introduced here by a priest. The
55 guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the folk here, including the priests. Bathing is not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the relationship between partners is distant enough. Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans, called panga, and one may marry within these in the same way, according to the guru. I must find out more about this and also get the kin system. We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in the center of the town where they were playing football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

582 565 firm in stating that one had to marry within the same class, of which there are three: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata hoß, but I forget the terms for the others. [587] They say that a lower man may never marry up, [567] but that a higher man may marry down for a second wife. They are more open here about slavery than I have found elsewhere.

142 144 The people are quite handsome and many of them are of the proto-Malay type. There are relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay element predominates, and the East Flores Negroid types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars. There is also a great difference in the color of the skin, many people being quite light-skinned [515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here [197] say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not the Soa folk.

291 304 The clothes of the local people are shabby and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears. [276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments [301] in their ears today. Only the holes are noted. We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most men have their names or initials as well as figures tattooed on their forearms. This name [177] tattoo is quite general.) (Perhaps this is the secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy tattoo.")

764 565 The burials here, I think, and certainly in Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

632 The districts here are called kepala mereschappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan. This one is evidently Naru.

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
361 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
515 deer horns. The only time the people here get
514 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

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829 that the big radja here is in Ende, and that's all.

609 648 [197] The general attitude toward the Dutch has always been one of fear. This is not a specific fear and is not equivalent to the resentment one sees in Larantuka caused by stern rule and frequent jailing. He says that the real reason is that they do not know what they fear, and they can't even talk with or understand the Dutch. The Dutch speak only Malay, and few of the local people here speak Malay. They just tried to avoid the Dutch, and that was easy. As the status of Malay began to rise, there was a bit of a change among the young people, but there was little thought about or contact with or talk concerning the Dutch at any time.

What I have just said is even more true of the mountain areas. Whenever aliens come into the neighborhood they just run away. Thus when Migo goes there for tax work, he sees only the kepala kampong, unless he lures the adat chiefs with tobacco, and other presents. I asked him why he was afraid. After all, he could speak their language. Then he shifted ground and said nothing specific, and stated that they do not even fear taxes, but they have the attitude that any outsider should be avoided. [515] Also, he says that they are so dirty in the mountains that they are ashamed to meet outsiders. (If this is so, they at least are conscious of dirt.) Their clothes are bad and dirty, and they never bathe. The women and children are especially filthy. He says it is too cold in the mountains to bathe. The water is especially cold, even in midday. This is a queer business.

771 Religion does not mix in with politics here. There is no trouble with Mohammedanism either. They don't talk much about such things. Even

000 showing the basis of the elective system here.

In regard to Roti, the radio repair man said that there are seventeen radjas in the island, and all are jealous of each other's rights. It is more civilized than Savu, where there are still plenty of pagans. In both islands the main food in the mountains is sugar water. And the islands are so overpopulated that they will fight even over a bit of wood to cook sugar from a palm. This is why, Arriens says, so many people from Roti are outside, and many of them are in the government too. They are clever and are forced to leave because of the population problem.

Roti is hard to deal with as they are always having lawsuits. Every new controleur is the signal for all of the old cases to be brought up again, for generations back. The recent controleur broke down under the strain. They also spied on him, even looking at what his boy bought in the market. They are terrible troublemakers. I remember Nunuhitu saying in Makassar that his family was just getting under way again on an old lawsuit, and this time he was determined to win. Thus it is an example of the feud pattern under the pressure of great need. And there is some of the clan business too.

634 661 The radjas here are operating on a small scale, and have to make their own way, for example, Nageh has plenty of gold articles, but it is ceremonial property and cannot be sold. He has part share in a movie in Ende, along with the Chinese. The Radjas of Sikka and Larantuka are evidently in a smuggling business and in also on the sale of distribution supplies with the Chinese.

511 515 Why don't the children have their noses blown? Mrs. Arriens has a good answer, aside from general filth. It is that there is no

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511 cloth to spare for their noses. This is really
●515 very true!

On Sunday I went to Roworeke again, but at
622 once I was taken into the rear part of the lit-
755 tle warong at kilometer 6, which is owned by
769 the kepala kampong. What a pitiful stock he
[443] has: a few bars of yellow soap, some bananas,
and that's about all. In a little compartment
behind this area he squatted, looking awful.
On one side, on the floor, one of his wives
were tending a fire on the earth, and on the
other side was his other wife (the second one,
whom I had thought a handsome pagan when she
was a bit dressed up, but now she did not look
so good, with betel stains, etc.). He told me
about the blood pouring from his nose a few
nights ago, for four to five hours. He had a
high fever (still had it), and pains, and
dizziness and blackouts. I tried to see what
was up, but the blood was queer.

Then the assistant (his brother) said we
should go and get the old dukun who was treat-
ing him. The dukun lives in Ndona. On the
way there the assistant said that the dukun
had already treated the kepala kampong, and
that is why he had gotten better. At least
the blood had stopped. I asked what the diag-
nosis had been, and he said it was something to
do with the ancestors. The idea seemed to be
that somewhere or other along the line they
hadn't "fed" the ceremonial objects of the
family properly, and this was the cause of the
illness. The assistant said that he suspected
also that the kepala kampong was too harsh in
his administration, and the people were not
happy about it (he has been in his post for
four years now). This information was rather
mumbled, perhaps so that the lads in the back
seat could not hear us, and I wonder if perhaps
he was inferring that someone rubbed wrong by

411 I also noted many spear bearers. The one I talked with in Tana Ai said that his spear (with a regular head) had been bought from a traveling seller who had brought it from Adonara. Over the line in Lewotobi, I asked a man with a spear, whose head had only one barb, what kind of spear he was carrying. He said that it was unique to Lewotobi, and later I saw others like it. I guess they make them themselves.

Then I went on to Larantuka, where the
443 pasanggrahan disintegrates more all the time.
● 515 This time the place was full of medicine
514 sellers who follow fairs about and do tricks on bicycles. They sang Mohammedan chants endlessly, washed clothes and urinated in the bathroom, and sat around in the way. I had already run into a similarly unsanitary Arab couple in the Ende pasanggrahan. The medicine people were from Celebes. Now this place is really going native. The toilets are falling
206 into ruin. I noted on my way that the telegraph wire was down at kilometer 44, and I told the next road foreman. Four days later I found the wire still down. The bridges will
491 never be rebuilt, it seems. The road simply uses fords, that's all.

797 I hear from Arriens that letters are coming
648 to the Flores Council asking how long the Dutch
178 are going to remain in their posts. The whole place is on the way down. I hear that Radja Sikka, has appointed Pastor Raats, a Dutchman, as a special adviser. Thus the mission alone will remain of the West here. The new superstition is substituted for the old.

797 I get more and more depressed by Larantuka with its constant Catholic processions. On the way in at a suburb, a long procession with crosses, chanting, etc., came winding out of a church (I wonder if it was the old time one at

651 Arriens said that he had heard this from the Radja as a big source of trouble now. I can imagine it. Their big trouble on this simple level, with the government, was only taxes (and for a few, jail). Thus, when freedom comes in, it means freedom from the Dutch burden, taxes.
[622] Anyway, I noted that the kapitan, as usual
[554] when in trouble, had called the giri tumba and the big ata ngga'eh nua (Bapa Ketjil) to come to his house in full adat dress. This underlines again the point that real prestige is in these old adat chiefs. They are the ones to call upon when a real decision has to be made. And there sat the malcontents, about to face the adat chiefs.

114 In Ndona, as I waited for the assistant to get the dukun from the hills, I sat in the jeep and read Bruine's[1] report on Lio, which was very
123 appropriate. As church got out, there gathered about at least twenty men and boys, and the latter hung over me while I was reading or at least trying to read the book. They were astonished, and read aloud, when they saw words
[212] like "mosa laki Ndona." And some of them could
● [515] read the Dutch. Overall was the smell of sweat and onions.

181 The last trick of the assistant was to ask
123 for my fountain pen so that he could look at it and think of me. These folk are easily the most greedy yet. I doubt that one could appeal to mere good spirit here.

114 I think I have finally located the Rea which Elbert and Körner[2] always refer to as Rea Ndona.
103 I think they mean the Ende coastal area. I know where Ndona is, but I now see in a map in the Bruine[1] report that Tanah Rea is the former name of the area in which Nangapanda is on the south coast. It stretched to the north coast of Flores.

000 Back in these hills, which I wish I could explore, there may well have been endocannibalism!

[1] [Probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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763 There was a death in Veol, and from the hill there came the sound of weeping and howling. I asked if someone had died recently, and he said after listening that the person had died this morning. He could tell by listening, so it seems that there are evidently stages of howling. The next day there was no drumming in the kampong, because of the death, and evidently the dead takes precedence over wood.

186 Everywhere in Indonesia now, as this morning from the school, one can hear Indonesia Raja sung. They all know that it was taboo before.

342 I saw the Radja's house in Ruteng today. It is a complex of three round houses, with one big one in the center. Of course, it was made of fine wood, which was about octangular, but the roof was made of grass thatch. It was impressive.

766 The Radja's daughter of about ten years of age died today, and there was a constant coming and going of cars, police jeep and others, bringing the local kraeng to Ruteng. I took one of the kraeng along at noon. I also took
515 a lot of others, and the smell was strong in the car. I think they never bathe. The pretty head guru's wife got sick, and also one child. They vomited because of carsickness.

194 The mandur said the Ngada can never get over their accent, which is full of gutturals. It is like Dutch. I heard this in the Radja's Malay in Badjawa. The guttural g is here a bit too, as noted in the place name Ndeges, with the g pronounced as in Dutch.

756 The assistant agrees that several mbako were
683 jailed from time to time. The charge has been magic murder, but they can't get a conviction because they have no "witnesses." Still, this is a big reason why they no longer tell outsiders who the mbako are.

In regard to the radja and the land matter,

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538 but many are still remembered. I get the idea that the decline here is not so great as in many other areas.

484 There is practically no desire here yet to go to places which are "happier."

721 There was no head-hunting here at any time,
266 nor was there any cannibalism, although they did drink blood for revenge pleasure in war. There was no human sacrifice and no torture.

681 The death punishment was given for murder, a slave having sex relations with a kraeng woman, primary incest (but more distant incest was punished by a purifying rite only). The way the death punishment was carried out here and in Pongkor was to throw the victim down into a river from a high point.

411 Note: To kill a beast the people here use
231 a spear or a long knife. It is nearly always the latter.

778 The tjompang tree may be only either waringin
824 or dadap.

● 515 I see plenty of lice-plucking here. The pretty wife of the head guru I saw plucking the head of another woman. And I see this all over. And here, judging by the smell, they seldom bathe. I see no bathing places. Toilets are evidently holes in the ground enclosed by a screen. I don't remember seeing lice-plucking in Makassar or Buginese areas, but perhaps they do it too. I also do not remember seeing it in Ambon. The Toradja certainly do it. Note that the Endenese and people in Larantuka bathe. The Toradja don't. I think it is probably mountain people (especially the dirty Ngada) who do not bathe and also who have more lice. In this regard, note the Manggarai Ngada, Toradja, and Batak. The Minangkabau, although living in the mountains, bathe (a sign of former coastal life?).

124 Thus ended the Manggarai work, and the as-

1:Alkema & Bezemer--444 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1
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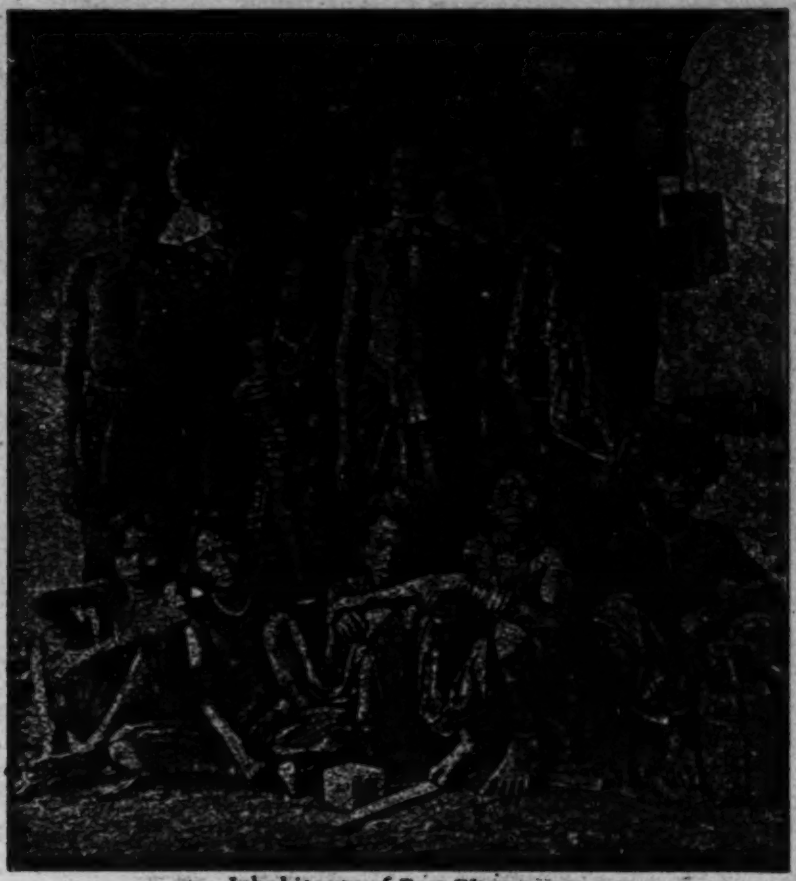

Inhabitants of East Flores
Photo. Kol. Instituut. Coll. Leroux.

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On Timor, for instance, the old-fashioned type of house is round, while the newer type is oval, and the houses of more prominent people and princes are square. [Illustration appears here.] According to Grijzen (1), the houses in North Tétoen (Belu) in particular are oval in form.

1. Mededeelingen omtrent Béloe of Midden-Timor [Information concerning Béloe or Central Timor], 1904, p. 44.

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614 this is so too. Thus there is a kind of "kepala
624 suku" in the form of one of the mosa who is hereditary in the suku. This means, however, that there may be suku with no big man in them because there is no hereditary rank in them. Such would be the suku which had lost their privileges in the old kampong of origin and which had not obtained any office in any of the other kampongs to which they have moved.

576 A lower person must sit or squat in the
516 presence of the kapitan or mosa laki. This is respect. There are no honorific terms of address. They just call the officer by his title. Only the educated ones even know the use of the term "tuan."

789 I have been unable, even with the most extreme pressure, to get anything on magic power of individual persons here. The dukun and the bisa mari are just dreamers and clever ones with second sight and occult gifts. I can find nothing of the true magic power of office that clothes the radjas of Celebes.

611 Monday, January 16. Today I left Ende for
184 Larantuka. I stopped and asked a man in Tana Ai about the matrilineal rules and finally got it out. It happened that the place I asked about this was over the border of Larantuka, to the east of Tana Ai, and he said that here in West Larantuka the matrilineal adat of Tana Ai is also found. In fact, he spotted the border for me exactly, which represents a new find for the book. These towns are in the matrilineal part of Larantuka: Unu, Paluch Lewalalang, Sukutukang, Riangwulo (which is where he and his group were from), Kedang, Bawalatang, Duang, Tabana, and Watubuku. These represent the eastern border of Tana Ai matrilineal adat. To the east of them all is patrilineal, that is, Lewotobi (e.g., Riangbarang). This is excellent material.

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764 were put in a box and placed in the "attics" of the tombs. All except one of these tombs are gone, and this one is the Odja shrine. Now I understand why the bones are placed above in this shrine. This is like all the big men in the old days. Today, they can't [656] use trees because the government forbids this on hygienic grounds (why worry? the place is so dirty and disease-ridden that it seems foolish). Today the big men are buried in especially elaborate tombs of stone, in which many bodies are put (as in Sumba). Formerly, ordinary folk were just buried, or if they had money enough they were placed in tombs.

764 Thus one can say that only big men, that is, 554 the kepala suku, were put in the attics of the 565 pondok before. Other nobles were placed in stone tombs if they could pay the expenses. Evidently both of these kinds of nobles were first placed in a tree. An ordinary noble who did not have enough money, however, was simply buried, as there would be no use putting him in a tree if there was not to be a second funeral and a stone tomb.

764 Today bodies must be buried within twenty-four hours. They are buried or put in tombs. The only "memory feast" aside from the second burial disposal was held when it was desired to ask for rain by calling directly on the dead (evidently).

[184] Only the pagans still put the body in knee-chest position at burial. The Christians and Mohammedans bury their dead in an extended posture.

At the old tombs, when they have a funeral of one to be put therein, the Catholic priest, (and I presume the Mohammedan leader too) prays.

At the funeral feast, pagans, Catholics and Mohammedans all kill animals.

517 All amusement is local, except for rare and

517 few moving pictures, and the trips to Ende town.

535 They dance and sing, although they do not
[526] have the whip dueling here. They do the bamboo dancing as in Manggarai. They dance and sing only at the time of the full moon, and prepare the occasion in advance. Local instru-
[534] ments are only the drum and the gong. Anything else is imported. And the only dances of old are the ronggeng and the main tandak (round dance), and the bamboo dance. This is all.

526 They play soccer and raga (rattan kick
524 ball). They have no card games. They do have a corn and hole game. They also spin tops, but do this only after the harvest.

53 They no longer make wooden images. There is no stone work here and no drama (evidently not even much in the ritual). There is no
[286] painting. Weaving is about the only local art. Thus they are very poor, aesthetically.

527 The only free days are feast days, Lebaran, and now merdeka. The rest of the time the people have to work hard. As they say, it is kebon, kebon, kebon. But after the harvest things are easier. During the growing season times are really arduous.

546 Very little is known locally about alien amusements. They seldom see movies, seldom if ever read, and almost never talk with foreigners. (Indeed, this underlines the remoteness of these people. They are near Ende, but nearly all of them are far away from anything outside.) Most of the people here (by far) have never seen a movie, and the others have only seen one once or twice. They do not understand that sound movies talk. This came out when I asked about how many people had seen them. The kapitan said that they don't have that kind of movies (he had never heard of them evidently). Yet he has seen at least one, but he thought

123 only six, including me and Kattenburg, in the jeep. A wisecracking and obnoxious religious guru, who had started right off giving us a lecture on the virtues of Catholicism, got right in and displaced a better man.

632 The kapitan has no authority as I see it, and I remember the kapitan of Gunung Rodja who Ariens said has real power. He had told me that he had to help this kapitan all the time because he is so weak. He looks and acts this way, and is young anyway. He should have thrown the guru out. I would have done so, but I did not know what his influence really amounted to. Anyway, we finally got off with this unpleasant guru, who talked all the time in a raucous voice, the kapitan, the secretary (assistant) a nice lad, and a quiet relative of the kapitan who was dressed in adat clothes, a young man who sat in the rear box who said nothing. We went up the 487 dangerous road for 52 km., beyond Ndetosoko, pass- 133 ing a few kampongs, including the magnificent hillside kampong of Wologai, and Ndoeria. At km. & 52 we turned off onto a grassy road and passed two kampongs on the twisting and high road to the mountain. We got there in two and one quarter hours in all, and it was a fine sight, on top of the world. The elevation is 1550 meters. Red lake is really almost brown. The green one is Nile green, and the blue one is robin's egg blue. We ate lunch, during which I found that in [262] Roworeke they eat dogs. The guru talked con- ● 521 stantly, and the kapitan seemed to be dominated by him. The secretary was his butt and he constantly punched and pushed him like a real joker.

123 I got so sore at the pressure to take more than four of them along that I threatened to go 181 home and call off the trip. All the way I thought of how disagreeable these people were, except for the secretary and a few other young ones. The old ones are almost uniformly O.K. The guru is oily and loud and hearty.

Wow

829 a small scale.

Everyone here knows the places in and the arrangement of the kampong and the district and the Larantuka town road. Perhaps only ten people know about the setup as far as Maumere, and probably only the guru is clear about the rest of Flores. Perhaps only two people know about the general arrangement of the geography of Indonesia. And except for a few place names and countries, no one knows about world geography.

One boy who is in the fifth grade knew the population of Indonesia, and he also knew the population of the United States! He was absolutely correct. Other people could not give this information, and as for other countries even he had no idea.

As usual we got a terrific reaction when we told them how few people there were in Holland. They muttered for several minutes. They said that two men in Wailolong and one in Leloba receive the mission paper. Perhaps ten other people borrow and read it.

[197] [204]

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The very few people who have visited towns outside of Flores are loquacious in telling about their experiences, mostly limited to kampong life. Others listen to this, but there is evidently very little reaction.

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There has been just about no change in the political structure in the last fifty years here. The kakang and all others were here long ago. The kakang has shifted from one kampong to another and that's about all. The traditional system of government has seen little change. Taxation started forty years ago. Now they pay a tax of fl. 1.00 for each animal killed for food, and fl. 10.00 for each animal killed for sale. (This just about stops any chance of a meat-selling market or animal industry.)

000 Today there are more meetings and greater

Wa.

829 they only saw them run away when the Japanese
[618] came in. He then said something which was quite interesting: that it is not hard for even the illiterates here to understand the government of any land in the world, as they have had so much experience with a system of government here. All they have to do is imagine the alien organization in terms of their own political organization.

875 As for information spread about in regard to
203 politics and current events, Roy says that the guru do a lot of this. The people ask them questions, and they are really big men.

•521 The people here do not talk much about poli-
829 tics. Even when they had the big day of celebrating independence and the flag was flown, after the main information about the Round Table Conference was out, the people began to talk about their gardens, etc. They know about Sukarno, because his picture is everywhere [the Hitler theme?]. The thing which really settled
[798] the rumor that the red and white flag is that of Islam was Sukarno's speech that all religions were free. Priests must have publicized this.

The local people know that Java is the center
829 of all Indonesia, but there is little talk about
203 this yet. Roy sees the importance in this of
521 the complete absence of movies, radio, and the relative absence of papers. If the people had these, they would talk more (as do the backward Buginese who see movies of other lands and are curious about them).

794 Roy says that Catholicism does not mix itself
665 up with politics here at all. When elections are held, the priest says in church that they must be sure to choose the right man. At least, he insists that the church is not involved in politics. I tried to press Roy by telling him how the church tried to get another radja for Manggarai, because the present one, although

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521 178 887 At feasts, when the old rites are put on, the old people reminisce over the old days and the old ways, especially when they get drunk. Then they are mournful.

562 641 There are no women in politics. They do not come to the election meetings and have no voice in the government. They are not even reckoned in when the population is totaled to determine the number of electors. They have no political representation, and Migo says that everyone would be against having women take any part in politics. It is simply not right.

829 He says that they are stupid here. By this he means only a few people know anything or ever say anything about Flores or Indonesian politics. And even about the local affairs they say almost nothing. It is starting today, and there are a few people who are thinking a little. But how absolutely rudimentary it is! This is the most backward place yet, by far.

Locally the people have a vague idea that Roworeke is the most important kampong in the district, because it is the center. The fact is, and the kapitan and a few others know this, that rank and influence of the districts in Ende is in the following order: Nggobe, Rodja, Rewarangga, and Pulo Ende. Below this are the other five. About all the people know is that Nggobe is by far the largest, the most populous, and thus the greatest.

They do not know what Ende's place in Flores is, or anything about the place which Flores occupies in Indonesia. This is beyond their ken. There are no political ambitions (yet note that the suku Reandona has been trying to get a man into the kapitan post). They are politically dead. They know and talk nothing about the Dutch, the Indonesian Republic, etc.

They knew that the Queen was their radja before, but that didn't mean much. They know

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771 conservative, but not fanatic. Cornelius[1] says that they do not analyze the situation by thinking of what good things Catholicism has brought. Opposition is in the form of criticism, not in terms of a balance of good and bad. Just about all education is in the hands of the mission, although schools are paid for mainly by the government. Even in Mohammedan Reo, I found, the schools are mission run.

[871] [797] [658]

The people here do not debate very much about religious matters, but they do criticize the Catholic opposition to polygyny and feasts. There are no real debates or discussions, however, not even within families.

[821]

In regard to other religions, they know only Catholicism. All they know about Mohammedanism is that they eat no pork and are allowed four wives. There is no knowledge of other cults.

[829]

764 Formerly, in disposing of the dead, a mat was used, not a coffin. Today boxes are used everywhere. The big change in funeral rites has been the addition of Catholic rites, but the old ones are carried out too, as in the case of the wedding. When someone dies, everyone howls, and this includes men and women. Then two or three children carry a spear around the area, telling who has died. A few people from each house come to the house of the dead. They place the dead on a mat, on the floor, with the head toward the door. A cloth is placed over the whole body including the face. Thus the body remains on the floor for one day. A coffin is made. The dead is dressed in fine clothes. A few carefully saved silver coins are usually put in the mouth of the dead.

[178]

At the cemetery a man hits the ground five times with a stick before the grave is dug. When the grave is ready, they bring the coffin and bury the body. The reason for hitting the ground five times is in hope that in this way

1 [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

524 In the afternoon on the alun-alun in Ruteng we saw a bamboo-clapping game. Two parallel bamboos were placed on the ground, and squatting behind them, facing each other, were two pairs of women. Each pair held two bamboos in their hands. These bamboos were placed athwart the lying bamboos. In unison they banged the bamboos three times against the sticks which were lying down, and on the fourth beat clapped them together, sliding them across on the sticks. Then the girl tried to hopscotch between the moving bamboos so that her ankles would not get caught on the clapping together of the long horizontal bamboos. The clapping went faster and faster--one, two, three, four --until she got caught. A man tried it too, and then some others. This is unique [actually [171] rather widespread in southeast Asia, for example, in Hainan, Philippines, Indo-China]. The mandur said they usually do this in moonlight with long rows of clappers, and with several pairs, male and female, doing the hopscotch stuff. They also have this in Larantuka and Ende.

824 Teno does not mean tanah, the latter being the same in Manggarai. Teno means the kind of wood used for the lodok post. Hence, tu'a teno.

342 531 237 [171] On the house ridge of the tuan tanah of Ndung between the wooden buffalo horns is a human head of wood. Could this be related to the Toradja use of human heads berween horns, and also connected with the horn headdresses of the dancers and whippers here? The horns are used only on the houses of the tuan tanah. On other houses different decorations are used. The horns indicate that there is a drum located in the house on which they are placed.

114 Notes from Mennes (Koloniaal Tijdschrift, XX, 1931; (1), 384-390): h

h [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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241 five times. Then two men imitate mice and run
782 around, while others pelt them with clods of
231 earth. This part is called mburu pusu. After
624 this weeding can be done.

527 (4) Tege rego, when the crops are ripening. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok five times. (The tuan tanah always leads the procession of the people who have shares in the garden being rited.)

(5) Tjepa, just before the harvest. Each family concerned gives a pig, rice, etc. If the garden is a lingko randang, a buffalo must be sacrificed. The animals are assembled in the kampong, and the crowd, with one of the pigs, goes to the garden. Each one plucks a stalk and a hair. The pig is killed. Then they go back to the kampong and go around the "adat house" five times and then go inside to dance. Then all the other beasts are killed and the
[195] whipping starts. While harvesting, special words are used for animals and aliens.

776 At all feasts the poti empo are called and
769 the setan are chased. Therefore, the dead are never buried far from the kampong, and perhaps inside the kampong. Thus it is easier to call them. They live at their graves.

124 We talked with the assistant Sunday and then
[524] took him home. (We discovered in Ende later that the bamboo clapping game is also practiced there.) Then we set out for Badjawa, which we reached in the evening. The next morning a lad named Alfons appeared and said that the Radja Kedua had told him to show us the Soa area when we were in Badjawa. He is the former guru agama [religious teacher] and had taught Malay and Ngada to many priests. He is good looking and intelligent and wears leather puttees.

361 Then we went to Soa, but first stopped at a
621 spectacular kampong named Lekedjere, on the side
614 road to Soa. It is pure Ngada, really a double

We.

764 If the people were very poor (or evidently for
178 some other reason) they may not bring them.
[656] Thus there has not been much change except for the fast burial now enforced in all cases.

One can see a change in that the Catholics have church rites as well as pagan. And another change is that whereas even now all pagan bodies are merely wound up in mats, Catholic bodies are put in a coffin. Formerly, very
766 famous men and stillborn children were buried near the house. Other people were buried outside the kampong (something like Limbo!).

764 Another thing is that if an old person dies, one must guard his sleeping mat (evidently all
769 of this applies to old women too) for four days. Food for the soul and a lit lamp are placed beside the body. The ghost comes and eats. It can be seen whether or not the ghost is happy if the food has been neatly eaten. If the food is left messy, it shows that the dead one is not happy. The pagans still do all of this, and sometimes the Catholics do too.

764 There are no tombs here, and there were none in the past. They have graves. There are stone markers placed on the graves.

53 All forms of entertainment are local. They are particularly fond of singing. They also dance, and there are many kinds of songs using a complement of such instruments as drums, flutes and gongs. There are no viols. He stresses that they love singing.

526 Soccer is a new game here but it is very much
● 524 liked. They also have raga, the rattan ball kick game. This is also new here, Roy says. They do not play cards, dice, etc. They have a kind of fruit-pits-in-holes game.

53 There is no sculpture here. A little carving is done (on the korke, barns, and they used to have images in the korke). There is no painting.
536 There is no drama (but he sees the point that

517 few moving pictures, and the trips to Ende town.

535 They dance and sing, although they do not
[526] have the whip dueling here. They do the bamboo dancing as in Manggarai. They dance and sing only at the time of the full moon, and
[534] prepare the occasion in advance. Local instruments are only the drum and the gong. Anything else is imported. And the only dances of old are the ronggeng and the main tandak (round dance), and the bamboo dance. This is all.

526 They play soccer and raga (rattan kick
● 524 ball). They have no card games. They do have a corn and hole game. They also spin tops, but do this only after the harvest.

53 They no longer make wooden images. There is no stone work here and no drama (evidently not even much in the ritual). There is no
[286] painting. Weaving is about the only local art. Thus they are very poor, aesthetically.

527 The only free days are feast days, Lebaran, and now merdeka. The rest of the time the people have to work hard. As they say, it is kebon, kebon, kebon. But after the harvest things are easier. During the growing season times are really arduous.

546 Very little is known locally about alien amusements. They seldom see movies, seldom if ever read, and almost never talk with foreigners. (Indeed, this underlines the remoteness of these people. They are near Ende, but nearly all of them are far away from anything outside.) Most of the people here (by far) have never seen a movie, and the others have only seen one once or twice. They do not understand that sound movies talk. This came out when I asked about how many people had seen them. The kapitan said that they don't have that kind of movies (he had never heard of them evidently). Yet he has seen at least one, but he thought

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764 they will encounter no big stones while digging, as this is a sign that more people will die. After the burial they return to the house and
[888] pray. If the person who died was old or a big
[554] man, they kill a buffalo. If the person was of lesser status, they kill only a pig or a fowl. Three days later, if the person who died was old or was a big man, they may kill two or three horses or buffaloes and eat them. At the same time, if the person was of lesser status, they will kill a pig or fowl.

[766] Clothes are placed on the grave of a person who dies a violent death. (See Coolhaas.)[1]

The local Catholics go through the same rites, except that they add on the church service.

[178] The big feasts for the dead dalu mentioned by Coolhaas[1] are no longer held. On such occasions they might wait quite a while. They killed up to perhaps ten buffaloes.

769 There is a very close relation between the ancestors and the death cult. The dead are always invited to feasts. There are no tombs, but the ancestor cult is strong.

[574] Note: The whip duels are held at all big
526 feasts: New Year, harvest, illness, exorcism,
●524 wedding, but not at the funeral.

All local recreation is native: tjatjih (whip duelling), tug of war, rope jumping (!), children's games like tag and hide and seek (he says they are the "hunter and hunted"), the bam-
[535] boo jumping dance (tekarulu). The dances are: sanda (round), sae (group and solo), danding (round). They play the rattan football (raga) and soccer.

526 The most loved of all is tjatjih. Cornelius says that to the best of his knowledge he has never known of any man being actually blinded, because the superorbitals protect the eyes. However, plenty of people get bad scars on their

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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526 face as well as on their body. In regard to girls who like men who have hit the eye of an opponent, he says that one should merely say that girls admire clever whippers (like athlete lovers in the United States).

The only sports followed are soccer and raga.
● 524 Card games are new and rare. (I noted that he bought a pack recently.) Also, there is a stone in a hole game. There are many children's games.

[535] Dances here are only local dances. There is
532 no sculpture, but they do have the old images. In regard to these old carvings, they do not know who made them. Note the petrifaction myth
773 regarding Ine Amba. I don't know the story about the Vatu Veol, but I think he has it in his notes.

778 Note: On the map there appears the high little hill near the tjompang. This is called "the place of sunning selves before." Here the people used to sit for sunning themselves, and many still do. However, there are no rites connected with this. It is probably impossible to link this with a sun cult, as in Ambon. It is in the right place for it, as it is a bit off from the old site of the kampong, and on a nearby hill, as in Ambon, where the sun mound is a bit off from the kampong on a hill. Note also that it has the "sun" element in it. And its name was "bangka" ("former") which also applies to the old kampong site, which is called "Bangka Veol."

531 There is quite a bit of wood carving on the houses, especially on the decorations on top. Ordinary, clever men do this. The only real
534 musical instruments are the drum and the gong (and they are amazingly good at them). Bamboo flutes are for individual amusement only; they are not festive instruments. Thus the drum and the gong are the only instruments with any "standing."!

! [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

443 night, was pitiful. There were six gambling
[525] tables in the pasar shed,[1] and that was all.
The Radja tried to get some dancers, but the
women had left for the kampong.

525 The priest, Mommersteeg, said that they all
gamble and that there is plenty of money used
here, although there are also many one sen
stakes. We went to bed in the terrible cold.

In the morning we went to Todabelu with Mom-
114 mersteeg to meet Arndt.[2] We had met the latter
on the day before along the road. We saw an
old bearded man with a rain cape and umbrella
on a horse and asked if he knew where Arndt
was. He said that he was Arndt and that he had
ridden seven and one-half hours from Magilewa
near the south coast where he had gone for
Christmas. His parish is not there but on the
road to Boawai, off to one side. He was a
notable figure on the horse. We talked with
him about Ngada.

Arndt[2] says that there are no tribal units
614 called isi as van Staveren says.[2] There are
173 merely clans called voi. Then, inside these
611 units are bhou, or subclans. The big ancestor
was Djawa, who had seven sons and seven daughters.
The seven sons drop out, but the seven daughters
became the ancestral mothers of seven of the
great voi of Ngada, one of which is Ngada, and
this is the name of the ancestress. There are
a lot of other voi here too, each with a female
ancestor. I asked who the seven daughters
married, and he said this is unclear, but evi-
dently there were men on earth when the seven
were born. Thus it looks like an immigration
and intermarriage with aborigines. The bhou
614 have ancestral fathers, and thus they have a
611 system where the clans look a bit matrilineal
583 and the subclans a bit matrilineal, but the
whole descent is patrilineal unless there is no
bride price paid, when ambil anak occurs. Also,

[1] [i.e., at the night market --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

[124] arrived after dark. We saw a very clear change
144 in physical type.[1] The Manggarai are clearly
proto-Malay with a fair amount of Mongoloid
blood in them.

[311] We went down to the coast through the empty
361 land, being burned off in large part, to Aimere.
342 Then we went across the wild and jungled peninsula to Mborong. We picked up a small girl from the hospital in Mborong who was going to school in the mountains. She got sick on the way. Then, up in the empty hills again, we saw a tree house on the way. Underneath it were some Mongoloid looking men and they said they were iron workers who were working on a bridge. They sleep in the tree house, which they built
[137] against mosquitoes which are bad here. They were from Ruteng. Later we heard that they have been here for years, "working" on a bridge.

[132] We ran into a terrible fog as we went up and up toward Ruteng. In the evening we attended
[143] the pasar malam, and there in addition to the
[325] gambling was a play with a story about how in-
536 dependence means decency and not rowdiness.
177 It was full of Catholic influence. Between the
533 acts there were instances of poor singing and dancing by a little girl who sang and stepped around and by some sillily dressed boys who went through marching motions to almost inaudible
[534] singing. The orchestra consisted of a violin and a ukelele, nothing else. The band consisted of a few horns. A small child held up the music for the trombone player, who didn't use the slide. The play was incredibly bad. Thus they lose the fine old singing and dancing and drama rites and instead of them they now have these imitation things which are bad beyond belief.

793 The next morning we went to the mission and
124 met several priests, including the rector, van Bekkum,[2] who wrote an article on Manggarai art. He was a bearded fellow and not bad. He said

[1] [i.e., the Manggarai vis-a-vis the Ngada --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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000 "standing." There are plenty of songs. Singing
533 is the greatest art, and I was impressed extremely with the school performance. A priest who was musical said that they are excellent and strange. The new songs like krontjong, omba' putih-putih,[1] etc., are sung only in the towns. Here only a few know them, but nearly all the songs which the majority of the people know are old Manggarai ones. Cornelius[2] said that there are about ten kinds of rhythms in
[562] drum and gong playing. Some are for both sexes, others are for men or for women only.

221 May, June and July are relatively free of
527 work. Otherwise there is little free time. Feasts are the fun times here, and they are largely not at set times.

[526] Soccer is loved and so are horse races.
541 These are not native. They are held either in
● 525 town or along the road here. This is true especially at harvest time. There is betting.
[177] Cock fighting has come in a little from the outside.

538 There are plenty of stories. They tell tales while they work in the gardens and especially while they bind corn in the houses. Also, the old people tell stories in the evenings. They tell tales when they are just sitting around and drinking, too.

There are many kinds of stories. A number of them are sung, but many are not. They are never very long, and none lasts for several days as in Ende and Larantuka.

533 There are about ten kinds of songs.

527 For the Catholics, Sundays are free, and the pagans have largely taken this practice over. They are glad to have the day off. Otherwise, the only free days are feast days.

[868] With the dances and singing and story telling
538 there is no regular instruction. There is a decline in interest in the old tales especially,

[1] [i.e., a song title, "White Waves" -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e., the assistant -- Analyst]

487 of dirty, mixed kampongs, and then went up along
the cliffs over the sea to Nangapanda. Then
the road headed into the mountains, and after
[361] a long stretch which appeared to be practically
uninhabited (as usual between the coast and
mountain folk, here as in the Toradja country),
and finally we arrived in Badjawa. Before we
797 reached Badjawa we saw a large mission station
at Todabelu, where there were many modern
buildings, a seminary, and a model farm as well
as a trade school. All of these were notably
advanced over anything else we have seen in
Flores. As usual, it is connected with the
526 mission. In Badjawa there was a great crowd
for the day, and football games were held.
These are the great sport all over Indonesia
now, and it is coming even into the remote kam-
pongs. It is the national sport [i.e., soccer].

We saw here the dirty but spirited Ngada,
291 with dull clothes. The adat dress, however, is
striking, especially that of the men. It con-
sists of a dark blue cloak and a red headcloth.
304 We also noted that a lot of the people had filed
teeth, and in addition many had blackened them.
Earboring is a general practice here, but as
usual the younger men may have the holes but no
rings. (For example, the assistant in Roworeke
is like this and so is the younger guru in Le-
[771] loba.) This is a pretty primitive looking lot,
although most of them are Christian.

361 The Ngada kampongs are hard to see as they
342 are nearly all behind bamboo thickets. Ngada
houses are rectangular with low hanging hooded
roofs. They are built on piles definitely,
unlike Ende (or at least most of the houses in
[778] Ende) and Larantuka. In these kampongs there
are not many stones that I could see, but as
769 yet I have not seen a kampong fully. Notable
346 are the inverted pyramid-like ancestor houses
built on a single post. They are called nadu

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592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more
243 people in many of the houses. The complex ar-
rangement of rice fields stretches out far be-
[231] low and here the people work with several
buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but per-
haps this is done merely by flooding. I must
ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly
situated on rises and they are small, for ex-
ample, Weol has only about thirty houses in it.
The priest says that there are many of the
stones in kampong Ruteng located about $1\frac{1}{2}$ km.
outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each
day, and the guru will bring the table and
chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel.
The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary,
which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about
fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
177 houses were introduced here by a priest. The
guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the
515 folk here, including the priests. Bathing is
not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the rela-
tionship between partners is distant enough.
Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans,
called panga, and one may marry within these in
the same way, according to the guru. I must find
out more about this and also get the kin system.
We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in
the center of the town where they were playing
football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

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526 the heavy rain it started at two because it was
being played for a prize. One team was called
ATOM (Anak Tanah Orang Manggarai), and the
other was Pasir, from Reo. The latter team won.
526 Then the police played a team of radja kedua.
292 But the adat game in the other place (football
535 players, unlike barefoot players in Badjawa,
541 had real football shoes) was amazing. The men
721 wore horned head decorations, some of them
with plumes, and fancy coverings with plumes on
their bodies, as well as a kind of tail of
plumes stuck in the rear. They looked like
[171] Timorese warriors. This is the true ceremonial
dress of Manggarai, and they said they use them
in all kampongs for ceremonies. They had bells
on the rear which jingled as they danced with a
jigging step. It looked and sounded just like
American Indians at a powwow, except that the
dress was different. In addition, they yelled
from time to time. But the main point of the
[411] game is to try to strike the eye of the opponent
with a buffalo thong whip. The defender carries
a round buffalo hide shield and a curious bow-
shaped parrier which is quite long and looks
like a bunch of rattans tied together. The
whole thing gave the appearance of a war dance,
and perhaps it was.

I met the Radja and he said that they used
such costumes in war formerly. They also used
shields and even the parriers (it is not clear
[533] whether they also used the whips). The songs
too were especially like a cheering section
which kept up a chant from time to time answer-
ing the yells of the fighters, in chorus. The
fighting seemed formalized, and they danced
around jingling and kept this up until they were
ready to close in. Then even the approach was
formalized. As soon as a blow was made the at-
tacker ran away, as though he had taken a coup.
It looks to me like ritualized mock warfare with
whips.

[i.e., Children of the Land of the Manggarai Analyst]

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776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 554 Kraeng here is the original title for high nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

796 614 782 231 At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is done by families or pangas. Each man in the group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunting.) [887] Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 535 574 555 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say here) is done at many feasts. Each house has some costumes, and the men may use them. They say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 527 526 533 In the afternoon we went to see some fine dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part of the week long independence festival. The lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and singing. [276] Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertainment [887] was complicated and good. Most drummers and gong players seem to be old women. These

We These
534 drums and gongs were brought here from several
535 kampongs. They are the real tuan tanah articles.
[624] At one time three little girls danced with their eyes downcast and with very little movement of the feet. They wore slendang and nice dresses. The oldest man, looking like a nickel
[292] head Indian, had on an amazing costume with rich embroidery, and a silver fringe under his chin like a beard. For a head decoration he had a gilded horse. He also carried two kris, and each of the other men had one.

●526 Now, at 6 P.M., after all day of it, taking turns, the men are still whipping. This is a tireless business.

609 We get the impression of real remoteness
178 here. These men are from the kampong nearby, and in this large bowl of distant mountains they are in their old dress doing the weird old practices and it has little to do with modern freedom and independence. When we go to such a place they look more at us than at the performers. We steal the show. But this is so all over Indonesia for whites. And they stare at us endlessly.

304 The tuan tanah of Weol has an elaborate set of patterns tattooed on his arms.

291 The Manggarai men often wear plaited, flat, songko-like headgear.

291 The horses here are important. Men and women
492 ride them, but mainly the former. The whole
[133] open land looks like the wild West. The priests use only horses here. They are small and spirited and bells are usually placed around their necks.

614 The next day we went again to Weol and asked
[624] if the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong were really brothers. If so, how could they belong to different panga. I found out that they are not brothers but merely distantly related.

The three panga names in Weol are the names

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191 is always in Manggarai. I have seen this before. "Mengerti sedikit, tidak bisa tjakap [I understand a little bit, but I can't speak it].

53 We saw a poor show at the pasar malam. It
177 was a sandiwara traveling troupe like the one
831 I saw on the ship. It consisted of torch singers and crooners. The gallery came down with a carioca in western dress. The contact was not close, but closer than they used to make it, and at the end the woman half fell into the man's arms. They shrieked. This very mild sex symbolism in dance was extreme for them. Their dances, as usual, are incredibly dull. The songs repeat themselves over and over again.
526 And they carry on their whip fighting day after day. They even abuse football, and play it from dawn to dusk. This is like the ten games
[171] of baseball a day in Micronesia. They overdo things.

201 As we were sitting in the assistant's house
576 with him and the other guru, a woman came in
123 and swiftly pushed her face into mine, holding
832 my head and rubbing noses. It seemed almost as though she were using her mouth a bit too, and I wondered if this were a combination of nose rub and sniff kiss. She then went quickly to Kattenburg and then to the two guru. Nothing would stop her, even embarrassed protests from the guru. The assistant asked who she was, and the other said she was Marcus's wife (who's that?). We were so embarrassed that we turned at once back to the questions, and we acted as though nothing had happened. We saw her later in the rear of the house, looking queer. Query: Was she crazy, or was she doing some bit of unthinking etiquette? But even if she were crazy, she must have been following a pattern here, or why do it in exactly that way? It would have been better if it had been the other guru's wife, who is a beauty.

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776 In regard to Manggarai religion: The poti-
782 potiwolo live in trees; the giants have one leg and one eye; if a tree is cut down an offering is given to them.

The ine weu are dwarfs with long breasts. They strangle men with the latter. They live in forests.

The darat are in the forests too. They assume the shape of relatives and lure children so that they can kidnap them. If a child disappears, the people go out with drums and gongs to scare the darat into yielding. The poti empo are ghosts of the dead. Offerings are made to them in all rites. These ghosts hang around their graves and the kampongs. Wakar are higher spirits. Of these the good spirits are wakar dia, bad spirits are wakar daat.

The name of the high god is Mori Kraeng.

241 There are two kinds of gardens: lingko
776 randang and lingko umah. The former are under
782 the aegis of ghosts of the dead tuan tanah.
231 The latter are under the aegis of ordinary poti. Each gelarang must have at least one of the former (lingko randang). For the lingko randang there are more and greater prayers. And at ceremonial rites for that type of garden buffa-
[526] loes must be killed and the whip fighting must be done at its harvest festivals.

241 The agricultural feasts are:
782 (1) Leas ose, when the garden is divided. A
624 pig is sacrificed.
231 (2) Bentio ratji, when the land is ready.
527 Pigs and fowls are sacrificed. The people go around the lodok five times, led by the tuan tanah, in order to chase the setan. Planting is done two days after the feast. Then, for two and a half months nothing is done in the garden, not even weeding.

(3) Kalok, to drive away the mice. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok

634 632 177 Until not so long ago there were three radjas there[1]: Sikka, Kangaë and Nita, and there was trouble over putting Sikka in full power. This has never stopped. Arriens[2] agrees that the Dutch were a bit mad to chop things up this way. When he was new here the Assistant Resident sent him to Tana Ai to find out what the situation was. He found that the kapitan there had had a previous meeting with the kepalas warning them to say that everything was all right. Arriens pumped them and the whole thing came out. The Dutch, he said, met the radjas they liked and took their word to the effect that their areas were much larger than they actually were. (But why not try to make a better go of it later on, when they still were able to do as they pleased?) There is little excuse for the stupidity of the government. He has also [661] heard of the fantastic behavior in regard to the rulers here, many of whom are crazy and others are certainly cruel. I can imagine the dirty work which goes on among the radjas. This must end.

697 ● 526 In regard to the "jail parade" in Ruteng, Arriens[2] said that in Kalabahi [on Alor], when it is Queen's Day, the regular event is a tug of war between teams of jail birds. They do this with a will, and after it each one gets a cake of soap.

R Roworeke: I started to work again here on 124 624 Thursday, January 11. It is depressing to be with these inferior informants again after working with the guru Roy, but the secretary is better now since the kapitan is not here. Today two of the four mandurs of Roworeke were present and also the kepala kampong of Wolofeo. His kampong is located at kilometer 17 and is one kilometer up hill from the road. However, he has a house in Roworeke too. When he is away, the mandur is his deputy.

[1] [i.e., in Tana Ai--Analyst]
[2] [i.e., Controleur at Ende--Analyst]

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764 If the people were very poor (or evidently for
178 some other reason) they may not bring them.
[656] Thus there has not been much change except for the fast burial now enforced in all cases.

One can see a change in that the Catholics have church rites as well as pagan. And another change is that whereas even now all pagan bodies are merely wound up in mats, Catholic bodies are put in a coffin. Formerly, very
766 famous men and stillborn children were buried near the house. Other people were buried outside the kampong (something like Limbo!).

764 Another thing is that if an old person dies, one must guard his sleeping mat (evidently all
769 of this applies to old women too) for four days. Food for the soul and a lit lamp are placed beside the body. The ghost comes and eats. It can be seen whether or not the ghost is happy if the food has been neatly eaten. If the food is left messy, it shows that the dead one is not happy. The pagans still do all of this, and sometimes the Catholics do too.

764 There are no tombs here, and there were none in the past. They have graves. There are stone markers placed on the graves.

53 All forms of entertainment are local. They are particularly fond of singing. They also dance, and there are many kinds of songs using a complement of such instruments as drums, flutes and gongs. There are no viols. He stresses that they love singing.

● 526 Soccer is a new game here but it is very much
524 liked. They also have raga, the rattan ball kick game. This is also new here, Roy says. They do not play cards, dice, etc. They have a kind of fruit-pits-in-holes game.

53 There is no sculpture here. A little carving is done (on the korke, barns, and they used to have images in the korke). There is no painting.
536 There is no drama (but he sees the point that

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517 few moving pictures, and the trips to Ende town.

535 They dance and sing, although they do not
[526] have the whip dueling here. They do the bamboo dancing as in Manggarai. They dance and sing only at the time of the full moon, and prepare the occasion in advance. Local instru-
[534] ments are only the drum and the gong. Anything else is imported. And the only dances of old are the ronggeng and the main tandak (round dance), and the bamboo dance. This is all.

526 They play soccer and raga (rattan kick
524 ball). They have no card games. They do have a corn and hole game. They also spin tops, but do this only after the harvest.

53 They no longer make wooden images. There is no stone work here and no drama (evidently not even much in the ritual). There is no
[286] painting. Weaving is about the only local art. Thus they are very poor, aesthetically.

527 The only free days are feast days, Lebaran, and now merdeka. The rest of the time the people have to work hard. As they say, it is kebon, kebon, kebon. But after the harvest things are easier. During the growing season times are really arduous.

546 Very little is known locally about alien amusements. They seldom see movies, seldom if ever read, and almost never talk with foreigners. (Indeed, this underlines the remoteness of these people. They are near Ende, but nearly all of them are far away from anything outside.) Most of the people here (by far) have never seen a movie, and the others have only seen one once or twice. They do not understand that sound movies talk. This came out when I asked about how many people had seen them. The kapitan said that they don't have that kind of movies (he had never heard of them evidently). Yet he has seen at least one, but he thought

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764 they will encounter no big stones while digging, as this is a sign that more people will die. After the burial they return to the house and [888] pray. If the person who died was old or a big [554] man, they kill a buffalo. If the person was of lesser status, they kill only a pig or a fowl. Three days later, if the person who died was old or was a big man, they may kill two or three horses or buffaloes and eat them. At the same time, if the person was of lesser status, they will kill a pig or fowl.

[766] Clothes are placed on the grave of a person who dies a violent death. (See Coolhaas.)[1]

The local Catholics go through the same rites, except that they add on the church service.

[178] The big feasts for the dead dalu mentioned by Coolhaas[1] are no longer held. On such occasions they might wait quite a while. They killed up to perhaps ten buffaloes.

769 There is a very close relation between the ancestors and the death cult. The dead are always invited to feasts. There are no tombs, but the ancestor cult is strong.

[594] Note: The whip duels are held at all big
526 feasts: New Year, harvest, illness, exorcism,
524 wedding, but not at the funeral.

All local recreation is native: tjatjih (whip duelling), tug of war, rope jumping (!), children's games like tag and hide and seek (he says they are the "hunter and hunted"), the bam- [535] boo jumping dance (tekarulu). The dances are: sanda (round), sae (group and solo), danding (round). They play the rattan football (raga) and soccer.

526 The most loved of all is tjatjih. Cornelius says that to the best of his knowledge he has never known of any man being actually blinded, because the superorbitals protect the eyes. However, plenty of people get bad scars on their

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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526 face as well as on their body. In regard to girls who like men who have hit the eye of an opponent, he says that one should merely say that girls admire clever whippers (like athlete lovers in the United States).

The only sports followed are soccer and raga.
524 Card games are new and rare. (I noted that he bought a pack recently.) Also, there is a stone in a hole game. There are many children's games.

[595] Dances here are only local dances. There is
532 no sculpture, but they do have the old images. In regard to these old carvings, they do not know who made them. Note the petrifaction myth
773 regarding Ine Amba. I don't know the story about the Vatu Veol, but I think he has it in his notes.

778 Note: On the map there appears the high little hill near the tjompang. This is called "the place of sunning selves before." Here the people used to sit for sunning themselves, and many still do. However, there are no rites connected with this. It is probably impossible to link this with a sun cult, as in Ambon. It is in the right place for it, as it is a bit off from the old site of the kampong, and on a nearby hill, as in Ambon, where the sun mound is a bit off from the kampong on a hill. Note also that it has the "sun" element in it. And its name was "bangka" ("former") which also applies to the old kampong site, which is called "Bangka Veol."

531 There is quite a bit of wood carving on the houses, especially on the decorations on top. Ordinary, clever men do this. The only real
534 musical instruments are the drum and the gong (and they are amazingly good at them). Bamboo flutes are for individual amusement only; they are not festive instruments. Thus the drum and the gong are the only instruments with any "standing".

[i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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000 "standing." There are plenty of songs. Singing
533 is the greatest art, and I was impressed extremely with the school performance. A priest who was musical said that they are excellent and strange. The new songs like krontjong, omba' putih-putih,[1] etc., are sung only in the towns. Here only a few know them, but nearly all the songs which the majority of the people know are old Manggarai ones. Cornelius[2] said that there are about ten kinds of rhythms in
[562] drum and gong playing. Some are for both sexes, others are for men or for women only.

221 May, June and July are relatively free of
527 work. Otherwise there is little free time. Feasts are the fun times here, and they are largely not at set times.

[526] Soccer is loved and so are horse races.
541 These are not native. They are held either in
525 town or along the road here. This is true especially at harvest time. There is betting.
[177] Cock fighting has come in a little from the outside.

538 There are plenty of stories. They tell tales while they work in the gardens and especially while they bind corn in the houses. Also, the old people tell stories in the evenings. They tell tales when they are just sitting around and drinking, too.

There are many kinds of stories. A number of them are sung, but many are not. They are never very long, and none lasts for several days as in Ende and Larantuka.

533 There are about ten kinds of songs.

527 For the Catholics, Sundays are free, and the pagans have largely taken this practice over. They are glad to have the day off. Otherwise, the only free days are feast days.

[868] With the dances and singing and story telling
538 there is no regular instruction. There is a decline in interest in the old tales especially,

[1] [i.e., a song title, "White Waves" -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e., the assistant -- Analyst]

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764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs
often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I
must find out how the funerals are run now.
Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember
that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the
plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and
there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even
among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.
[797] The assistant has finished five grades of
schooling in Ndona.

291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
178 men (old style) although this is changing fast,
a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders
for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
[302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar
topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
286 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
531 looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the de-
signs are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
124 I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan.
Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they
have a holiday whenever there is the slightest
excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I
must find out about later, is how the kepala kam-
pong is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some re-
624 marks about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in
only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently
means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan
and others are not. I must get this kepala kam-
pong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the
main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

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614 main suku there are several others in Rewarangga, but they have moved in and are not original suku. But any one of them may be given land and become in effect "members" of the communities. Thus Tibo is a suku which has virtually entered Roworeke. Later I got some kind of an explanation that it was formerly a kampong on the hill above there, but has now moved into a section of Roworeke. In fact, I saw this section, with only about three houses, and it is called Kopoedo. Among the suku which are "foreign" in Rewarangga are Ambu Djawa, Ambu Nduru, and Ambu Rutu. Ambu means grandfather.

624 632 Later I got more information about the mosa laki. Evidently in the kapitanschap there are four big mosa laki: mosa laki mere, giri tumba, ndeto au, and sike sani. Then, in each kampong there are four with the same names, but they are on a lower level even though their functions are the same. I met the mig mosa laki mere and giri tumba of Rewarangga. They were old fellows, dignified, dressed in adat clothes, and most refreshing in contrast to the modernized Catholics like the kapitan and the guru. They are polite and quiet. I got the impression that maybe most [887] of the mosa laki are older men. They are probably mainly if not all pagan too, and probably mainly illiterate.

614 582 Talking with the kapitan and the scribe and a few other lads later, I learned that suku exogamy is not necessary if there is enough distance between the relatives. Thus the kapitan is married to a fellow-Odja. They noted, however, in my questioning, that most people seem to have married exogamously.

527 129 The second day was the Flag Day, and I took ten fellows in the jeep from Roworeke. After the ritual, which was not very impressive (the Sikka radja made a speech with little grace), we went 123 with Ariens (the Controleur) on a ride to Nanga-

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291 similarity. The ikat work and weave patterns
184 of sarongs especially show certain differences.
302 In Sikka the children have the front half of
482 their hair shaved. Here also the women and children usually employ a tumpline.

[527] We had one day in Roworeke as December 27
123 was Independence Day. We left for Badjawa on the latter, after a ceremony. As appears to be usual in Roworeke, which is a most annoying environment with constant requests for jeep rides and a general lack of respect, the kapitan and a large group had to be taken first to kilometer 10 where they had a garden. The kapitan and the kepala kampong pleaded that we come to haul them to Ende for the ceremony tomorrow, but we refused firmly. Today the kepala kampong
[292] wore a woman's felt hat with a chin string.
304 His wife who is pregnant had a tattoo over her arm, but it consisted of a name and random marks. I see this sort of thing everywhere. The old patterns seem to have gone. Today the thing to have tattooed is your name. Then we went back to Roworeke and went to work in the "office" which was full of flies and people.

621 The kampongs in Roworeke are as follows (the
361 area extends from kilometer posts 5 to 8):

1. Nuamere (kilometer 7; the kapitan's area)
2. Bita (across the road, north of Watu Roga)
3. Kopoëdo (inside from Nuamere)
4. Puüdjambu (same)
5. Roworeke Asal (same)
6. Ae Boü (along the road below Nuamere)
7. Ae Utu (along the road below Ae Boü)
8. Wolomere (across the road from Ae Utu; the secretary's area)
9. Tana Ri (kilometer 6)
10. Ndetu (kilometer 5; many Ende folk live here)

[i.e., Kennedy and Kattenburg--Analyst]

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693 632 624 [622] tions. Murder, theft, etc., come to the kepala kampong or kapitan. Such cases are not within the adat sphere. These officials do not interfere with each other's spheres.

632 624 622 The situation in regard to the offices is as follows: The Big Four of the gemeente who are also the Little Four of Roworeke (combined with Worowai) are respectively from Rewarangga, Odja, Rewarangga, and Rewarangga. All except the giri tumba are from Worowai, and here there is a rumah berhala. Only an Odja or a Rewarangga man (and he must be a resident of Roworeke) may be elected kapitan or kepala kampong of Roworeke. In each of the other kampongs there are families in which the Little Fours are hereditary posts. This position is inherited from father to eldest son.

[796] There are no set ritual functions associated with these offices, but the mosa laki mere of the Big Four (I think) must always be there for a big ceremony, and he must receive the lower jaws of the animals slaughtered. I note that an alternative term for the four mosa laki is tuan tanah.

771 796 Some of the people here are Catholics, and I asked if they still did the ritual and prayed when they held a big ceremony. He say yes, and that Catholicism makes no difference in this matter. He was firm in stating that there are Catholic things and adat things. They are separate. The two main feasts of the year are those held at planting and at harvest time, when the crops are brought in ritually to the kampong. At these feasts the mosa are the leaders and the big leader is the local mosa laki mere. There is animal slaughter, dancing, singing, and praying. They wear festive clothes. And there is also a big suku feast when the bone house of a suku is rebuilt. Thousands attend. Smaller private rites are held for such

796 241 574 527 [614] [341] 000

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614 here the process has gone much further and they
124 are slower in general to respond. Anyway I got
to the point where they said that there are
really only two "native" suku here in Roworeke,
[622] Odja and Rewarangga. Only an Odja can become
kepala kampong.

622 Incidentally, they agreed that in the old
624 days they had only four adat chiefs. The kepala
[177] kampong were superimposed by the Dutch. They
know this. I asked who were really higher in
rank, the mosa laki mere or the kepala kampong,
and they said that they were just different.
614 Other suku than the main two here are for example, Wanda, Ndoru, Songo, Soa, Fongi; all of which are from Lio, and are represented here by women who have married in mostly. Then there is Djawa, which has been here for a long time. Also there is Meo, from Nggobe; Gusi, from another Ende gemeente; Gusa (or Tibo), from Koavena; another Rewarangga kampong; and Woro (same).

778 Koa is the negri lama of the Gusa suku, and there the rumah berhala is located. It is the one that has the images. Many of the oldtimers live there. It is one kilometer uphill from the km. 10 mark on the road, just above the kapitan's garden. There is a rumah berhala in Worowai, where rites are held. I must get to see this.

There is no question here but that the
614 Rewarangga suku has the greatest power in all the gemeente. It may also have been the original suku. Next in order is Odja, and evidently next in line comes Reandona, whose native kampong is Manunggo'o, in the hills above Roworeke.

● 527 On December 27, after the ceremony of independence, came the same sort of thing as on flag day, but now for nearly a week there will be no
487 work. We left for Badjawa, the capital of Ngada. The road went along the coast through a number

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872 one-half years ago. Children of, for example,
[177] fifteen can't enter this school because they
are too old. This is a big reason why there is
less acculturation here than in Larantuka.
624 Also, Larantuka has lost the power of adat
622 chiefs to a greater degree, as has Ende. Here
177 they still are the most powerful leaders, and
even the kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah
family. This is clearly the area of least ac-
culturation, although in agriculture and tech-
nology they are just as advanced if not more so
than in the other areas. For example, witness
the wooden houses. But adat is stronger here,
and the mother's brother's daughter marriage
still stands. The priests still compromise
527 more with the old. There are many many feasts.
574 There are feasts at birth, death, marriage, if
796 there are many children, at planting, at har-
756 vest, when a new garden is made, when a new
755 house is erected, and on many other occasions.
Some of these are large and some are small.
Some are for the family, and some are celebrated
by larger units. Some are celebrated by the
entire kampong. The biggest is perhaps the
cleansing of the kampong ceremony. The medi-
cine man, mbako decided when one is needed.
Thus he says there is a lot of illness, etc.,
and it is time they had a "tjutji kampong."
756 There is at least one mbako in each kampong,
609 and some kampongs have more. He learns his
trade from his father, but there are cases where
such succession is not followed. There is one
in Weol. However, they will never tell an out-
sider who the mbako is. He is secret. They all
know who he is. However, even during a rite,
he keeps in the background so that he can be
kept hidden. Query: Is this because of the
fear of the mission or the government or what?
I couldn't get much about the latter, but I
will try later. This is amazing!

5: Kennedy--109 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
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776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 Kraeng here is the original title for high
554 nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

196 At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is
614 done by families or pangas. Each man in the
782 group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck
231 with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunt-
[887] ing.) Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say
535 here) is done at many feasts. Each house has
574 some costumes, and the men may use them. They
555 say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 In the afternoon we went to see some fine
●527 dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part
526 of the week long independence festival. The
533 lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and sing-
[276] ing. Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertain-
[887] ment was complicated and good. Most drummers
200 and gong players seem to be old women. These

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776 In regard to Manggarai religion: The poti-
782 potiwolo live in trees; the giants have one leg and one eye; if a tree is cut down an offering is given to them.

The ine weu are dwarfs with long breasts. They strangle men with the latter. They live in forests.

The darat are in the forests too. They assume the shape of relatives and lure children so that they can kidnap them. If a child disappears, the people go out with drums and gongs to scare the darat into yielding. The poti empo are ghosts of the dead. Offerings are made to them in all rites. These ghosts hang around their graves and the kampongs. Wakar are higher spirits. Of these the good spirits are wakar dia, bad spirits are wakar daat.

The name of the high god is Mori Kraeng.

241 There are two kinds of gardens: lingko
776 randang and lingko umah. The former are under
782 the aegis of ghosts of the dead tuan tanah.
231 The latter are under the aegis of ordinary poti. Each gelarang must have at least one of the former (lingko randang). For the lingko randang there are more and greater prayers. And at ceremonial rites for that type of garden buffa-
[526] loes must be killed and the whip fighting must be done at its harvest festivals.

241 The agricultural feasts are:
782 (1) Leas ose, when the garden is divided. A
624 pig is sacrificed.

231 (2) Bentio ratji, when the land is ready.
527 Pigs and fowls are sacrificed. The people go around the lodok five times, led by the tuan tanah, in order to chase the setan. Planting is done two days after the feast. Then, for two and a half months nothing is done in the garden, not even weeding.

(3) Kalok, to drive away the mice. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok

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241 five times. Then two men imitate mice and run
782 around, while others pelt them with clods of
231 earth. This part is called mburu pusu. After
624 this weeding can be done.

527 (4) Tege rego, when the crops are ripening. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok five times. (The tuan tanah always leads the procession of the people who have shares in the garden being rited.)

(5) Tjepa, just before the harvest. Each family concerned gives a pig, rice, etc. If the garden is a lingko randang, a buffalo must be sacrificed. The animals are assembled in the kampong, and the crowd, with one of the pigs, goes to the garden. Each one plucks a stalk and a hair. The pig is killed. Then they go back to the kampong and go around the "adat house" five times and then go inside to dance. Then all the other beasts are killed and the
[195] whipping starts. While harvesting, special words are used for animals and aliens.

776 At all feasts the poti empo are called and
769 the setan are chased. Therefore, the dead are never buried far from the kampong, and perhaps inside the kampong. Thus it is easier to call them. They live at their graves.

124 We talked with the assistant Sunday and then
[524] took him home. (We discovered in Ende later that the bamboo clapping game is also practiced there.) Then we set out for Badjawa, which we reached in the evening. The next morning a lad named Alfons appeared and said that the Radja Kedua had told him to show us the Soa area when we were in Badjawa. He is the former guru agama [religious teacher] and had taught Malay and Ngada to many priests. He is good looking and intelligent and wears leather puttees.

361 Then we went to Soa, but first stopped at a
621 spectacular kampong named Lekedjere, on the side
614 road to Soa. It is pure Ngada, really a double

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796 held under the ama kebang.
241 Note the food symbolism in these most impor-
782 tant rites. They take place under the barn.
[887] There are present at these ceremonies the old women (in the old days young virgins) who act as tuno wudjo and food divider. The high point is the killing of a pig, and the meat is mixed with the rice and the blood and the four posts are smeared with this food. Everyone eats. The whole thing is completely linked with fertility. And the ancestors are summoned in the litany and are invited to come and eat.

778 There are plenty of holy places, such as the kampong lama, the place where the tuno wudjo is
[346] (what does this mean?), the place where they used to assemble before a war (did they do this before the recent war against Waibalun? Perhaps the few who did the active part of the warfare did). Then there are also holy stones: nubanara, and saonivang. There is also a church or rather a chapel!

The stones are especially important, and this is a real stone cult area. He admits this, and if I had time I could get much about the stories, beliefs, etc., in regard to these stones. I told him about the Stonehenge, the dolmens, etc., and he caught onto this fast.

241 The festival calendar is largely one of agri-
527 cultural feasts. The main ones are at planting and harvest. There are other agricultural feasts too, at all stages. For example, there are festivals at the time of burning the fields, clearing the fields, etc. In all, the agricultural cycle includes thirteen rites. At the thirteenth the harvest comes, and a big time is had by all. Everyone eats and there is a lot of noise. During the growing period everything
[824] is quiet in order not to disturb the spirit of the crops. This is a period of danger and much

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527 risk, and one must tread warily and devoutly.
241 Observing all the rites and showing respect for the most important thing of all, food, is the proper thing.

[182] There are also feasts to ask for rain (held at the korke), and against widespread illness (also at the korke), for a new korke, for a new kebang, and for a new "big house."

Note that most of the agricultural rites occur in the fields.

Once in about every nine to ten years they have a great thanksgiving feast, if the crops are good.

A small feast is given when a child is born,
[851] but there is no animal sacrifice. If twins are born, however, an animal is cut. Note the gladness displayed at the increase or income of any kind whatsoever, including an additional human being.

[585] There is no marriage feast at all in the old adat.

The biggest feasts are those held at harvest, for a new korke, and the thanksgiving feast.

[171] Note that the Toradja have the thanksgiving feast too, and I saw the start of it there.
[346] The new korke feast is now given when they have a new church!

Note the way that the church links with the
346 old cult. I remember almost the first thing I
614 heard here was from the priest who said that
177 the new church is being partly paid for by selling the tusks of the families whose carelessness caused the fire which burned the old church. He also said in the church, both in the old and the new, there are the signs of the four main suku. They have their place in the church. And I suppose they will cut up animals for the new church too. If so this sort of takes the wind out of the argument against constructing a new korke, namely, that it would cause too much of a waste of animals.

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875 reason for this is that Mohammedans are not
797 educated enough to have many teachers yet. Thus, the mission has given Catholicism a big head start, as is the case in Ambon.

There are only about ten Mohammedans in Ro-
771 woreke. They had a mosque at kilometer five
797 formerly, but it is gone now. The maximum number of converts in the kampong, to Mohammedanism, per year is from one to two. There is a chapel here, and the priest comes once a month to hear confessions, hold mass, etc. Otherwise, the people here go to Ndona for mass (I see them on Sunday walking; rain means nothing to these people). I get the impression that many people do not go to mass. For example, every Sunday I have been there, the kapitan and the assistant and many others do not go to church so far as I can see. And I don't see many women who look as though they had gone. I should have asked about this.

778 There are two ancestor grave-bone shrines, i.e., one in Roworeke and one in Watu Roga. There are also plenty of stones and the usual graves. There has never been a real rumah berhala here. But Manunggo'o had one.

●527 The principal feast time is at planting. The tuan tanah (mosa laki mere) must be there at that time. There is no illness exorcism
[755] feast held any more. Thanksgiving feasts for good crops are held privately, not communally. There is a great feast for rebuilding the grave-bone shrine.

788 There is plenty of private pagan rituals, for example, to ward off illness, to make offerings to trees, and the dukun stuff. In addition, there is the bisa mari. (Having seen the dukun
[753] and how he diagnoses, I understand Migo when he said that he has a personal-family buffalo totem taboo because the dukun said it caused his illness.)

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527 852 A small feast is given at the birth of a child.

304 There is no supercision, except for Mohammedan circumcision, and this is done only in a few cases. (Evidently, in Indonesia, where supercision was in before, they may continue it under Mohammedanism, for example, in Makassar. But where there was no cutting before, they take on Mohammedan circumcision only.)

They say that they never had any cutting here. However, they say that they know of at least two kampongs in Lio where cutting did take place.

622 793 The mosa laki are of course religious as well as adat chiefs. The Catholic priest has a house here, but does not reside there. He makes periodic visits. There are two religious teachers.

771 I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements.

798 I wonder if the new bureaucracy, and also the Mohammedan majority, may cause trouble for the Catholic-oriented education of Flores. So far there has been no trouble.

798 There is very little discussion of religion here. They seem to let it slide by, and I get the idea that there is no great trouble in regard to paganism because (1) they never had any real resistance here, and (2) the pagans are too dumb, and so are the Christians, and (3) the Catholics do not evidently attack directly.

782 797 [231] There was no trouble here in regard to the acceptance of Mohammedanism from the standpoint of sacrifice, because they have plenty of non-taboo animals, for example, the buffalo, cattle, and goats. Therefore, it is not necessary to have a pig for pagan rites, and even the Mohammedans would get their share at a feast. This is different from Larantuka, where a Mohammedan would go hungry at the largely pork provided feasts. And also, in Larantuka, the all-essen-

517 few moving pictures, and the trips to Ende town.

535 They dance and sing, although they do not
[526] have the whip dueling here. They do the bamboo dancing as in Manggarai. They dance and sing only at the time of the full moon, and prepare the occasion in advance. Local instru-
[534] ments are only the drum and the gong. Anything else is imported. And the only dances of old are the ronggeng and the main tandak (round dance), and the bamboo dance. This is all.

526 They play soccer and raga (rattan kick
524 ball). They have no card games. They do have a corn and hole game. They also spin tops, but do this only after the harvest.

53 They no longer make wooden images. There is no stone work here and no drama (evidently not even much in the ritual). There is no
[286] painting. Weaving is about the only local art. Thus they are very poor, aesthetically.

527 The only free days are feast days, Lebaran, and now merdeka. The rest of the time the people have to work hard. As they say, it is kebon, kebon, kebon. But after the harvest things are easier. During the growing season times are really arduous.

546 Very little is known locally about alien amusements. They seldom see movies, seldom if ever read, and almost never talk with foreigners. (Indeed, this underlines the remoteness of these people. They are near Ende, but nearly all of them are far away from anything outside.) Most of the people here (by far) have never seen a movie, and the others have only seen one once or twice. They do not understand that sound movies talk. This came out when I asked about how many people had seen them. The kapitan said that they don't have that kind of movies (he had never heard of them evidently). Yet he has seen at least one, but he thought

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546 the sound track was just a gramophone playing a kind of spoken accompaniment to the pictures! This shows either that he has actually never seen a movie since sound came in, or that he did not understand. If the latter, it shows that few if any Malay language films come to Ende. Yet the Dutch I asked said that they thought there had been a few (but they seemed to be not certain about this). What a revelation, if this is true, it will be in Ende to a lot of folk when the first Malay movies come in. I can hardly believe this. Maybe the kapitan has seen only silent movies at the mission. I should have asked more closely, but I always have such trouble working with these restless people that I forget to follow up, and I am glad to get what I can and move on.

538 I get the idea that tales are important here, though probably much less so than in such places as Larantuka.

527 I wonder if any of the three holidays they have here mean much to these people, who work only in the gardens. They probably just keep on going. But I seem to note more men about on Sundays than on other days, and my guess is that Sunday has become a kind of holiday.

167 They say that many young men would like to
651 see the world but have no opportunity to do so.
486 The kapitan says that perhaps nearly all in the town districts of Nggobe and Rodja would leave if they got the chance. But the radja would not give permits anyway. I asked Arriens[1] about this infringement of freedom of movement, and he says it is for the purpose of collecting taxes. I guess it is also because traditionally these small units have been like nations, with everything outside the radjadom to be considered as foreign. I can see why there is chiseling and why the radjas do not want their

[1] [i.e., Controleur at Ende--Analyst]

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166 578 affect mainly the younger branches of panga. The older ones are too important to leave.

[592] Most of the people who leave go as households, except for the men who marry out.

166 574 621 527 Those who leave never come back, as far as the assistant knows, but there have been returnees in other kampongs. They do come back, however, for the big feasts in the mother kampong. There are five kinds of festive returnees: (1) for kampongs in the gelarang Veol, all must come to Veol for the big feast, and so must Veol go to the tjabang kampong feasts. (2) for kampongs in the dalu Rahong, but in other gelarang, if there is a big feast, a delegation must be sent to the mother kampong, and vice versa. These kampongs have their own tuan tanah in the new Veol kampongs, whereas type (1) kampongs have only a tjabang tuan tanah. (3a) For kampongs outside the dalu Rahong, they may come if they want to, but they need not do so, and vice versa. They have their own tuan tanah. (3b) Isolated Veol families which live in kampongs among other va'u always come back, as otherwise there is no ritual life for them in relation to the ancestors, etc. (4) The Ndung and Veol folk, because they are nearby and of the same va'u, always come to each other's big feasts. (5) The Ndung area kampongs (Ndung gelarang) come to the Ndung feasts. Any of them may come to the Veol feasts too, and vice versa. The pattern in the gelarang Ndung is not so complex, as it is actually a branch of Veol.

527 574 756 The big feasts so treated are: (1) "New Year" which comes in November or December. It is not on any set day, but takes place when the gardens are all set and growing. The work is then over; (2) the building of a tuan tanah house; (3) a "buffalo feast," i.e., a cleansing of the kampong, a time decided by one of mbako, who decides that

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574 troubles in the kampong are due to influences
756 which must be exorcised.

This led to a discussion of the mbako.
756 There are two to three mbako per kampong. They
[887] may be men or women, although they are usually men. They are called to work, a job which is not hereditary. They are always old people. They dream, see spirits (e.g., naga), look at their paraphernalia (for example, glass pieces, wood pieces), etc. However, there is no shamanism.

This led to a discussion of the secrecy surrounding the identity of the mbako. He is rather vague and said something about how they don't want to appear "proud." But this doesn't ring true, so I asked the mandur and he said it is because several mbako were imprisoned here because of witchcraft murders (what kind?). Anyway, here is the pattern of secrecy and fear which I see all over here.

166 Of those who have gone away, none has re-
574 turned to Yeol, as far as the assistant knows.
783 But there have been returnees to other kampongs.

If a returnee is a man who was imprisoned (note how often the jail theme comes up here; indeed the Dutch ruled by jails!) a feast must be given and buffalo killed. It is called the buka tali, to remove the rope. It also cleanses the returnee of the bad influence of the jail. When the Controleur Bedbeder and Pastor van Bekkum came back from Japanese imprisonment, wherever they went there was a buffalo feast in order to set them finally free.

If a family left the area without an argument,
166 then no feast is required on their return, un-
574 less it is a long time afterwards and they have
769 come from far away. For example, a policeman or a soldier who has been away for a long while would go through such a ceremony. Then there must be a feast given for two purposes: to tell

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769 more land here). However, the darat (tree spir-
778 its) who lived in the trees are still there on
776 the spot. When such a grove is cut (and most kampongs have a grove), elaborate rites must be given. It is evidently quite dangerous. Therefore, in addition to the darat in all groves, almost every kampong has its own private darat, who live in the kampong grove.

778 This is important: The assistant says that
769 whenever and wherever they have a ceremony they
273 must set a stone in the center of the place
782 where the rite is held. This stone has palm wine poured over it as a libation. The libation is indispensable, and therefore the stone is also indispensable. It evidently represents the ancestral ghosts, who must always get a drink at every rite. And they pour the drink carefully, as though they were pouring it into someone's mouth. Palm wine is hard to get here, but they will go great distances to get it for a ceremony, even though they may obtain only a little, as it is essential. I note the tremendous importance of alcohol all through here. They drink a lot, as I saw in Anam at the New Year feast (see later), and they like it. It seems to be a perfect case of giving the ancestors what they liked best in life.

I noticed another amazing thing, though it
[533] may be unconscious. When the singing teacher at the mission at the Sunday performance for me arranged the boys for a round singing dance (sanda), he put a stone in the center of the place! It was probably just a marker, but note how easily he set a stone there.

527 I do not know if I got information on all
241 the feasts, as the time was getting short, but
574 he gave them as follows:

(1) New Year. This usually comes in October or November or December. It may be later, but may not be held in the summer. It takes place when

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527 the gardens are all set and growing. The date
574 is uncertain. Each panga must contribute one
241 pig. At the New Year ceremony they dance,
sing, pray, etc. And from what I saw in Anam,
[273] they drink plenty. The main feast is held in
the central kampong of the va'u, but there is
no set order as to where the successive feasts
are held in order.

(2) There are many garden rites: for a new
lodok, for a new clearing, for planting, for
the first weeding, if there are many mice, and
for harvest. The last mentioned is the big-
gest. Note that the ceremony for the mice is
not the regular pantomime one described by
[114] Coolhaas.[h] This is not held here, but only in
East Manggarai.

There is no rice mother here.

231 For the garden rites they usually sacrifice
527 pigs and fowls. A buffalo is sacrificed at
782 the rite for the new lodok, but it is killed
241 in the kampong at the tjompang (the animal is
tied to the tree, and thus there is a clear re-
lation between this and the peo of Nageh and
the ngadu of Ngada; and note that both of these
are forked as though they were cut-off trees;
I saw this clearly in Anam, where a tjompang
tree had had branches cut and it looked like a
rudimentary peo! and note that the buffalo is
tied here at the tree as at the peo or at the
ngadu). Usually, only one buffalo is killed,
and the buffalo is only for a new, main, round
garden, i.e., a lingko randang.

242 This raised an interesting point that with
31 the need for rotation of gardens a new lingko
randang must be planted every two years, because
the soil becomes exhausted and must then lie
fallow. At this time beasts graze there and
fatten the land with manure. But here in Veol
land is now lacking, and they must use the lingko
randang and other lingko constantly, which is

h [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We
242 exhausting the soil. Someday someone is going
311 to have to move away!

Then we talked of fertilizer. They have
241 heard of using manure here, and I told how the
242 Japanese and Chinese forage for manure, following animals around, and using human wastes too. He said, however, that they have heard of this and that the idea is revolting to them. They wouldn't do it. This is curious. They call manure pupuk! (Note the Batak significance.) However, animals graze on fallow fields, so there is some profit from manure anyway.

241 A buffalo is sacrificed at the tjompang for
231 harvest too.

782 I am not clear as to whether it is necessary
527 to sacrifice a buffalo for every new round garden and lodok or only for the main one. I think the latter. Anyway, they do not sacrifice a buffalo every year for the garden, but only when a new one is opened and a lodok is set up. The following year or years no buffalo is sacrificed, because the same lodok remains.

Thus, I suppose that with the present constant use of the gardon, there are few if any buffalo sacrificed for lodok. Also, the buffalo sacrifice accompanies only the first harvest from a new garden. There is no buffalo sacrifice in succeeding years for the harvest from the same field.

At the garden rites they pray, sing and dance.
[535] There is a harvest parade around the lodok and around the main post in the tuan tanah house, led by the tuan tanah. Note also that the sanda dance (as at the New Year feast in Anan) is done in the house, and this round dance goes around the main post. These are not only stone people but also circular people.

782 (3) New kampong. A buffalo is sacrificed at
231 the new tjompang.

527 (4) A new big house. Only pigs are sacrificed.
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527 We
782 Drums, etc. are set up.
231 (5) A new ordinary house. There is a small
[342] feast, and pigs are killed.

(6) If there is an epidemic, a big feast is
[731] held, like the tjutji kampong of Ambon. The
[783] mbako decides when it is needed. It is called
[756] kaba erba golo, which means "buffalo (kaba) makes young or renews (erba) the kampong (golo)." Thus the word for young seems to have the sense of making young or cleaning or renewing. There is a buffalo sacrificed, I suppose at the tjompang.

[697] (7) When a man returns from jail. A buffalo is sacrificed.

[585] (8) A wedding. For such rites only pigs are sacrificed. Buffaloes which are killed at this time are for food only, not for ritual use.

[764] (9) Funerals. If such a rite is for an up-
[565] per, a buffalo is sacrificed; if a funeral is for a lower, only a pig is sacrificed.

(10) Birth. A bigger ceremony is held for
[844] a first child, and all the kampong folk attend. Later children are given smaller rites, and only the family attend. Pigs or fowls are sacrificed. Such ceremonies are held five to ten days after birth. There is no special touching the ground rite. However, at this time the baby's hair is cut and a name is given.

844 This led to a discussion of birth. In each
[756] kampong the mbako are also midwives, i.e., at least some of them. A male mbako may be a midwife, and Cornelius says that some are very clever at this. Evidently all mbako are medicine givers and sorcerers and soothsayers, etc., but not all of them are midwives.

843 There are no food taboos for pregnant women, but there are restrictions. If a pregnant woman goes out at night, she must carry a knife (like Ambon). An expectant father may not make bamboo water holders. Neither parent may work at the graves or go to funerals

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000 "standing." There are plenty of songs. Singing
533 is the greatest art, and I was impressed extremely with the school performance. A priest who was musical said that they are excellent and strange. The new songs like krontjong, omba' putih-putih,[1] etc., are sung only in the towns. Here only a few know them, but nearly all the songs which the majority of the people know are old Manggarai ones. Cornelius[2] said that there are about ten kinds of rhythms in
[562] drum and gong playing. Some are for both sexes, others are for men or for women only.

221 May, June and July are relatively free of
527 work. Otherwise there is little free time. Feasts are the fun times here, and they are largely not at set times.

[526] Soccer is loved and so are horse races.
541 These are not native. They are held either in
525 town or along the road here. This is true especially at harvest time. There is betting.
[177] Cock fighting has come in a little from the outside.

538 There are plenty of stories. They tell tales while they work in the gardens and especially while they bind corn in the houses. Also, the old people tell stories in the evenings. They tell tales when they are just sitting around and drinking, too.

There are many kinds of stories. A number of them are sung, but many are not. They are never very long, and none lasts for several days as in Ende and Larantuka.

533 There are about ten kinds of songs.

527 For the Catholics, Sundays are free, and the pagans have largely taken this practice over. They are glad to have the day off. Otherwise, the only free days are feast days.

[868] With the dances and singing and story telling
538 there is no regular instruction. There is a decline in interest in the old tales especially,

[1] [i.e., a song title, "White Waves" -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e., the assistant -- Analyst]

578 wars. There is no more head-hunting (but the
721 priest in the mission thinks it still goes on secretly, especially for the main post of a new korke).

53 The arts here are poor in all ways.

583 The bride price must be paid, but ambil anak
611 can occur. In the latter case a daughter or
237 daughters are given to the family in place of the
[556] price. This is especially true for the poor. Elephant tusks are needed for things such as the bride price, but this is evidently mainly for the uppers. And Krol said that nowadays, when the tusks have become rare, they often merely make the transfer in their heads, talking all night, and never actually transferring the real tusks from one family to another. It is a kind of clearing-house procedure. The tusks may be "transferred" up to twenty times in their heads, and they balance out in the end. Thus there is no real cost. It is a matter of delayed payment and really works out to a system of woman exchange between families. The tusk transfer is fictional. Thus A will "pay" tusks to B for a girl, and B will "pay" these to C for a girl, and C will "pay" them to A for a girl, and so on. The tusks, however, may even be non-existent in a particular case, and since they balance out in the end, no one really pays.

764 I was told that they used to put the bodies of
766 the war dead (I think) in trees before burial. Newborn children were buried in the kampong in front of the house. Cemeteries here were evidently placed outside the kampong.

124 We will return to Leloba tomorrow and try to
621 get the assistant matter straightened out. It
578 is notable that the guru said he is more comfortable working in an outside kampong. If the kakang gives the order the people must cooperate. This shows that the kampongs here are fiercely separatistic and only the upper government controls this atomism.

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191 is always in Manggarai. I have seen this before. "Mengerti sedikit, tidak bisa tjakap [I understand a little bit, but I can't speak it].

● 53 We saw a poor show at the pasar malam. It
177 was a sandiwara traveling troupe like the one
831 I saw on the ship. It consisted of torch singers and crooners. The gallery came down with a carioca in western dress. The contact was not close, but closer than they used to make it, and at the end the woman half fell into the man's arms. They shrieked. This very mild sex symbolism in dance was extreme for them. Their dances, as usual, are incredibly dull. The songs repeat themselves over and over again.
526 And they carry on their whip fighting day after day. They even abuse football, and play it from dawn to dusk. This is like the ten games
[171] of baseball a day in Micronesia. They overdo things.

As we were sitting in the assistant's house
201 with him and the other guru, a woman came in
576 and swiftly pushed her face into mine, holding
123 my head and rubbing noses. It seemed almost as
832 though she were using her mouth a bit too, and I wondered if this were a combination of nose rub and sniff kiss. She then went quickly to Kattenburg and then to the two guru. Nothing would stop her, even embarrassed protests from the guru. The assistant asked who she was, and the other said she was Marcus's wife (who's that?). We were so embarrassed that we turned at once back to the questions, and we acted as though nothing had happened. We saw her later in the rear of the house, looking queer. Query: Was she crazy, or was she doing some bit of unthinking etiquette? But even if she were crazy, she must have been following a pattern here, or why do it in exactly that way? It would have been better if it had been the other guru's wife, who is a beauty.

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764 If the people were very poor (or evidently for
178 some other reason) they may not bring them.
[656] Thus there has not been much change except for the fast burial now enforced in all cases.

One can see a change in that the Catholics have church rites as well as pagan. And another change is that whereas even now all pagan bodies are merely wound up in mats, Catholic bodies are put in a coffin. Formerly, very
766 famous men and stillborn children were buried near the house. Other people were buried outside the kampong (something like Limbo!).

764 Another thing is that if an old person dies, one must guard his sleeping mat (evidently all
769 of this applies to old women too) for four days. Food for the soul and a lit lamp are placed beside the body. The ghost comes and eats. It can be seen whether or not the ghost is happy if the food has been neatly eaten. If the food is left messy, it shows that the dead one is not happy. The pagans still do all of this, and sometimes the Catholics do too.

764 There are no tombs here, and there were none in the past. They have graves. There are stone markers placed on the graves.

● 53 All forms of entertainment are local. They are particularly fond of singing. They also dance, and there are many kinds of songs using a complement of such instruments as drums, flutes and gongs. There are no viols. He stresses that they love singing.

526 Soccer is a new game here but it is very much
524 liked. They also have raga, the rattan ball kick game. This is also new here, Roy says. They do not play cards, dice, etc. They have a kind of fruit-pits-in-holes game.

53 There is no sculpture here. A little carving is done (on the korke, barns, and they used to have images in the korke). There is no painting.
536 There is no drama (but he sees the point that

517 few moving pictures, and the trips to Ende town.

535 They dance and sing, although they do not
[526] have the whip dueling here. They do the bamboo dancing as in Manggarai. They dance and sing only at the time of the full moon, and prepare the occasion in advance. Local instru-
[534] ments are only the drum and the gong. Anything else is imported. And the only dances of old are the ronggeng and the main tandak (round dance), and the bamboo dance. This is all.

526 They play soccer and raga (rattan kick
524 ball). They have no card games. They do have a corn and hole game. They also spin tops, but do this only after the harvest.

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[286] painting. Weaving is about the only local art. Thus they are very poor, aesthetically.

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F [404 cont.]
342 be mentioned. Here the house stands on piles 1.50 to two meters above the ground and has vertical walls about 1.50 meters high. Above this there is a very high roof which, except in front, drops to the height of the floor, offering double protection inside
F [132] against the often very cold winds in these areas. [405] An inner gallery is built against the house on the front, with the floor lower than that of the house; it is partially closed off at the front by a wooden or bamboo balustrade. In front of it and somewhat lower still is an outer gallery that is not closed off. [Illustration appears here.] This is often attached to the galleries of the adja-
F [531 554] cent houses, so that a number of houses in the same row are connected with one another. The houses of prominent persons often have three galleries. Woodcarvings are common around the door and in other places. The houses of the Ngada serve as dwellings
F [512] for only one or two small families [gezin]. During the day people stay in the front gallery and at night inside the house where a fire always burns.

I 342 From the foregoing description it is already obvious that the building materials are always wood and bamboo, never stone. An exception to this general rule is found in the houses on Bali
B L 342 and a part of Lombok where clay and natural stone are used. "The typical Balinese dwelling is an oblong rectangle divided into three parts. The front part includes the rice granaries, or in some cases the cattle shed, and accommodations for guests; the second, the [406] sleeping rooms and the kitchen of the
B [316] family; and the third, the house temple. The living rooms are of clay and covered with thatch or atap. In the stony areas of Karangasem and Bangli, which are poor in clay, natural stone is used for the walls and bamboo laths for the roof covering. Well-to-do Balinese divide their compounds, which cover a greater area, into more sections, each of which is used for a particular purpose" (1). [Illustration appears here.]

1. Encyclopaedie van Nederlands Indië, Vol. I, p. 121. See also the detailed

764 kampongs with plazas and tombs all over. The latter are usually rectangular stone piles with flat covers, which are evidently lifted in
342 order to put in more bodies. Some of the houses have high pitched roofs coming down to the floor on all sides. They appear to be hooded, and are rather ragged inasmuch as they use alang-alang grass for thatch. Some houses are simpler and follow a more usual design, but all have a different look from those in, for example, Celebes or Ambon. I saw no gaba-gaba
●[531] here, but rice stalks are used in the same way and they look like narrower gaba-gaba strips. I
[778] asked at one kampong if they had pusaka houses, and the answer was yes.

[782] I have seen no offering posts yet. I stopped
797 to talk with the priest at Ndetosoko. He was named Nalles and has a church and school and is starting to plant coffee for the church. The nearby kampongs look pagan to me, but he says that about half of the population in these villages have been converted. It is the usual story: the older ones stay pagan. I talked
121 quite a while with him and he advised my choos-
124 ing a kampong near Wolowaru. We then went back toward Ende, and at 7 km. out we stopped at Roworeke. It is on the side of the road, and then we stopped at another kampong, Watu Roga. The whole place looked ideal, with old style houses, tombs in the plaza, primitive looking folk, etc., and it is all very near Ende. We talked with a couple of the men, and they said that the kapitan (district chief) was in the garden at kilometer 10. We said we would come back later. I decided to take this kampong, or rather this double kampong.

634 In the afternoon we went to see the Ende radja.
124 There was a large gathering there including five Chinese, two hadjis (one kapitan of Nggobe, the northern half of Ende town, and the other from

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764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I must find out how the funerals are run now. Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.
[797] The assistant has finished five grades of schooling in Ndona.

291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
178 men (old style) although this is changing fast, a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
[302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
286 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
531 looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the designs are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
124 I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan. Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they have a holiday whenever there is the slightest excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I must find out about later, is how the kepala kampong is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some re-
624 marks about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan and others are not. I must get this kepala kampong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

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349 set on the rafters a similar chest with bones of
766 the old ancestor of the Odja suku. I was told
769 that this has been there for hundreds of years,
614 but then it was reckoned that it had been there
621 for at least seven generations. It too was
covered with ikat clothing. There was no drum
in this one. They said that when the ancestor
suku feast is held, hundreds of people gather
here and buffaloes are killed, as was true in
the other place. All around are many other stone
cist tombs, all graves of descendants of the big
342 Odja. There are some high houses here, but most
of them are lower in construction.

286 In Padjambu we saw many women spinning and
weaving. One girl was pressing cotton fluff on
a primitive wooden wringer arrangement in order
to flatten it before spinning. It looked just
like an old-fashioned clothes wringer. We saw
an old woman preparing the loom threads in the
first stage of ikat work. The white threads were
wrapped with fiber windings. We saw several ikat
sarongs, all of which were heavy and dull in
[435] color. The kapitan said that I could buy one for
[181] fl. 150.00 and another for fl. 250.00. This
again shows the grasping character of these folk.

123 I forgot to say that the kapitan wants to go
to Larantuka with us. I refused to let him go
along. Also, at the Odja ancestral bone bundle
tower an old mother said we had to leave an offer-
ing. We left some cigarettes. Perhaps they
wanted money.

286 These ikat things are all over. I don't like
386 them very much, but they are genuine. The cotton
531 is grown locally and is pressed and spun. The
dyes are blue and black and are made from indigo
leaves. The ikat work is done with ties of fiber.
[438] Indeed, the only trade material used here is the
red dye they buy in the stores. They also weave
regular cloth, but the colors are always dull.
The designs are small and indecisive.

Wai
000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass
thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in
area where there is a large bench for sleeping.
There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the
roof and often in front too. Here sit the women
while they work. If there are two families to a
house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
797 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel
as in other kampongs. The church to which every-
one here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamiß, but
since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are stan-
dard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are
nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have
brown hair or hair which is partly brown.

[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
●531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk
along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-
bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue
and black mostly. The designs are even poorer
than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used
for men and for women. They say that a cloth
takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many
304 men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
few old people, it seems especially the women,
have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

We
771 the young folk are Christian. Most of the old
[624] people are largely pagan however. There are
no other obvious signs of pagan religion in
the lower kampong. The same goes for Weol.
342 Here there are more round houses, but the new
ones are all rectangular. At the entrance of
778 the kampong there is a mound which I must ask
about. It looks as though it might have been
a cult hill. Then there is the holy tree and
the stones around it. The photo of the stone
figure, Ine Amba, which Vroklage gives as from
Weol, is really from a kampong which can be seen
across the rice fields.

621 There are many old people here, including two
[624] remarkable old men, one of whom is one of the
two tuan tanah in the kampong. This is a double
kampong, with two main parts, and it has there-
fore two tuan tanah. The children here are
[515] dirty and so are the adults, for the most part.
[231] There are pigs all over. However, the houses
[361] are better spaced than, for example, in Laran-
tuka kampongs. The people here have poor clothes,
[291] and many, especially the women, were seen with
304 filed teeth and some of them with teeth beauti-
fully blackened. We noticed no tattooing nor
cutting.

243 Looking off from the high kampong one can see
the wet rice fields below. These are in wedge
shapes with a common center. There are many
adjacent, star-shaped arrangements. This is
unique in Indonesia. The priest says this is
because it is easier to fence them in this fashion,
but I suspect there is some cosmological signifi-
cance, perhaps reflected in the circular houses
too. The houses have all sorts of decorations
342 on top of them. The round ones seem to have an
531 upright wooden thing on them. The rectangular
ones have at the ridge ends a stylized pair of
wooden horns, often with a bird in the middle,
and some with two birds, one at each horn tip.
[See pp. 390-91 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography
cat. 113--Analyst]

000 have a taboo on lusa. There are two panga here:
614 Rosong and Nggurus. Each panga has two houses,
592 and thus there are four in all. There are more
342 houses, however, and these are of the non-Wol
178 newcomers, especially those from Ruteng. In addition to the four old houses of which two are built in the old style and one in the new style, there are: one round house belonging to the newcomers, mixed; three new style houses of newcomers, mixed. The reason that there are only three original houses is that one of the pangas has people living in a temporary, awful long tumbledown shack, wherein live also some newcomers. This is to be torn down as soon as two new style wooden houses, now under construction, are finished. In one of these will live the newcomers of the shed, and in the other the panga folk now living in the shed. Thus the houses are:

1. Tuan tanah house, new style, panga.
2. Round house panga.
3. Round house panga.
4. Small shed with one family who should live in number 3. It is beside the latter.
5. Round house newcomers.
6. New style newcomers.
7. New style newcomers.
8. Small shed newcomers.
9. Long shed mixed panga and newcomers.

Number 9 will split when the two new houses are finished, and the newcomers will go to one and the panga folk to the other.

342 I asked about the roof ornaments. The horns
531 are pretty clearly a sign of the tuan tanah's
554 house. The other type, the straight upright
624 rod, is an ordinary decoration. Some of the horns have a bird head in the middle, and I have seen birds on the horn tips, but not here. The tuan tanah of Ndung has the horns, but in the center there is a human face.

5: Kennedy--119 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

524 In the afternoon on the alun-alun in Ruteng we saw a bamboo-clapping game. Two parallel bamboos were placed on the ground, and squatting behind them, facing each other, were two pairs of women. Each pair held two bamboos in their hands. These bamboos were placed athwart the lying bamboos. In unison they banged the bamboos three times against the sticks which were lying down, and on the fourth beat clapped them together, sliding them across on the sticks. Then the girl tried to hopscotch between the moving bamboos so that her ankles would not get caught on the clapping together of the long horizontal bamboos. The clapping went faster and faster--one, two, three, four --until she got caught. A man tried it too, and then some others. This is unique [actually [171] rather widespread in southeast Asia, for example, in Hainan, Philippines, Indo-China]. The mandur said they usually do this in moonlight with long rows of clappers, and with several pairs, male and female, doing the hopscotch stuff. They also have this in Larantuka and Ende.

824 Teno does not mean tanah, the latter being the same in Manggarai. Teno means the kind of wood used for the lodok post. Hence, tu'a teno.

342 On the house ridge of the tuan tanah of
●531 Ndung between the wooden buffalo horns is a
237 human head of wood. Could this be related to
[171] the Toradja use of human heads berween horns, and also connected with the horn headdresses of the dancers and whippers here? The horns are used only on the houses of the tuan tanah. On other houses different decorations are used. The horns indicate that there is a drum located in the house on which they are placed.

114 Notes from Mennes (Koloniaal Tijdschrift, XX, 1931; (1), 384-390): h

h [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
614 living on the level of the road and the other
621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo.
[211] At the road border of the kampong a bit in from the road, standing against the skyline, is a row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe heads. They are thin and tall. They are set on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
[417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical of all kampongs in this region, so that the kampong itself is located down in a stone wall enclosure.

346 Below the first row of stone pillars there
769 is another with just as many stones. It is also set on a mound. Just below this stands the
● 531 umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on one side there is a living tree with Y-branches at the fork. Stones are heaped around the ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet high, and consists of a single pillar with thatched cap. The pillar is made of hebuh wood and is carved in fancy designs which are hard to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were made of white shell). Looking under the cap I could see that the pillar forks were in the shape of a U, and so it is really about the same as the Nageh peo, but less clearly Y-shaped and covered with a cap.

342 To either side of the plaza, which was of
361 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small and had rather low roofs. These houses are set on piles. On one side was the house of the
624 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
769 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
346 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
565 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
554 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in
574

624
565 order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase
554 his fame. However, a common man cannot do this.
769 Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions.
346 Also, buffalo sacrifices are needed for putting
574 a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger"
[782] mori ndaru who lives on the other side of the plaza. This has some relation to the elder and younger brother stuff mentioned in the manuscript report on Soa by a priest. Mommersteeg[1]
342 has lent me this report. The mori ndaru house
624 has a wood post in front, on either side be-
532 side the steps. They are rather thin and low and are carved in a human form. This is known as the ata deo, or rather these are the ata deo.

342 Also, beside the door of the house and on the
● 531 porch are two richly carved wooden rectangles measuring about 3x2 feet. This looks like the
[171] Balinese stuff and consists mainly of scrolls so far as I could see.

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342 but also on others, we noted many lower jaws of
531 pigs, wild pigs with tusks, deer horns, and buffalo horns. These are partly ranged along a rack under the roof eaves and partly, especially true of the buffalo horns, stuck in beside the wall of the porch. We later found out that the ata deo may be used by others than the mori ndaru, but evidently the carved wood slabs are only for him. I saw some especially elaborate lower jaw carvings on a barn in Brova.

346 In the lower kampong, Lodo, which has a low
231 stone wall between it and Naru, there is the
[624] house of the mori ndaru (thus each suku, voi, has a mori ndaru, and there may be more than one per kampong) and the rest of the things just mentioned. The ndaru there, however, has a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had been no renewal they said that they would do so, but they would have to get the buffalo first.

[1] [pastor at Soa --Analyst]

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 237 224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. 776 784 124 824 769 I got a real rise when I asked him about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo [789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

We.

342 178 old type, because it has low wooden walls, whereas the old ones had the walls to the floor. The first change was thus, and within ten years the rectangular house is sweeping the country.

342 [592] Inside this house (and before we entered the man worried as he said perhaps I would tell the police that there were more than three families living in it; indeed there were eight! and the law says only three), everything was dark, and several fires were burning on the floor and smoke was everywhere. There were a couple of low windows in the low walls, but even these were lacking before. All over men, women and children were sitting or reclining. The planks of the flooring were roughly worked with big cracks in between, but they were worn smooth by years of bare feet. In the rear was the apartment of the tu'a mbaru, set off by a low wall. Other spaces were not set off until night, when mats were hung up between them. There is not much privacy here. Looking up I saw the intricate network of rafters, with ropes binding the whole thing. And above this were the big mat holders for food. Long rows of ear corn, unshucked, were hung on the beams. The main post was the center of everything, but I did not see the food shelf for the naga, as I did not hear about this until later.

342 531 178 The conical roof is beautiful. This was an ordinary house, with merely an upright stick above the tip. Formerly, only the tuan tanah house could have horns, but I note that now many houses, rectangular ones (but I haven't seen any round ones that use the horns illegally) use horns illegally. Some horns are accompanied by birds. One set here has a bird in the middle and a bird on the tip of either horn. Another has a human head with horns like arms (looked like the human figure atop the Ngada ngadu).

614 I found that the Tjepang va'u is the main one

We

614 and these are the keys to the stuff: wodja bakok are the same as lampang. The meaning is "white rice." Lampang means "stocks" wherein new slaves are put to keep them from running away. The totems newly inserted are:

[784]

lavo	mouse
kaba	buffalo
paku	a leafy vegetable
betu	a kind of mouse
pake	frog
peti	a kind of bird

614 764 784 756 178 Naked burial is called gilo. Note that this used to be a totem of the Pau va'u, and it was given up via a big feast in 1932. At the same time, the buffalo taboo of Pau (Pau therefore does have a food taboo, or rather it did), was given up too via the same feast. In regard to the naked burial, the people decided it was too much trouble, and I suppose they felt they might as well get rid of the buffalo taboo at the same time. To do this kind of thing a va'u must consult a mbako to see if it is all right. If so, they have the feast called kaba oke tjek'i ("buffalo removes the taboo").

nggevo red bean (different from the lusa)

531 622 I asked if it was right that the radja has no horns on his house as he is not a tuan tanah. They said yes. He has no relation with the land. But nowadays there is plenty of illegal use of the horns by non-tuan tanah.

782 It is true that an offering is always made at the vatu Veol before starting garden work. This is as Coolhaas[1] says.

829 No one is able to draw a map of Flores and Indonesia and the world.

212 Fifty years ago (and even forty years ago) no

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

Wa

526 face as well as on their body. In regard to girls who like men who have hit the eye of an opponent, he says that one should merely say that girls admire clever whippers (like athlete lovers in the United States).

The only sports followed are soccer and raga.
524 Card games are new and rare. (I noted that he bought a pack recently.) Also, there is a stone in a hole game. There are many children's games.

[595] Dances here are only local dances. There is
532 no sculpture, but they do have the old images. In regard to these old carvings, they do not know who made them. Note the petrifaction myth
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778 Note: On the map there appears the high little hill near the tjompang. This is called "the place of sunning selves before." Here the people used to sit for sunning themselves, and many still do. However, there are no rites connected with this. It is probably impossible to link this with a sun cult, as in Ambon. It is in the right place for it, as it is a bit off from the old site of the kampong, and on a nearby hill, as in Ambon, where the sun mound is a bit off from the kampong on a hill. Note also that it has the "sun" element in it. And its name was "bangka" ("former") which also applies to the old kampong site, which is called "Bangka Veol."

● 531 There is quite a bit of wood carving on the houses, especially on the decorations on top. Ordinary, clever men do this. The only real
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[i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

Flores OF9
Javanese OE5
Bali OF7
Lombok OF12
Gorontalo OG4

[414 cont.]

important festivals and the ancestors.

Finally, we wish to mention, as examples of the orderly village arrangement in the more easterly areas of the archipelago, the villages of the Ngada (central Flores), which are notable for their regularity. The houses stand in strict alignment around a square; on sloping terrain, the square has several terraces which are carefully tended. Pigs are kept out by means of a bamboo fence along the front of the houses. Clumps of bamboo are found around the village, while the rice and maize granaries are built outside the villages. Furthermore, in every village there are one or more copies of the nadoe and the baka, dedicated to, or the symbol of, respectively, the ancestral father and the ancestral mother of a noi, or family [familie] unit.

The nadoe is a heavy wooden pole, often artistically worked, ending in a fork at the top, with a circular excavation between the prongs, and covered with a cone-shaped alang-roof. The baka is a little house, commonly made of finely worked planks and like the ordinary house in form, but usually without the front veranda. The villages here, too, cover only a small area, since practically nothing is planted inside the village.

The third type of village in the archipelago is completely different and is found, as a rule, in the more highly developed areas where wars are far in the past, and hence the village no longer needs to be a complex of dwellings huddled together as closely as possible and surrounded by walls and barricades. An outstanding example of this type of village is the Javanese dèsa. Every house is surrounded by a yard, which in many cases is quite large, where all kinds of fruit trees and other crops are planted, so that such a "village cluster," as Veth calls it, [415] rises out of the sawah sea like a kind of island. Even though the number of inhabitants may be small, such a Javanese dèsa covers quite a large area.

Similar villages are found on Bali and Lombok, in central Sumatra, among the Minahasa (northeastern Celebes), and, more recently, under the influence of the Government and the

624
565 order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase
554 his fame. However, a common man cannot do this.
769 Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions.
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574 a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger"
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a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had
been no renewal they said that they would do so,
but they would have to get the buffalo first.

[1] [pastor at Soa --Analyst]

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
361 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
515 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
574 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
●532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

W.

865 young, in regard to the propriety of their behavior.

346 778 As usual, the church at Tjantjar has no windows. There is no rumah pemali here. The tuan tanah house is the cult center. At each feast all gather here, unless it is a smaller, house or panga feast. The gongs and drums are located here, and also the main post (and in each house is a lesser main post) and the pusaka. The last, however, does not consist of very much--clothes, knives, etc., from the ancestors, and heirlooms of the group.

778 614 769 773 532 The cult places are: (1) the tjompang with the tree, and (2) the stones. Here it is the Vatu Veol, in the form of a human male with arms akimbo, but "someone" broke off the arms. It is near the high hill where the original kampong was located. It was placed there by an ancestor named Padja (thus like the named stones of Ngada). Padja is invited to the feasts at the stone. If there is a war, ceremonies are held there. Any kampong of the va'u Veol may come there and use it. Thus it is a va'u stone. Most kampongs have such a holy stone. Vatu Runtu is the one in Ruteng kampong, whence came the original ancestors of va'u Runtu. Vatu Pau in kampong Pau is where the original ancestors of va'u Pau came out. This was about fifteen generations ago, he says, and he is a member (this is thus quite recent, and curious, but maybe these family trees get foreshortened; or perhaps the period represents a new immigration of "stone people"? It seems to be about three hundred years ago or perhaps a bit less). Vatu La'o is in the gelarang La'o of dalu Rahong. He doesn't know the story about it.

778 769 776 532 It is notable that outside of Rahong, as far as he knows, there are no stone images. Indeed, the only one I know of is the Vatu Veol. And

We

778 note that the removed Vatu Ine Amba was in the
769 gelarang Veol too. However, outside Rahong
776 there are plenty of regular cult stones which
[532] are not images. Where did these images come from? This is peculiar for Flores, and would bear checking profitably.

(3) The house of the tuan tanah, and to a lesser extent the main pillars and individual family naga shelves in each house.

(4) The lodok in the center of the gardens. When it is first placed there, it is made of wood, and only later is it replaced by a stone.

(5) Cemeteries, where the ghosts live. On each grave there are two stones, one at the head and one at the foot.

(6) Places in the woods which are known to be the abodes of spirits. The people go there to make offerings when they think illness has been caused therefrom. Some of these places have stones and others do not. They are known frequently without markers. As I remember, he said that in this area there were no such places, but I had better not mention this, because I am not sure.

(7) Locally, the bamboo grove where the ancestors of va'u Veol emerged from bamboo.

(8) The kampong spring. This is the usual thing, and here they hold ceremonies. Here there are nitu as well as ancestral ghosts (empo).

(9) The tree of Ndung. People may go there if they are afflicted by illness.

(10) The Bangka Veol ("former Veol"), the abandoned higher site, where the naga was not good. No rites are held there, and it is avoided.

(11) Pong Noang, a grove of trees. The name means "place of the dog bark noise." There were trees here once, but they have all been cut down now for gardens (showing the desperate need of

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526 face as well as on their body. In regard to girls who like men who have hit the eye of an opponent, he says that one should merely say that girls admire clever whippers (like athlete lovers in the United States).

The only sports followed are soccer and raga.
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[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

632 told me that his mother is from this area, and
later I had her kampong pointed out (Lewoleda).
It is the twin kampong of Watuwiti. As we
passed every kampong the children came out in
droves shouting greetings and then running after
and hanging on the rear of the jeep, just as
Vatter[1] described them almost twenty years ago.
[178] Indeed, many things of his are still the same,
but some are different, for example, Catholicism
has finally destroyed the nubanara, nama, and
the korke of Leloba.

At Wailolong we went off on a new side road
346 to Leloba, and the road ended at the kampong,
797 barred by a fence. As we were talking here, a
583 priest, Krol, came up on his motorcycle and in-
438 vited us to his hut. He is temporarily here
because the church and pastorie in Riangkamië
was burned two months ago. The people there
caused the fire by burning the hills on the wind-
ward side, and the kampong elders voted to give
a percentage of the bride prices for quite a
long while in order that they might have the new
church. This will be paid in elephant tusks,
[435] which the mission will sell for cash to the
Mohammedan traders (eight tusks of varying
lengths will sell for about fl. 2000.00, and the
priest knew the exact price). The Mohammedan
traders will then resell the tusks to the people
in Larantuka who need them to pay a bride price.
They will probably sell them in the Tandjung
Bunga (Cape Flores area).

797 The priest told how the Catholics work here.
197 They try to keep as much of the old culture as
177 possible. For example, he and others are learn-
ing all about the Solor language, which is the
local language here, so that they can make
prayers in it. They also make prayers in the
797 old style, as though praying to Lerawulan. They
177 use native songs with words in the native lan-
● 533 guage and in the native style, too. He, musical,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

797 sang a few, and they are quite good. He says the
177 Gregorian chants are liked by the people here as
[533] they are similar to theirs. Perhaps both are primitive. Also they like marches. Then too, said the priest here, on Christmas they retell the old story, saying that the shepherds brought mangos, bananas, and other native fruits to the manger. I think he said he has them bring such fruits to the church manger. They interfere as little as possible with the old practices. An old pageant concerning cosmogony and the descent of man has been kept, but they put in Adam and Eve and Sem, etc., in place of the native figures. As Kattenburg rightly remarked, it is a question as to whether they are adjusting native religion to Catholicism or Catholicism to native religion.

797 Later, in the Larantuka mission headquarters,
177 the priest said there was much argument among
578 the priests whether this is right. Krol, how-
[197] ever, is on the native side. He says, for example, that if they had hymns in Malay the old folk would never come to church. On hearing their own language, however, they come in and sit in the rear. This is an interesting reversal of the methods employed by the Protestants in Ambon, and Krol could see this. Protestantism does not compromise. The hymns are in Malay and are simply Dutch. They will take nothing from the old religion and they refuse to compromise. The priest said that the Catholic method is a matter of tactics, and I thought, "Here is the Jesuit view of an end justifying the means." Anyway, here the old is intermeshed with the new, and is gradually weeded out. In Ambon the two are kept separate, and there is a conflict between the adat and the agama lama, and Protestantism. This is not to say that there is no conflict here, and I think there is more than meets the eye. But the difference in method is notable.

[124] arrived after dark. We saw a very clear change
144 in physical type.[1] The Manggarai are clearly
proto-Malay with a fair amount of Mongoloid
blood in them.

[311] We went down to the coast through the empty
361 land, being burned off in large part, to Aimere.
342 Then we went across the wild and jungled peninsula to Mborong. We picked up a small girl from the hospital in Mborong who was going to school in the mountains. She got sick on the way. Then, up in the empty hills again, we saw a tree house on the way. Underneath it were some Mongoloid looking men and they said they were iron workers who were working on a bridge. They sleep in the tree house, which they built
[137] against mosquitoes which are bad here. They were from Ruteng. Later we heard that they have been here for years, "working" on a bridge.

[132] We ran into a terrible fog as we went up and up toward Ruteng. In the evening we attended
[143] the pasar malam, and there in addition to the
[525] gambling was a play with a story about how in-
536 dependence means decency and not rowdiness.
177 It was full of Catholic influence. Between the
●533 acts there were instances of poor singing and dancing by a little girl who sang and stepped around and by some sillily dressed boys who went through marching motions to almost inaudible
[534] singing. The orchestra consisted of a violin and a ukelele, nothing else. The band consisted of a few horns. A small child held up the music for the trombone player, who didn't use the slide. The play was incredibly bad. Thus they lose the fine old singing and dancing and drama rites and instead of them they now have these imitation things which are bad beyond belief.

The next morning we went to the mission and
793 met several priests, including the rector, van
124 Bekkum,[2] who wrote an article on Manggarai art. He was a bearded fellow and not bad. He said

[1] [i.e., the Manggarai vis-a-vis the Nyada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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526 the heavy rain it started at two because it was
being played for a prize. One team was called
ATOM (Anak Tanah Orang Manggarai), and the
other was Pasir, from Reo. The latter team won.
526 Then the police played a team of radja kedua.
292 But the adat game in the other place (football
535 players, unlike barefoot players in Badjawa,
541 had real football shoes) was amazing. The men
721 wore horned head decorations, some of them
with plumes, and fancy coverings with plumes on
their bodies, as well as a kind of tail of
plumes stuck in the rear. They looked like
[171] Timorese warriors. This is the true ceremonial
dress of Manggarai, and they said they use them
in all kampongs for ceremonies. They had bells
on the rear which jingled as they danced with a
jigging step. It looked and sounded just like
American Indians at a powwow, except that the
dress was different. In addition, they yelled
from time to time. But the main point of the
[411] game is to try to strike the eye of the opponent
with a buffalo thong whip. The defender carries
a round buffalo hide shield and a curious bow-
shaped parrier which is quite long and looks
like a bunch of rattans tied together. The
whole thing gave the appearance of a war dance,
and perhaps it was.

I met the Radja and he said that they used
such costumes in war formerly. They also used
shields and even the parriers (it is not clear
[533] whether they also used the whips). The songs
too were especially like a cheering section
which kept up a chant from time to time answer-
ing the yells of the fighters, in chorus. The
fighting seemed formalized, and they danced
around jingling and kept this up until they were
ready to close in. Then even the approach was
formalized. As soon as a blow was made the at-
tacker ran away, as though he had taken a coup.
It looks to me like ritualized mock warfare with
whips.
1 [i.e., Children of the Land of the Manggarai Analyst]

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776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 Kraeng here is the original title for high
554 nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

196 At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is
614 done by families or pangas. Each man in the
782 group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck
231 with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunt-
[887] ing.) Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say
535 here) is done at many feasts. Each house has
574 some costumes, and the men may use them. They
555 say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 In the afternoon we went to see some fine
527 dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part
526 of the week long independence festival. The
533 lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and sing-
[276] ing. Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertain-
[887] ment was complicated and good. Most drummers
200 and gong players seem to be old women. These

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614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and Rundu.

784 824 614 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The other kinds, for example betong, which is thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung pesi is also tabooed for the members of the Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only on the first-born of each family. The first-born is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 114 624 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his material. There are now two more kampongs in the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas is in error in stating that Ladja is the fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung. Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung. The Manggarai

624 824 796 name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Teno is the kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post which is set in the center of the star of fields for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a

[533] [562] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum. Some of the beats are the same for the men and for the women, but others differ by sex. Another term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 423 651 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which are basically the property of the tuan tanah. Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay tribute for his house space. This tribute is used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 778 [104] Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on the side of the highest hill. It is in the form of a rough human figure, which used to have

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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000 since then there have been no wars.

614 The great suku feasts are a kind of re-
574 fresher of the gemeente bond, as all the suku
632 of the area come and feast and pledge friend-
624 ship. Thus, if Odja has a suku feast for repairing the grave-bones shrine, the other five big suku (and also others who are invited) attend. (The five are Rewarangga, Nggonggora'ba, Reandona, Wanda, and Gusa-Tibo). Thus the suku feasts are gemeente affairs as well as of a genealogical group. The mosa laki mere must be present at all such feasts, even though it is not of his own suku. Incidentally, he is the same man as the kolu, mentioned by Suchtelen[1] as the "tuan tanah." This kolu word is evidently used especially in his function as an agricultural priest. Thus he is an adat judge and agricultural priest at the same time. The mosa laki mere involved is the mosa laki mere of the kampong involved; thus here he is the big one, as the kampong mosa laki mere of Worowai-Roworeke is also the mosa laki mere of the gemeente.

[237] He gets the lower jaws of all the sacrificed
[342] animals. Nowadays he throws them away after
[178] eating, but formerly all bones from such occasions were kept and were put on the houses. Thus there is a clear relation involved between the jaws on the Ngada houses of the tuan tanah there and such occasions (and distantly to the Mentawei and Punan animal jaws). Note that he gets the lower jaws.

538 As for legends and stories of the past, at
● 533 first they said that they have none, or rather
[124] that they had forgotten what they might have had. I prodded on and told them about the Balai Pustaka man getting stories of Indonesia for schools. They loosened up a bit, and it seems that they do have plenty. I instructed the assistant to get a few as samples. They said

[1] [See p.70 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography cat.13-Analyst]

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588 there are a few who are great story tellers.
533 Some stories are told with singing, i.e., real ballads, and may last as long as two days. The kapitan sang one for a bit, softly. They warmed up and began to appear to be quite proud of these songs. They insist, however that only a few are clever at these things.

[243] They tell such stories when the rice is ripe, and they may sit all night listening. Most of the stories are about the ancestors. Thus it is the free time--rice-ripe period as usual in Indonesia. This is the time for stories, when they have plenty of time. Perhaps this is also true in the post harvest season. Anyway they do have plenty of stories. And it is not only the old people who know them. For example, there is a rather young lad named Ero who is famous for chanting long stories. These sung stories are voi.

621 423 They are very clear about the location of boundaries in the district, kampong, and sections of the kampongs, as well as in the gardens. Markers are stone posts, trees, streams, etc.

609 621 [563] There are different grades of being a foreigner. The crux of the affair seems to be people who come from other islands. Thus, though the Sikka are outsiders, they are not foreigners to the same extent that the people from Kupang are. It is a bit hard to fit into a kampong if one is an outsider, although it can be done. The Ende papalele in the huts at the lower end of the kampong are still outsiders, although many have been there since the end of the war. They have few relations with the kampong folk, and there have been few if any marriages. The community is closed.

609 582 608 I asked about the teachers and found that the Ndona one found it easy for two reasons: He lives in Waturoga, which is in Lio, and also

5: Kennedy--262 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

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533 In connection with special training for
871 individuals, the only thing they can think of is that the children have flute lessons in school and learn to read notes.

212 In Wailolong fifty years ago only one person was literate.

Everyone here can speak the local language.
191 Of the old folks, perhaps only one per cent
212 can speak Indonesian. The younger people are learning it in school. No one here speaks Dutch. No one here speaks any other language. About fifty per cent of the population here can read and write. At the most perhaps ten persons read regularly or at least look at the mission paper. This is the only "reading matter" except for prayer books.

There is almost no writing done locally. Perhaps about ten people have at some time written or received a letter. One guru can read and write Arabic.

There is no special instruction given in reading and writing. There are no aliens, and hence no foreign languages used in the area.
[207] There is no radio, and perhaps only the guru have ever seen movies.

178 There have been very few changes in the
412 technology here introduced during the last fifty
262 years. They are using shovels a bit, etc., but mainly the same old artifacts. In regard to food, there are a few changes. For example, there are new kinds of vegetables (in the old days they evidently had practically none), new varieties of bananas, etc. Evidently food was simple to the extreme in the old days.

286 The women spin and weave here, and this is perhaps the most important craft (in fact there
323 is no doubt about it). There is no pottery (they buy such items from the few places where pottery is made). Recently, a few people have
000 learned how to cook salt. There are about ten

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536 the rites of the agricultural cycle, etc., are highly dramatic). Weaving is probably the
286 most active art.

There are three kinds of dancing.

The hard work in this area is done from Janu-
221 ary to March. This is the growing season. They
784 work hard and steadily in the gardens and are tired at night and have to sleep early. Also, there is a taboo on making noise during this time. It is the time of "work and quiet." This links with beliefs about rice, corn, etc. souls, which must be handled carefully. But then, in July, August, September comes the big time for feasts, dancing, singing, especially at the time of full moon. Then they have lots of fun. After that the quiet time starts again after a tapering off.

They know just about nothing about foreign
20 sports, etc. My theory is that the lack of movies is the main reason for this. There are also no books, magazines or papers. There is no way of finding out about such things. There
533 is plenty of riddling and song games, like
538 pantun. This is done especially in forms which are sung. The same holds for stories. They are told especially by singing. The stories are sung during the great thanksgiving feasts that come perhaps once every nine or ten years. One story may last a month. Every incident in a past period will be told, with all persons indicated by name, their relationships with other people involved, and everything that happened in every kampong, etc. These are evidently true epics on a small-distance scale. These are "local epics." Such a tale may tell everything that happened over a period of twenty generations. Most tales are told about the ancestors (the sistim again; it permeates everything).

585 I forgot to say that Roy says that marriages
241

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582 the previous talk of the tuan tanah that there
614 are preferred clans. I will clinch this when I get the va'u membership of the inmarriers.

The next day I started in on some more question in regard to social organization.

[103] Note that the name of the kampong below is
346 Tjantjar, not as I have spelled it above [Tjantsia]. I went there halfway through the morning as I heard drums and gongs. There were girls (looking very Hawaiian) sitting on the porch of the house next to the new one of the tuan tanah now being built. The timbers are up. It will be a rectangular house, although the one it replaces was round (I made a photo of the latter only a month ago, which shows how fast the old type is vanishing). The drums and gongs were being beaten because this is necessary when a new tuan tanah house (rumah gong-gendang) is being built.

346 There were several drums and several gongs
●533 (and I found that each tuan tanah house has
776 several of each). They must be beaten all the
824 time, with short pauses, and the girls take
[562] turns. The men may help too (for garden beating, only men may play the instruments). This has to go on all the time while the big house is being built. The reason is that the wood (always spirit-ridden here) must be constantly kept pacified and told that it is being used for a great purpose, a big house. For ordinary houses this is not necessary. (I wonder if the idea is also in order to get the wood used to being in a rumah gong-gendang?) Before the trees are cut for the wood, they are told that they are being cut for a high purpose. Each grove of trees has a local spirit called darat. These are tree spirits. The generic word for spirit is ro.

778 I notice each day on my way here that there is
776 a grove of fine trees standing isolated on a
824

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778 high hill, which is otherwise bare, like most
776 of the land here. It is taboo, as special
824 darat dwell here. And now I see many such sacred groves in the hills, carefully left when the land was cleared. It is as though they have to leave places here and there for the darat whose trees have been largely cut away. One has to watch out for feelings of the spirits always. The assistant also uses the word roro for spirits in general.

346 As the big timbers are carried in, the bear-
776 ers sing all the time, moving about slowly, and
533 telling the setan not to sit on the timber and
824 make it heavy. A small girl, elaborately dressed, sits on the timber, showing the setan that someone is already sitting there, so that they won't. A flag is set on the timber (now usually a merdeka, red and white flag) to show the kampong folk from two to three kilometers away that they are coming. In the kampong, they begin to beat gongs and drums "to receive the wood" into the kampong. They may not be quiet as the wood enters. There is much singing, etc.

[335] While the carpenters are at work with modern tools on the house, the gongs and drums are beaten constantly (technology and adat). There has been trouble here in Tjantjar with the tukang from Ruteng. The timbers were already set
[578] when an argument started over the contract, etc. Tempers rose, and the carpenters picked up their tools and left for Ruteng. I saw them on the road two days ago. Now the kampong folk are worried stiff because there lies the wood and there is the wood in the half-finished house, and nothing is being done. The wood may get impatient or angry, and if so they will always have trouble with the house. And this is important, as it is the main house, the cult house,
[753] of the kampong. Also, if the wood gets angry, there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.

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346 there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.
824 They beat the gongs and drums to keep the wood
●533 satisfied and I suppose to make it think that
776 the work is going on. Also, I notice that a few men carry planks up now and then to the rafters, perhaps making as though they were carrying on the work. Meanwhile a delegation is in Ruteng to persuade the carpenters to return. The situation is desperate, and perhaps the folk regret having argued with the tukang in the first place. They must "make the wood cool," they say. This is dramatic.

I also noted that a pig was being skinned in the shed nearby. This is for the workers, but it had been ritually killed with prayers, etc. The drum and gong rhythms constantly changed, and the girls are really clever. This
[562] is beautiful stuff. There are beats which are peculiar to men and women, and also some which are used by both. These people are really virtuosos. All day the women sit thus, doing their duty by the wood spirit.

There is a main post in the rectangular house too, and when it is set in, animals are killed and blood is placed in the hole.

Until about ten years ago all houses here
342 were round. Today there are very few of the
178 old round houses left. Cornelius[1] says there is
346 scarcely a single tuan tanah round house left, because everyone must contribute to the cost of a new one, and when they build one they want one that will be a strong rectangular type so that it will last for a long while. The cost of this new type tuan tanah house is nearly fl.
[435] 3000.00 in addition to the free labor contributed. Each family contributes to the cost and also gives animals for the workers, ceremonies, etc. It is a big thing.

342 I went into one of the two round houses left
178 in Tjantjar. It is a bit different from the

1 [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

601 Manggarai: I remembered in relation to the opu belake and opu wai(ng) which Oudehand[1] said were woman-giving and woman-receiving groups (man speaking) for Larantuka, that Cornelius said that the woman-giving group is ana rona and the woman-receiving group is ana vina (man speaking) in Manggarai. This checks out, as the belake and rona are comparable and the wai(ng) (or wae or kawaing, meaning wife) and vina are comparable. In Manggarai the term for the woman-giving group has a male connotation, as in Larantuka, and the woman-receiving group's term has a female connotation in both instances. The Manggarai terms are taken from the words for husband (father's sister's son) and wife (mother's brother's daughter), respectively, with ana (child) put in. Since rona and vina have the meaning of male and female, the ana rona and ana vina could mean "sons" and "daughters." However, this all seems complicated. Anyway, the Larantuka terms for the two groups are taken from the words for mother's brother and father-in-law and "female" respectively. The general idea seems clear, but there is a difference in the exact meanings.

[114] We I got onto the last two days of work in Veol
533 on January 29 and 30. On the evening of the
797 former, Sunday, van Bekkum[2] had the school put on a singing demonstration for me, and it was remarkable. The songs were Manggarai, written by Manggarai gurus, and they are like Debussy, but with weird progressions and peculiar slides and part-notes. The voices are fine and very impressive in the failing light, with the hills around, and especially good were the single, sweet, girls' voices in solo form from time to time. This is very rich material. The boys stood on one side, led by three lads with ornate headcloths and sarongs; and the girls stood on the other side. The whole thing was good. The

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]
2 [pastor at Ruteng --Analyst]

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533 797 [562] school[1] is overcrowded, and it is the only place where girls can rise above the lowest level in Manggarai. There were plenty of sisters around. The whole thing shows the good organization of the Catholics here.

[124] I used the last two days of work here to get through the rest of the schedule.

585 For weddings, the Christians go to church for a service as well as going through the old rites.

583 Formerly the bride price was not payable in money, but today it is, in part. The bride price (padja) includes buffaloes, horses, and formerly copper or brass (?) boxes. There are no more of these last objects, and money has been substituted for them. Also, cattle are now used, but were not included formerly.

The return gift (vida) includes cloth, bracelets, ear ornaments, etc. Also included are small elephant teeth (used as pendants on bracelets). They are about two inches long. The bride price goes to the girl's family, and the return gift to the boy's family. Formerly the bride price was not very high. Today it is higher. An average bride price includes about five animals.

Both Catholics and pagans still pay the bride [591] price and make the return gift. If a bride [611] price is not paid, the couple must live matrilocally until it is paid. However, the children are always patrilineally descended.

582 614 The distances of mate selection are about the same as they were fifty years ago. There is a bit more marriage within the va'u, which was taboo before. However, the panga remain exogamous.

476 602 614 If the relatives-in-law live too far off, there is no real, actual mutual aid. If they are near, mutual aid is carried out between three groups: one's own va'u ana rona, and ana vina. The help comes especially in aiding a help-mate

1 [i.e., at Veol.—Analyst]

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769 more land here). However, the darat (tree spir-
778 its) who lived in the trees are still there on
776 the spot. When such a grove is cut (and most kampongs have a grove), elaborate rites must be given. It is evidently quite dangerous. Therefore, in addition to the darat in all groves, almost every kampong has its own private darat, who live in the kampong grove.

778 This is important: The assistant says that
769 whenever and wherever they have a ceremony they
273 must set a stone in the center of the place
782 where the rite is held. This stone has palm wine poured over it as a libation. The libation is indispensable, and therefore the stone is also indispensable. It evidently represents the ancestral ghosts, who must always get a drink at every rite. And they pour the drink carefully, as though they were pouring it into someone's mouth. Palm wine is hard to get here, but they will go great distances to get it for a ceremony, even though they may obtain only a little, as it is essential. I note the tremendous importance of alcohol all through here. They drink a lot, as I saw in Anam at the New Year feast (see later), and they like it. It seems to be a perfect case of giving the ancestors what they liked best in life.

I noticed another amazing thing, though it
• [533] may be unconscious. When the singing teacher at the mission at the Sunday performance for me arranged the boys for a round singing dance (sanda), he put a stone in the center of the place! It was probably just a marker, but note how easily he set a stone there.

527 I do not know if I got information on all
241 the feasts, as the time was getting short, but
514 he gave them as follows:

(1) New Year. This usually comes in October or November or December. It may be later, but may not be held in the summer. It takes place when

We

000 "standing." There are plenty of songs. Singing
●533 is the greatest art, and I was impressed extremely with the school performance. A priest who was musical said that they are excellent and strange. The new songs like krontjong, omba' putih-putih,[1] etc., are sung only in the towns. Here only a few know them, but nearly all the songs which the majority of the people know are old Manggarai ones. Cornelius[2] said that there are about ten kinds of rhythms in
[562] drum and gong playing. Some are for both sexes, others are for men or for women only.

221 May, June and July are relatively free of
527 work. Otherwise there is little free time. Feasts are the fun times here, and they are largely not at set times.

[526] Soccer is loved and so are horse races.
541 These are not native. They are held either in
525 town or along the road here. This is true especially at harvest time. There is betting.
[177] Cock fighting has come in a little from the outside.

538 There are plenty of stories. They tell tales while they work in the gardens and especially while they bind corn in the houses. Also, the old people tell stories in the evenings. They tell tales when they are just sitting around and drinking, too.

There are many kinds of stories. A number of them are sung, but many are not. They are never very long, and none lasts for several days as in Ende and Larantuka.

533 There are about ten kinds of songs.

527 For the Catholics, Sundays are free, and the pagans have largely taken this practice over. They are glad to have the day off. Otherwise, the only free days are feast days.

[868] With the dances and singing and story telling
538 there is no regular instruction. There is a decline in interest in the old tales especially,

[1] [i.e., a song title, "White Waves" --Analyst]
[2] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

Wa.
304 was more common formerly. The tattooing occurs on the arms, face, and chest. In Tandjung Bunga there is a lot of tattooing. Sometimes this is done on the back of the calves too. The young people do it no longer. However, the guru's daughter has her name tattooed on her arm.

342 The houses have upright sticks at the ridge ends, but the guru says this is of no significance.

764 Stones called nubanara are all over the kampong, lying flat mainly. I wonder if maybe these could have been used for graves in this kampong before, because the nubanara are scattered like the graves in Ende.

346 178 535 368 At the top of the kampong is the korke of the kampong, and in front is a nama, or rectangular dance place. This consists of a platform built up of stones. Some of the stones should stand (four, one for each of the main suku; but the guru says there may be more than four standing). This appears in Vatter's[1] photo of another nama. These former uprights here have fallen down and he says the people do not bother to erect them again. This is a sign of the steady breakdown of paganism. On the dance place there is an old drum left standing. It is evidently no longer used. The korke is empty, and has merely a bale-bale under a roof. No walls are left. The roof has not been repaired, which again may show the breakdown. Near the korke is a large house of [614] the tuan tanah of the main suku, and near this is the korke of his suku. In addition to the kampong korke, there is one for each suku, but no nama in front of these. These korke are used by the kepala suku, who is also the tuan tanah of the suku, for suku rites regarding rain illness, etc. The main korke is used for kampong rites. [574] When a feast is thus given, the big men sit on the bale-bale in the korke, and the dancers per- [534] form in front to the music of a drum and gong.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

[124] arrived after dark. We saw a very clear change
144 in physical type.[1] The Manggarai are clearly proto-Malay with a fair amount of Mongoloid blood in them.

[311] We went down to the coast through the empty
361 land, being burned off in large part, to Aimere.
342 Then we went across the wild and jungled peninsula to Mborong. We picked up a small girl from the hospital in Mborong who was going to school in the mountains. She got sick on the way. Then, up in the empty hills again, we saw a tree house on the way. Underneath it were some Mongoloid looking men and they said they were iron workers who were working on a bridge. They sleep in the tree house, which they built
[137] against mosquitoes which are bad here. They were from Ruteng. Later we heard that they have been here for years, "working" on a bridge.

[132] We ran into a terrible fog as we went up and up toward Ruteng. In the evening we attended
[443] the pasar malam, and there in addition to the
[525] gambling was a play with a story about how in-
536 dependence means decency and not rowdiness.
177 It was full of Catholic influence. Between the
533 acts there were instances of poor singing and dancing by a little girl who sang and stepped around and by some sillily dressed boys who went through marching motions to almost inaudible
[534] singing. The orchestra consisted of a violin and a ukelele, nothing else. The band consisted of a few horns. A small child held up the music for the trombone player, who didn't use the slide. The play was incredibly bad. Thus they lose the fine old singing and dancing and drama rites and instead of them they now have these imitation things which are bad beyond belief.

Wed. The next morning we went to the mission and
793 met several priests, including the rector, van
124 Bekkum,[2] who wrote an article on Manggarai art. He was a bearded fellow and not bad. He said

[1] [i.e., the Manggarai vis-a-vis the Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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842 too uncommon. If relatives help out in this
583 matter,[1] they must be repaid.) The assistant
[602] said that if there are no children or if there
[597] are very few children, it often happens that a man buys a child, who then becomes one of his own. (From whom does he buy?)

565 The ranks are:

582
595
1. Radja bangsawan
2. Dalu bangsawan (he says, since 1880) (Kraeng)
3. Gelarang bangsawan
4. Leke (commoners)
5. Mendi (slaves)

The first three may intermarry, either way. The last two may intermarry, also either way. Polygamist marriages are possible, and this goes even for the Christians who do so in order to have more children. He talked as though polygamy, if done for this purpose only, was not so bad. He is of the gelarang and his wife of dalu. The children are of gelarang.

624 Then we got onto the subject of the social
621 organization of Weol. He said that there is a
342 tuan tanah and also a second man, whom he will
534 explain later, as it is a long story. There is also a medicine man, and he is important in ceremonies. He will give me the posts of the kampong later on the sheets.

Weol has two offshoot kampongs. One is Tjantsia (where he lives) and the other is Tjara, on the next hill. The former has a tuan tanah tjabang (a branch tuan tanah). Incidentally,
[178] the present tuan tanah of Weol lives in a rectangular house, which was an unknown thing here before ten years ago. Even in this rectangular house, there is a main post or rather a place which serves as a main post, and here the tuan tanah sits as the center of rituals. The tuan tanah must have in the house a gong and a gendang

[1] [i.e., meeting the bride price --Analyst]

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621 or drum. Thus they may speak of his house as
624 the rumah gong-gendang. These instruments are
534 used in the rites, and as tuan tanah he must have
342 them. If there is a branch kampong, the tuan tanah tjabang must get a gong and a gendang from the mother kampong tuan tanah. Thus the gong-gendang is a symbol of power, like the Celebes aradjang.

There have been men who from time to time try to become tuan tanah-like by getting a gong and a gendang. This is not possible, however, as they must come directly from the old tuan tanah. Sometimes a tuan tanah tjabang is not happy in the branch kampong and he may come back to the mother kampong, taking his gong-gendang with
621 him. I think he said that a branch is often
614 caused by the fact that there are two va'u in a kampong, and one may split off and move to a new location. Evidently there is a tendency to keep the rule of one va'u per kampong. Thus I note that he says that the Ruteng kampong, which has two va'u, is having internal trouble between the two. There might be a split off in such a case.

797 He said finally that Catholicism has made
178 just about no change at all in the adat. It stands fast. Maybe here we have a case of greater technical change than in Larantuka or Ende where there has been practically no technical change, but on the other hand, there has been very little change in the adat here, which has been much modified in Larantuka and Ende.
[242] Thus one can see beautiful farming techniques here, and the mission is strong in this type of development. There are also wooden houses with nails (cost about fl. 2000.00 in meat and gift salaries and materials). In Larantuka and Ende the economic conditions remain at the same old miserable level. Thus the mission changes adat and religion a lot in Ende and Larantuka, but only technical changes have occurred here.

We

624 In the house of the tuan tanah of Weol there
342 are four households. The tuan tanah has a sec-
592 tion to one side, since the old place in the
554 rear, as in the round house, is impossible be-
534 cause the rear door is located there. He keeps
the gong-gendang, which is the symbol of his
being tuan tanah. One might even call the tuan
tanah house the drum house. These drums are
important, as they are used in agricultural
rites.

778 There are no holy stones (yet see later) in
the kampong here. I hear that there are some in
kampong Ruteng, which I must see. In each kam-
pong there is a tree (the Weol one died some
time ago and was replaced; the new one is rather
small). Around these trees (the assistant knows
nothing of the significance of the tree) are
placed stones. He says they have no magic power,
but in sacred rites animals are sacrificed there
below the tree. In the cleansing of the kam-
pong rite these stones are rearranged nicely.

178 Nowadays it is possible to marry in or out
582 of the clan. It is also possible to marry
614 within or without the kampong, and the kampong
[621] usually consists of one clan. But even now one
may not marry in the same panga. Thus there is
lineage exogamy.

Formerly clans too were exogamous, but in
special cases one might marry in, for example,
if the girl became pregnant. Evidently there
were other cases too. But since about fifty
years ago endogamous marriages within the clan
have been possible. Nevertheless, most marriages
are outside of the clan. The first case of clan
endogamy in Weol kampong involved the parents of
the present tuan tanah. This occurred fifty
yeargs ago. He said that they cannot remember
what trouble was caused if any. The assistant
has heard tales of evil following such cases of
endogamy. I must follow this up. What has

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535 kampongs. They are the real tuan tanah articles.
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head Indian, had on an amazing costume with
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chin like a beard. For a head decoration he
had a gilded horse. He also carried two kris,
and each of the other men had one.

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turns, the men are still whipping. This is a
tireless business.

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[133] open land looks like the wild West. The priests
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really brothers. If so, how could they belong
to different panga. I found out that they are
not brothers but merely distantly related.

The three panga names in Weol are the names

517 few moving pictures, and the trips to Ende town.

535 [526] They dance and sing, although they do not have the whip dueling here. They do the bamboo dancing as in Manggarai. They dance and sing only at the time of the full moon, and prepare the occasion in advance. Local instru- [534] ments are only the drum and the gong. Anything else is imported. And the only dances of old are the ronggeng and the main tandak (round dance), and the bamboo dance. This is all.

526 They play soccer and raga (rattan kick 524 ball). They have no card games. They do have a corn and hole game. They also spin tops, but do this only after the harvest.

53 They no longer make wooden images. There is no stone work here and no drama (evidently not even much in the ritual). There is no [286] painting. Weaving is about the only local art. Thus they are very poor, aesthetically.

527 The only free days are feast days, Lebaran, and now merdeka. The rest of the time the people have to work hard. As they say, it is kebon, kebon, kebon. But after the harvest things are easier. During the growing season times are really arduous.

546 Very little is known locally about alien amusements. They seldom see movies, seldom if ever read, and almost never talk with foreigners. (Indeed, this underlines the remoteness of these people. They are near Ende, but nearly all of them are far away from anything outside.) Most of the people here (by far) have never seen a movie, and the others have only seen one once or twice. They do not understand that sound movies talk. This came out when I asked about how many people had seen them. The kapitan said that they don't have that kind of movies (he had never heard of them evidently). Yet he has seen at least one, but he thought

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526 face as well as on their body. In regard to girls who like men who have hit the eye of an opponent, he says that one should merely say that girls admire clever whippers (like athlete lovers in the United States).

The only sports followed are soccer and raga.
524 Card games are new and rare. (I noted that he bought a pack recently.) Also, there is a stone in a hole game. There are many children's games.

[595] Dances here are only local dances. There is
532 no sculpture, but they do have the old images. In regard to these old carvings, they do not know who made them. Note the petrifaction myth
773 regarding Ine Amba. I don't know the story about the Vatu Veol, but I think he has it in his notes.

778 Note: On the map there appears the high little hill near the tjompang. This is called "the place of sunning selves before." Here the people used to sit for sunning themselves, and many still do. However, there are no rites connected with this. It is probably impossible to link this with a sun cult, as in Ambon. It is in the right place for it, as it is a bit off from the old site of the kampong, and on a nearby hill, as in Ambon, where the sun mound is a bit off from the kampong on a hill. Note also that it has the "sun" element in it. And its name was "bangka" ("former") which also applies to the old kampong site, which is called "Bangka Veol."

531 There is quite a bit of wood carving on the houses, especially on the decorations on top. Ordinary, clever men do this. The only real
534 musical instruments are the drum and the gong (and they are amazingly good at them). Bamboo flutes are for individual amusement only; they are not festive instruments. Thus the drum and the gong are the only instruments with any "standing".

[i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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773 from van Suchtelen,[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst] but in general the same ele-
769 ments were present. However, he said, for example, that the girl was not really in the form of a lontar leaf but rather that she came wrapped in a leaf. He also said that Toni, one of the sisters, had no children; and Soru, the other, after having a child in Sikka who produced the ancestors of the radjas there, came to Ende and had children there who became the ancestors of the Ende radjas. Her Sikka husband was killed in Timor, and his name, Djau, was given to her Ende son. Thus from the start Ende and Sikka radjas have a common female ancestor. I can see that the myths here have many versions. The Java-Madjapahit stuff is definitely there. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja was quite enthusiastic in telling about these myths, and it always seemed that his ancestors figured largely.

778 I asked if they have a negri lama here, and
361 they at once pointed to the high hills behind both kampongs and said that they are located there. And on them, as in Ambon, are the batu pemali! The Dutch forced them to move to the lowlands as they did in Ambon. Evidently they go to these places from time to time, and I must find out if feasts are linked with them. They
[578] said there is no real open conflict between the new and the old religions.

●535 They said that there are still plenty of the old dances and old adat costumes here. They will put on this ceremonial dress for photographing later.

764 I asked about funerals and they said that the
565 nobles used to be cocooned on a tree branch (not on the trunk, as Körner[2] says for Rea Ndona) until they rotted. Then there was a great feast with
[231] the killing of many buffalo, and the bones and skulls of the deceased were taken and cleaned and put in a chest which was then put in the slab-
[177] covered cist tombs. The Dutch forbade the tree burial as unhygienic.

[2] [See p. 21 of Körner & p. 189 of Elbert as cited in bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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304 was more common formerly. The tattooing occurs on the arms, face, and chest. In Tandjung Bunga there is a lot of tattooing. Sometimes this is done on the back of the calves too. The young people do it no longer. However, the guru's daughter has her name tattooed on her arm.

342 The houses have upright sticks at the ridge ends, but the guru says this is of no significance.

764 Stones called nubanara are all over the kampong, lying flat mainly. I wonder if maybe these could have been used for graves in this kampong before, because the nubanara are scattered like the graves in Ende.

346 178 ●535 368 At the top of the kampong is the korke of the kampong, and in front is a nama, or rectangular dance place. This consists of a platform built up of stones. Some of the stones should stand (four, one for each of the main suku; but the guru says there may be more than four standing). This appears in Vatter's[1] photo of another nama. These former uprights here have fallen down and he says the people do not bother to erect them again. This is a sign of the steady breakdown of paganism. On the dance place there is an old drum left standing. It is evidently no longer used. The korke is empty, and has merely a bale-bale under a roof. No walls are left. The roof has not been repaired, which again may show the breakdown. Near the korke is a large house of [614] the tuan tanah of the main suku, and near this is the korke of his suku. In addition to the kampong korke, there is one for each suku, but no nama in front of these. These korke are used by the kepala suku, who is also the tuan tanah of the suku, for suku rites regarding rain illness, etc. The main korke is used for kampong rites. [574] When a feast is thus given, the big men sit on the bale-bale in the korke, and the dancers per- [534] form in front to the music of a drum and gong.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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789 that the Larantuka radja does have an aradjang, but this is not the word for it here. I must get the right word. There seem to be no out-
554 ward signs of status. The main thing seems
614 to be a general knowledge of everything in the kampong and also whether a person lives in a "big house" or not. The Lango'Bele' system is impressive.

Notes on Larantuka: The mandur in the
551 pasanggrahan is a Madurah who married a Catholic woman here. His name before was Ali, but now since he became A Catholic he is known as Andreas. His children have taken their mother's Larantuka name, Dosari, and their forenames are Dominicus, Paulus, and Maria. One who died was named Aloysius.

501 There was one prau owned in Leloba. It was owned by the guru. It was wrecked yesterday.

651 The tax here now is fl. 23.50 per adult man. In the prewar period it was fl. 5.00. The people have trouble paying it and always have had this difficulty.

656 In the prewar period if one did not obey
687 the government one could be jailed easily. Since the war this government control has weakened. For example, in a recent land case the present kepala kampong would not sign a paper of the government, nor would the guru. The kepala kampong was jailed, but the guru tried to bail him out. The government refused to accept bail unless he signed. He asked if it would be possible to re-open the case later if he signed. They said yes, but then refused to re-open the case afterwards.

R Roworeke: On Christmas, we came back through
796 the mountains. On the way, especially in the
535 kampongs in the Lio mountains, we saw many small processions with drums, singing, and many people who were drunk. While dancing the people seem to use handkerchiefs most of the time. This is

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796 done in an excited pagan style, although on the
535 occasion of a Christian festival. We saw
144 clearly the difference between East and West Flores as far as racial composition is concerned. As you pass into Lio hills the proto-Malay becomes much more marked, though the Negroid element is still there. Some of the women are remarkably white. Such women are seldom or never seen in East Flores.

797 About the Malay here: When they want to say someone is converted, in Larantuka, they say that he "ikut Rom" [follows Rome]. The titles
554 are interesting: the territorial priest of
793 Flores is Tuan Regionale; then there are the Tuan Boswesen, Tuan Landbouw, Njonja HPB, Njonja AR (Assistant Resident), Njonja and Tuan Bestuur (Bestuurshoofd), and for a nun
[792] they do not use Njonja, but Tuan Zuster.

647 Note: The Controleur here is C. B. Arriens.

Although there is a general similarity in
342 house style all over East and Central Flores, there are differences. The tremendous high roofs are typical of Lio and Ende. The flat and large four-sloped ridges are found in Larantuka, and in between, in Sikka and Tana Ai, there is an intermediate form, with the four-slope ridge a bit on the rounded off side, and the whole thing appears to be smaller.

411 In East Flores especially the bow is still
224 used. We met a large band on Christmas not far
126 from Larantuka with bows and spears. They were coming up from a kampong with a large church. I asked if they were going to war or to hunt, and they said they were going to hunt deer. I took a photograph of them. They are always glad to be photographed. I can hardly take photographs, however, because they all rush in to be included, especially the children.

291 The style of clothing changes from place to
184 place, though here again there is a general

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526 the heavy rain it started at two because it was
being played for a prize. One team was called
ATOM (Anak Tanah Orang Manggarai), and the
other was Pasir, from Reo. The latter team won.
526 Then the police played a team of radja kedua.
292 But the adat game in the other place (football
● 535 players, unlike barefoot players in Badjawa,
541 had real football shoes) was amazing. The men
721 wore horned head decorations, some of them
with plumes, and fancy coverings with plumes on
their bodies, as well as a kind of tail of
plumes stuck in the rear. They looked like
[171] Timorese warriors. This is the true ceremonial
dress of Manggarai, and they said they use them
in all kampongs for ceremonies. They had bells
on the rear which jingled as they danced with a
jigging step. It looked and sounded just like
American Indians at a powwow, except that the
dress was different. In addition, they yelled
from time to time. But the main point of the
[411] game is to try to strike the eye of the opponent
with a buffalo thong whip. The defender carries
a round buffalo hide shield and a curious bow-
shaped parrier which is quite long and looks
like a bunch of rattans tied together. The
whole thing gave the appearance of a war dance,
and perhaps it was.

I met the Radja and he said that they used
such costumes in war formerly. They also used
shields and even the parriers (it is not clear
[533] whether they also used the whips). The songs
too were especially like a cheering section
which kept up a chant from time to time answer-
ing the yells of the fighters, in chorus. The
fighting seemed formalized, and they danced
around jingling and kept this up until they were
ready to close in. Then even the approach was
formalized. As soon as a blow was made the at-
tacker ran away, as though he had taken a coup.
It looks to me like ritualized mock warfare with
whips.
[i.e., Children of the Land of the Manggarai Analyst]

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776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 Kraeng here is the original title for high
554 nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

796 At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is
614 done by families or pangas. Each man in the
782 group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck
231 with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunt-
[887] ing.) Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say
● 535 here) is done at many feasts. Each house has
574 some costumes, and the men may use them. They
555 say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 In the afternoon we went to see some fine
527 dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part
526 of the week long independence festival. The
533 lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and sing-
[276] ing. Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertain-
[887] ment was complicated and good. Most drummers
200 and gong players seem to be old women. These

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535 kampongs. They are the real tuan tanah articles.
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526 Now, at 6 P.M., after all day of it, taking turns, the men are still whipping. This is a tireless business.

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242 311 exhausting the soil. Someday someone is going to have to move away!

241 242 Then we talked of fertilizer. They have heard of using manure here, and I told how the Japanese and Chinese forage for manure, following animals around, and using human wastes too. He said, however, that they have heard of this and that the idea is revolting to them. They wouldn't do it. This is curious. They call manure pupuk! (Note the Batak significance.) However, animals graze on fallow fields, so there is some profit from manure anyway.

241 231 A buffalo is sacrificed at the tjompang for harvest too.

782 527 I am not clear as to whether it is necessary to sacrifice a buffalo for every new round garden and lodok or only for the main one. I think the latter. Anyway, they do not sacrifice a buffalo every year for the garden, but only when a new one is opened and a lodok is set up. The following year or years no buffalo is sacrificed, because the same lodok remains.

Thus, I suppose that with the present constant use of the garden, there are few if any buffalo sacrificed for lodok. Also, the buffalo sacrifice accompanies only the first harvest from a new garden. There is no buffalo sacrifice in succeeding years for the harvest from the same field.

At the garden rites they pray, sing and dance. [535] There is a harvest parade around the lodok and around the main post in the tuan tanah house, led by the tuan tanah. Note also that the sanda dance (as at the New Year feast in Anam) is done in the house, and this round dance goes around the main post. These are not only stone people but also circular people.

782 231 (3) New kampong. A buffalo is sacrificed at the new tjompang.

527 342 (4) A new big house. Only pigs are sacrificed.

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764 they will encounter no big stones while digging, as this is a sign that more people will die. After the burial they return to the house and [888] pray. If the person who died was old or a big [554] man, they kill a buffalo. If the person was of lesser status, they kill only a pig or a fowl. Three days later, if the person who died was old or was a big man, they may kill two or three horses or buffaloes and eat them. At the same time, if the person was of lesser status, they will kill a pig or fowl.

[766] Clothes are placed on the grave of a person who dies a violent death. (See Coolhaas.)[1]

The local Catholics go through the same rites, except that they add on the church service.

[178] The big feasts for the dead dalu mentioned by Coolhaas[1] are no longer held. On such occasions they might wait quite a while. They killed up to perhaps ten buffaloes.

769 There is a very close relation between the ancestors and the death cult. The dead are always invited to feasts. There are no tombs, but the ancestor cult is strong.

[574] Note: The whip duels are held at all big 526 feasts: New Year, harvest, illness, exorcism, 524 wedding, but not at the funeral.

All local recreation is native: tjatjih (whip duelling), tug of war, rope jumping (!), children's games like tag and hide and seek (he says they are the "hunter and hunted"), the bam- [535] boo jumping dance (tekarulu). The dances are: sanda (round), sae (group and solo), danding (round). They play the rattan football (raga) and soccer.

526 The most loved of all is tjatjih. Cornelius says that to the best of his knowledge he has never known of any man being actually blinded, because the superorbitals protect the eyes. However, plenty of people get bad scars on their

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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526 face as well as on their body. In regard to girls who like men who have hit the eye of an opponent, he says that one should merely say that girls admire clever whippers (like athlete lovers in the United States).

The only sports followed are soccer and raga.
524 Card games are new and rare. (I noted that he bought a pack recently.) Also, there is a stone in a hole game. There are many children's games.

[535] Dances here are only local dances. There is
532 no sculpture, but they do have the old images. In regard to these old carvings, they do not know who made them. Note the petrifaction myth
773 regarding Ine Amba. I don't know the story about the Vatu Veol, but I think he[1] has it in his notes.

778 Note: On the map there appears the high little hill near the tjompang. This is called "the place of sunning selves before." Here the people used to sit for sunning themselves, and many still do. However, there are no rites connected with this. It is probably impossible to link this with a sun cult, as in Ambon. It is in the right place for it, as it is a bit off from the old site of the kampong, and on a nearby hill, as in Ambon, where the sun mound is a bit off from the kampong on a hill. Note also that it has the "sun" element in it. And its name was "bangka" ("former") which also applies to the old kampong site, which is called "Bangka Veol."

531 There is quite a bit of wood carving on the houses, especially on the decorations on top. Ordinary, clever men do this. The only real
534 musical instruments are the drum and the gong (and they are amazingly good at them). Bamboo flutes are for individual amusement only; they are not festive instruments. Thus the drum and the gong are the only instruments with any

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

[124] arrived after dark. We saw a very clear change
144 in physical type.[1] The Manggarai are clearly proto-Malay with a fair amount of Mongoloid blood in them.

[311] We went down to the coast through the empty
361 land, being burned off in large part, to Aimere.
342 Then we went across the wild and jungled peninsula to Mborong. We picked up a small girl from the hospital in Mborong who was going to school in the mountains. She got sick on the way. Then, up in the empty hills again, we saw a tree house on the way. Underneath it were some Mongoloid looking men and they said they were iron workers who were working on a bridge. They sleep in the tree house, which they built
[137] against mosquitoes which are bad here. They were from Ruteng. Later we heard that they have been here for years, "working" on a bridge.

[132] We ran into a terrible fog as we went up and up toward Ruteng. In the evening we attended
[443] the pasar malam, and there in addition to the
[525] gambling was a play with a story about how in-
536 dependence means decency and not rowdiness.
177 It was full of Catholic influence. Between the
533 acts there were instances of poor singing and dancing by a little girl who sang and stepped around and by some sillily dressed boys who went through marching motions to almost inaudible
[534] singing. The orchestra consisted of a violin and a ukelele, nothing else. The band consisted of a few horns. A small child held up the music for the trombone player, who didn't use the slide. The play was incredibly bad. Thus they lose the fine old singing and dancing and drama rites and instead of them they now have these imitation things which are bad beyond belief.

The next morning we went to the mission and
793 met several priests, including the rector, van
124 Bekkum,[2] who wrote an article on Manggarai art. He was a bearded fellow and not bad. He said

[1] [i.e., the Manggarai vis-a-vis the Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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764 If the people were very poor (or evidently for
178 some other reason) they may not bring them.
[658] Thus there has not been much change except for the fast burial now enforced in all cases.

One can see a change in that the Catholics have church rites as well as pagan. And another change is that whereas even now all pagan bodies are merely wound up in mats, Catholic bodies are put in a coffin. Formerly, very
766 famous men and stillborn children were buried near the house. Other people were buried outside the kampong (something like Limbo!).

764 Another thing is that if an old person dies, one must guard his sleeping mat (evidently all
769 of this applies to old women too) for four days. Food for the soul and a lit lamp are placed beside the body. The ghost comes and eats. It can be seen whether or not the ghost is happy if the food has been neatly eaten. If the food is left messy, it shows that the dead one is not happy. The pagans still do all of this, and sometimes the Catholics do too.

764 There are no tombs here, and there were none in the past. They have graves. There are stone markers placed on the graves.

53 All forms of entertainment are local. They are particularly fond of singing. They also dance, and there are many kinds of songs using a complement of such instruments as drums, flutes and gongs. There are no viols. He stresses that they love singing.

526 Soccer is a new game here but it is very much
524 liked. They also have raga, the rattan ball kick game. This is also new here, Roy says. They do not play cards, dice, etc. They have a kind of fruit-pits-in-holes game.

53 There is no sculpture here. A little carving is done (on the korke, barns, and they used to have images in the korke). There is no painting.
●536 There is no drama (but he sees the point that

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536 the rites of the agricultural cycle, etc., are highly dramatic). Weaving is probably the
286 most active art.

There are three kinds of dancing.

The hard work in this area is done from Janu-
221 ary to March. This is the growing season. They
784 work hard and steadily in the gardens and are tired at night and have to sleep early. Also, there is a taboo on making noise during this time. It is the time of "work and quiet." This links with beliefs about rice, corn, etc. souls, which must be handled carefully. But then, in July, August, September comes the big time for feasts, dancing, singing, especially at the time of full moon. Then they have lots of fun. After that the quiet time starts again after a tapering off.

They know just about nothing about foreign
20 sports, etc. My theory is that the lack of movies is the main reason for this. There are also no books, magazines or papers. There is no way of finding out about such things. There
533 is plenty of riddling and song games, like
538 pantun. This is done especially in forms which are sung. The same holds for stories. They are told especially by singing. The stories are sung during the great thanksgiving feasts that come perhaps once every nine or ten years. One story may last a month. Every incident in a past period will be told, with all persons indicated by name, their relationships with other people involved, and everything that happened in every kampong, etc. These are evidently true epics on a small-distance scale. These are "local epics." Such a tale may tell everything that happened over a period of twenty generations. Most tales are told about the ancestors (the sistim again; it permeates everything).

585 I forgot to say that Roy says that marriages
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721 whips. Later the mandur of the pasanggrahan,
555 a Manggarai man from kampong Ruteng, said that girls especially like a man who has knocked out another's eye with a whip.! It looks like a head-hunting pattern, but so far I have gotten no response on the subject of head-hunting, and the priests say it did not exist here even in former times. I must check on this.

[126] We took photographs, and one of them was of
634 the Radja. He was a bit drunk, and said that
273 the dancers were hot inside too. He made what
●537 seemed to me to be an unnecessary speech to
609 the men around him to the effect that we were Americans and not Dutch and as to why we were here. Later he said he was busy as this was the day of the kampong folk. He said he would see us later so that if we needed any help we could call on him, and he could also warn us of possible dangers. The latter reference was vague, and I can't see the point. He called a lad who came with a bottle of brandy and we had drinks in front of a great crowd. He wore a songko, which is strange for a Christian radja. Evidently, from what we hear, the Radja here has been in for only a short time, and this one is both young and new, as his father died recently (maybe not his father?)

614 Then we went back to the pasanggrahan and
582 talked with the mandur who said that in the Ruteng kampong there is still plenty of the old culture. He said it is possible to marry inside the va'u (this is the correct spelling) or outside. He said marriages usually occur outside. He said something about how if one partner was from the older sibling branch of the va'u and the other from the younger sibling branch, they may marry (could it be that here we have a subclan?) The assistant says they have panga inside the va'u, and he gave his own as the first, which I think means the older branch. Thus

! [i.e., during the ritualized mock warfare games; see p.92, c.st.116 --Analyst]

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000 since then there have been no wars.

614 The great suku feasts are a kind of re-
574 fresher of the gemeente bond, as all the suku
632 of the area come and feast and pledge friend-
624 ship. Thus, if Odja has a suku feast for repairing the grave-bones shrine, the other five big suku (and also others who are invited) attend. (The five are Rewarangga, Nggonggora'ba, Reandona, Wanda, and Gusa-Tibo). Thus the suku feasts are gemeente affairs as well as of a genealogical group. The mosa laki mere must be present at all such feasts, even though it is not of his own suku. Incidentally, he is the same man as the kolu, mentioned by Suchtelen[1] as the "tuan tanah." This kolu word is evidently used especially in his function as an agricultural priest. Thus he is an adat judge and agricultural priest at the same time. The mosa laki mere involved is the mosa laki mere of the kampong involved; thus here he is the big one, as the kampong mosa laki mere of Worowai-Roworeke is also the mosa laki mere of the gemeente.

[237] He gets the lower jaws of all the sacrificed
[342] animals. Nowadays he throws them away after
[178] eating, but formerly all bones from such occasions were kept and were put on the houses. Thus there is a clear relation involved between the jaws on the Ngada houses of the tuan tanah there and such occasions (and distantly to the Mentawei and Punan animal jaws). Note that he gets the lower jaws.

538 As for legends and stories of the past, at
533 first they said that they have none, or rather
[124] that they had forgotten what they might have had. I prodded on and told them about the Balai Pustaka man getting stories of Indonesia for schools. They loosened up a bit, and it seems that they do have plenty. I instructed the assistant to get a few as samples. They said

[1] [See p.70 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography cat.13—Analysis]

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538 there are a few who are great story tellers.
533 Some stories are told with singing, i.e., real ballads, and may last as long as two days. The kapitan sang one for a bit, softly. They warmed up and began to appear to be quite proud of these songs. They insist, however that only a few are clever at these things.

They tell such stories when the rice is
[243] ripe, and they may sit all night listening. Most of the stories are about the ancestors. Thus it is the free time--rice-ripe period as usual in Indonesia. This is the time for stories, when they have plenty of time. Perhaps this is also true in the post harvest season. Anyway they do have plenty of stories. And it is not only the old people who know them. For example, there is a rather young lad named Ero who is famous for chanting long stories. These sung stories are voi.

621 They are very clear about the location of
423 boundaries in the district, kampong, and sections of the kampongs, as well as in the gardens. Markers are stone posts, trees, streams, etc.

609 There are different grades of being a for-
621 eigner. The crux of the affair seems to be
[563] people who come from other islands. Thus, though the Sikka are outsiders, they are not foreigners to the same extent that the people from Kupang are. It is a bit hard to fit into a kampong if one is an outsider, although it can be done. The Ende papalele in the huts at the lower end of the kampong are still outsiders, although many have been there since the end of the war. They have few relations with the kampong folk, and there have been few if any marriages. The community is closed.

609 I asked about the teachers and found that the
582 Ndona one found it easy for two reasons: He
608 lives in Waturoga, which is in Lio, and also

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286 most active art.

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221 ary to March. This is the growing season. They
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546 the sound track was just a gramophone playing a kind of spoken accompaniment to the pictures! This shows either that he has actually never seen a movie since sound came in, or that he did not understand. If the latter, it shows that few if any Malay language films come to Ende. Yet the Dutch I asked said that they thought there had been a few (but they seemed to be not certain about this). What a revelation, if this is true, it will be in Ende to a lot of folk when the first Malay movies come in. I can hardly believe this. Maybe the kapitan has seen only silent movies at the mission. I should have asked more closely, but I always have such trouble working with these restless people that I forget to follow up, and I am glad to get what I can and move on.

538 I get the idea that tales are important here, though probably much less so than in such places as Larantuka.

527 I wonder if any of the three holidays they have here mean much to these people, who work only in the gardens. They probably just keep on going. But I seem to note more men about on Sundays than on other days, and my guess is that Sunday has become a kind of holiday.

167 They say that many young men would like to
651 see the world but have no opportunity to do so.
486 The kapitan says that perhaps nearly all in the town districts of Nggobe and Rodja would leave if they got the chance. But the radja would not give permits anyway. I asked Arriens[1] about this infringement of freedom of movement, and he says it is for the purpose of collecting taxes. I guess it is also because traditionally these small units have been like nations, with everything outside the radjadom to be considered as foreign. I can see why there is chiseling and why the radjas do not want their

[1] [i.e., Controleur at Ende --Analyst]

We

000 "standing." There are plenty of songs. Singing
533 is the greatest art, and I was impressed extremely with the school performance. A priest who was musical said that they are excellent and strange. The new songs like krontjong, omba' putih-putih,[1] etc., are sung only in the towns. Here only a few know them, but nearly all the songs which the majority of the people know are old Manggarai ones. Cornelius[2] said that there are about ten kinds of rhythms in
[562] drum and gong playing. Some are for both sexes, others are for men or for women only.

221 May, June and July are relatively free of
527 work. Otherwise there is little free time. Feasts are the fun times here, and they are largely not at set times.

[526] Soccer is loved and so are horse races.
541 These are not native. They are held either in
525 town or along the road here. This is true especially at harvest time. There is betting.
[177] Cock fighting has come in a little from the outside.

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There are many kinds of stories. A number of them are sung, but many are not. They are never very long, and none lasts for several days as in Ende and Larantuka.

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527 For the Catholics, Sundays are free, and the pagans have largely taken this practice over. They are glad to have the day off. Otherwise, the only free days are feast days.

[868] With the dances and singing and story telling
538 there is no regular instruction. There is a decline in interest in the old tales especially,

[1] [i.e., a song title, "White Waves" --Analyst]
[2] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

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●538 but many are still remembered. I get the idea that the decline here is not so great as in many other areas.

484 There is practically no desire here yet to go to places which are "happier."

721 There was no head-hunting here at any time,
266 nor was there any cannibalism, although they did drink blood for revenge pleasure in war. There was no human sacrifice and no torture.

681 The death punishment was given for murder, a slave having sex relations with a kraeng woman, primary incest (but more distant incest was punished by a purifying rite only). The way the death punishment was carried out here and in Pongkor was to throw the victim down into a river from a high point.

411 Note: To kill a beast the people here use
231 a spear or a long knife. It is nearly always the latter.

778 The tjompang tree may be only either waringin
824 or dadap.

515 I see plenty of lice-plucking here. The pretty wife of the head guru I saw plucking the head of another woman. And I see this all over. And here, judging by the smell, they seldom bathe. I see no bathing places. Toilets are evidently holes in the ground enclosed by a screen. I don't remember seeing lice-plucking in Makassar or Buginese areas, but perhaps they do it too. I also do not remember seeing it in Ambon. The Toradja certainly do it. Note that the Endenese and people in Larantuka bathe. The Toradja don't. I think it is probably mountain people (especially the dirty Ngada) who do not bathe and also who have more lice. In this regard, note the Manggarai Ngada, Toradja, and Batak. The Minangkabau, although living in the mountains, bathe (a sign of former coastal life?).

124 Thus ended the Manggarai work, and the as-

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526 the heavy rain it started at two because it was
being played for a prize. One team was called
ATOM (Anak Tanah Orang Manggarai), and the
other was Pasir, from Reo. The latter team won.
526 Then the police played a team of radja kedua.
292 But the adat game in the other place (football
535 players, unlike barefoot players in Badjawa,
541 had real football shoes) was amazing. The men
721 wore horned head decorations, some of them
with plumes, and fancy coverings with plumes on
their bodies, as well as a kind of tail of
plumes stuck in the rear. They looked like
[171] Timorese warriors. This is the true ceremonial
dress of Manggarai, and they said they use them
in all kampongs for ceremonies. They had bells
on the rear which jingled as they danced with a
jigging step. It looked and sounded just like
American Indians at a powwow, except that the
dress was different. In addition, they yelled
from time to time. But the main point of the
[411] game is to try to strike the eye of the opponent
with a buffalo thong whip. The defender carries
a round buffalo hide shield and a curious bow-
shaped parrier which is quite long and looks
like a bunch of rattans tied together. The
whole thing gave the appearance of a war dance,
and perhaps it was.

I met the Radja and he said that they used
such costumes in war formerly. They also used
shields and even the parriers (it is not clear
[533] whether they also used the whips). The songs
too were especially like a cheering section
which kept up a chant from time to time answer-
ing the yells of the fighters, in chorus. The
fighting seemed formalized, and they danced
around jingling and kept this up until they were
ready to close in. Then even the approach was
formalized. As soon as a blow was made the at-
tacker ran away, as though he had taken a coup.
It looks to me like ritualized mock warfare with
whips.

[i.e., Children of the Land of the Manggarai. Analyst]

000 only technical changes have occurred here.

592 I noted that as we were walking out of Weol, and I asked the priest how many families there were per house, he asked a man and the fellow said there were five in one of the big round houses nearby. Another man rebuked him and said no, there were only three in it. The priest said this is because the government has the law that only three families may live in a house, for health reasons. However, the folk secretly manage to have more. The first man was giving the folk away.

541 697 I forgot to say that at the whip fights (main tjatjih)[1] there was a band of extra gay fellows who did a lot of the sideline chanting and chorusing. They had red and white banners and at one time when we were taking photographs they came dancing en masse and singing across the field like a slow moving army. At 5 P.M. they raised the banners, singing lustily, and marched off. I asked who they were, and the Radja said that they were the prisoners of the jail, who had been given the day free, and that they were now marching back to jail!

463 462 231 The assistant says that all or nearly all men in Weol are farmers. Some, but very few, have specialist skills, but even those farm too. Not one woman has any other job than that of helping in the fields and making mats or weaving in her spare time. Nearly every man has a few to many horses, and some have other animals.

354 A bad feature of the old houses is the smoke from the fire which coats everything with soot and makes for additional darkness, but on the good side is the warmth which comes with the smoke.

769 <u>Theory on reading Coolhaas</u>:[2] The Ngada nadu 778 which is for the male ancestors is a small 342 replica of the conical houses of Manggarai. The 173 small bhaga houses of the female houses are 614

[1] [See pp. 91-92, cat. 116 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

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[1] [i.e., a song title, "White Waves" --Analyst]
[2] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

609 We
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
437 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has magical power, but we didn't get into the full
[778] story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

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197 can speak Lio, but Lio people have a hard time to speak Ende, as the latter had difficult phonetics.

212 Today eighty per cent of the population is literate.

203 Very few of the people here read, and the
204 only paper that comes here is the mission "Bentara." It is seen only by the kapitan, the assistant, and the guru. Others ask them what is in the news. If there were more papers, more would read. For the first time, the Information Office (Makassar) monthly "Pandji Negara" came here just now.

The only books here are religious books, and these have to be bought (prayer books). In
217 Ende, the mission has a library and there people can borrow, but no one here does. If they had a library here, plenty would borrow books, because they like stories.

204 The assistant is sad about the lack of newspapers. They would like the reading material they provide, he thinks.

212 As a rule, they do not even write letters, because very few of them ever leave. The Ende script is not used. Bapa Ketjil, for an unfathomable reason, got a man from Ende to teach him a little of this lontar script two years ago.

563 The Chinese family here speaks Chinese and
197 Ende. The man of the family also speaks Lio. The Savu learn to speak Ende fast, but they speak Savu at home.

185 The belief today is that everyone must have
212 literate children, but there is not much thought about foreign languages, except that they know that they now must have Malay. There
[207] is no radio here and few have ever heard one.
● 546 About once a year some of them happen to see a movie in Ndona or Ende, but the great majority of people here have never seen one.

517 few moving pictures, and the trips to Ende town.

535 [526] They dance and sing, although they do not have the whip dueling here. They do the bamboo dancing as in Manggarai. They dance and sing only at the time of the full moon, and prepare the occasion in advance. Local instru- [534] ments are only the drum and the gong. Anything else is imported. And the only dances of old are the ronggeng and the main tandak (round dance), and the bamboo dance. This is all.

526 524 They play soccer and raga (rattan kick ball). They have no card games. They do have a corn and hole game. They also spin tops, but do this only after the harvest.

53 [286] They no longer make wooden images. There is no stone work here and no drama (evidently not even much in the ritual). There is no painting. Weaving is about the only local art. Thus they are very poor, aesthetically.

527 The only free days are feast days, Lebaran, and now merdeka. The rest of the time the people have to work hard. As they say, it is kebon, kebon, kebon. But after the harvest things are easier. During the growing season times are really arduous.

●546 Very little is known locally about alien amusements. They seldom see movies, seldom if ever read, and almost never talk with foreigners. (Indeed, this underlines the remoteness of these people. They are near Ende, but nearly all of them are far away from anything outside.) Most of the people here (by far) have never seen a movie, and the others have only seen one once or twice. They do not understand that sound movies talk. This came out when I asked about how many people had seen them. The kapitan said that they don't have that kind of movies (he had never heard of them evidently). Yet he has seen at least one, but he thought

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546 the sound track was just a gramophone playing a kind of spoken accompaniment to the pictures! This shows either that he has actually never seen a movie since sound came in, or that he did not understand. If the latter, it shows that few if any Malay language films come to Ende. Yet the Dutch I asked said that they thought there had been a few (but they seemed to be not certain about this). What a revelation, if this is true, it will be in Ende to a lot of folk when the first Malay movies come in. I can hardly believe this. Maybe the kapitan has seen only silent movies at the mission. I should have asked more closely, but I always have such trouble working with these restless people that I forget to follow up, and I am glad to get what I can and move on.

538 I get the idea that tales are important here, though probably much less so than in such places as Larantuka.

527 I wonder if any of the three holidays they have here mean much to these people, who work only in the gardens. They probably just keep on going. But I seem to note more men about on Sundays than on other days, and my guess is that Sunday has become a kind of holiday.

167 651 486 They say that many young men would like to see the world but have no opportunity to do so. The kapitan says that perhaps nearly all in the town districts of Nggobe and Rodja would leave if they got the chance. But the radja would not give permits anyway. I asked Arriens[1] about this infringement of freedom of movement, and he says it is for the purpose of collecting taxes. I guess it is also because traditionally these small units have been like nations, with everything outside the radjadom to be considered as foreign. I can see why there is chiseling and why the radjas do not want their

[1] [i.e., Controleur at Ende--Analyst]

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212 one could read or write. In fact, this goes
for all of Manggarai. Everyone here speaks
191 the local language. About fifty per cent of
the people here speak Malay, and most of those
who are not able to speak it are oldsters. No
one can speak Dutch or English here.

Only those who have gone to school can read
212 and write. No one reads Bentara, a mission
204 paper (although the guru does). Two people
797 read the sheet which the mission puts out for
Manggarai. It is called Palita.

The only books here are religious books and
212 song books (and books in the school?). Note:
I saw many children with their school "tackle"
hanging on a string around their necks. They
wear them on their backs. They are a piece of
chalk stuck in a bamboo, a ruler, and a bamboo
with a wet cloth. These are for writing on
slate.

The children and other literates write in
[651] order to "keep books." Thus there are the "tax
[217] books" showing how much each person must pay in
palm wine, etc., to the tuan tanah. These are
written for him. All sorts of transactions are
"recorded," e.g., prices, borrowing, gifts for
such things as marriage feasts, etc. This is
brand new. There is practically no other form
of writing done here.

185 Everyone is eager to learn here. The only
language other than their own which is taught
191 here is Malay, but in class four they are start-
ing to learn Dutch, taught by the guru who was
in a seminary for two years.

207 There are no radios here. Once a pastor in
●546 1941 brought a movie projector here, and many
people saw movies then. That's all.

412 There are many new tools here, for example,
shovels, drills, and axes. They are even able
178 to make some of these now. There is much more
415 use of iron tools and utensils than was formerly
the case.

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582 178 become competent earlier. They learn to work earlier now. Roy[1] says that the school helps in getting them trained at an earlier age and they begin to weave and do other tasks sooner.

836 178 684 I jumped on this to see if there was much premarital sex, and he said that it was extremely rare. He said that as far as this is concerned there has not been much change. I pressed, and Kattenburg got the kepala kampong aside and tried to pump him. They remained adamant, however. It is just very rare. Even when a man is not married until he is thirty-five, they claim he does not engage in sexual promiscuity. There is no prostitution here and none in Larantuka either. And anyway, they never go anywhere where they might get girls. There are very strong taboos on premarital sex. (He said that the girls would lose their name, which indicates that it has happened, perhaps.)

584 836 But there is an exception which came out when he told of two ways to get married. These are the two: (1) Prearranged and regular marriages. This type counts for most cases. (2) Boy likes girl and begins to hang around her house at night. He slips a cloth or something into her sleeping place and she asks who is there. He tells, and if she doesn't like him she tells him to go away. If she is willing to talk, they talk, and this may go on at night for as long as five years. If a girl has several such suitors, she sends all except one away, and he keeps on having dates. Perhaps the parents do not find out about this, or perhaps in singing and gossip it comes out that they are "going together." At this point a marriage may be arranged. Or, and here comes in the premarital sex practices, the girl may at least let the boy in and they have sexual intercourse. As soon as her parents discover them, marriage must take place. (Also, I suppose, if she be-

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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•551 I asked about personal names and found that the suku name is not used as a personal family name. What they do is the same as the Scandinavians and Arabs and old Jews. They indeed usually employ only their own names preceded by their Christian names, if any. But if asked, they will also give their father's name after their own name. Thus my assistant is Migo. His church name is Adrianus. His father's name was Pega. Usually he calls himself Adrianus Migo, but if pressed he will say Adrianus Migo Pega. The same holds for the kapitan, who is Mani and whose father was Api. The giri tumba is Raki, and his father Dura. Thus in full, Migo is Adrianus (Church) Migo Pega of suku Odja. They
197 said that no one in the kampong could speak Dutch, and perhaps only a little more than ten per cent could speak Malay. There is one man
[212] (Bapa Ketjil of Aiutu, an old man who chews betel and has almost no teeth) who can write in the Ende script. They call it tulisan lontar. They say that in Ende town alone it is well known, but outside of the town it is rare.

595 The wife of the Controleur says that the
183 Radja of Manggarai is a Catholic, although he has two wives. This is a nice problem. The former Radja of Lio was brought back from exile by the Japanese during the war. Later he was executed by the Dutch because he murdered so many Dutch, Australians, etc. But he also killed many children for the fertility of the rice fields. Nevertheless, he was a Catholic. The Radja of Sikka has had several wives, even at the same time, and many concubines. At one time he had a Mohammedan wife and also a Mohammedan concubine. Each time he confesses and reenters the mother Church, to the rejoicing of the priests.
793 The priests here are evidently worse than death
178 for the old adat, much worse than the Protestants
797 in Ambon, and the people are scared of them, for

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789 that the Larantuka radja does have an aradjang, but this is not the word for it here. I must get the right word. There seem to be no out-
554 ward signs of status. The main thing seems
614 to be a general knowledge of everything in the kampong and also whether a person lives in a "big house" or not. The Lango'Bele' system is impressive.

Notes on Larantuka: The mandur in the
551 pasanggrahan is a Madurese who married a Catholic woman here. His name before was Ali, but now since he became A Catholic he is known as Andreas. His children have taken their mother's Larantuka name, Dosari, and their forenames are Dominicus, Paulus, and Maria. One who died was named Aloysius.

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687 the government one could be jailed easily. Since the war this government control has weakened. For example, in a recent land case the present kepala kampong would not sign a paper of the government, nor would the guru. The kepala kampong was jailed, but the guru tried to bail him out. The government refused to accept bail unless he signed. He asked if it would be possible to re-open the case later if he signed. They said yes, but then refused to re-open the case afterwards.

R Roworeke: On Christmas, we came back through
796 the mountains. On the way, especially in the
535 kampongs in the Lio mountains, we saw many small processions with drums, singing, and many people who were drunk. While dancing the people seem to use handkerchiefs most of the time. This is

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614 meanings are:
565 (1) Personal name of ancestral founder.
(2) Rank of the ancestral founder (pangkat).
(3) Power ranking of the group (1, 2, 3).
(4) Original kampong of the ancestors (for example, lewo).

And, I suppose, in the case of Kottang, etc., the rituals function as (5).

And then, perhaps, ones which have a mere name and no purpose; thus (6).

We didn't analyze all the names, but what
614 we did goes as follows:
565 Leloba
●551 I. Ama Kottang (function) (Kottang means "head").
1. Belepe Lolong (meaning: "upper terrace").
Buto Talu (ancestor personal name).
(note: making means merely "descendant of")
Lango' Bele' and Lango' Kene' (big and little house).
This subsib is No. 1, or Ama Waru'ing, in the suku Kottang.
2. Waktukang. (meaning "middle"). No ancestor name.
3. Ama Marang (function) (Marang means "pray").
Dong Laung (side of a sleeping bench which faces the sea).
Dong Raeng (the side of the sleeping bench facing the land).
This is the Tuhowutung or last subsib of the suku Kottang.
II. Ama Keleng (function) (Keleng means "feet").
1. Tuakerura (just a name, no significance) (this is No. 1 or Waru'ing subsib of suku Keleng).
2. Ama Belemang (a ritual function) (rank of ancestor).
This is the last ranking subsib of the suku Tuhowutung.
III. Ama Hurint (function) (Hurint means "cut").
1. Ama Waru'ing (No. 1); may also be called

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Ama Wadjundiri, the ancestor's personal name.

2. Eramolik (ancestor personal name). This is No. 2 subsib, or Waktukang.
3. Ola Demong (ancestor personal name). This is No. 3 subsib, or Tuhowutung. Lango' Bele' and Lango' Kene' are big and little house.

IV. Lewodoreng (original kampong name).
1. Lewamaking (personal name of ancestor). This is the No. 1 or Waru'ing subsib. Nipatale' (meaning?). They are slave descendants.
2. Ekimaking (ancestor's personal name). This is the last ranking subsib, or Tuhowutung.

V. Lewonuhah (original kampong name).
1. Ama Kottang (the waru'i subsib).
2. Ama Keleng (the tuhowutung subsib).

Wailolong

I. Ama Datong (function of Kottang, but Datong is the name of rank).
a. Ama Radja (personal ancestor name). This has the last subsib rank, Tuhowutung.
b. Ama Belolong (has the rank of No. 1, or waru'ing, and Belolong means "high").
c. Ama Rere (Rere means "low"). This subsib is notable. I have some important corrections about it.
There are two subdivisions:
(1) Ama Rere. These, as told above, are descendants of war captives from Maumere eighteen generations ago. They own no land, have no ritual function, and have no duties.
(2) Ama Rere Ama Tobi. (Tobi is a personal name). They are descendants of members of Ama Radja and Ama Belolong, who seven generations ago ran away from

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Wailolong to Bama because of troubles over marriage, bride prices, and perhaps others. They came back to Wailolong three generations ago, but although they were allowed into the kampong, they have lost their land and ritual standing. They marry like Ama Rere. It is remarkable to think that when the old people thinking what to do with these returned refugees decided to equate them with war captives!

II. Leworita (original kampong name) (function of Kelen).
   a. Suba (meaning? rank?; evidently a personal name).
   b. Harut (meaning? rank?; evidently a personal name).
   c. Tapopukang (meaning? rank?; evidently a personal name).

III. Ama Hurint
   a. Hadumboleng (personal name), Baka (personal name). (middle rank, Waktukang).
   b. Mari (personal name; rank No. 1, Waru'i).
   c. Mela (personal name; rank No. 3, Tuhowutung).

IV. Lewato (kampong name).
   a. Ama Waru'ing, also Ama Radja (the latter is the personal name of an ancestor).
   b. Ama Waktukang (just means middle; not a personal name).
   c. Tuhowutung (just means No. 3; not a personal name).

V. Lewodoreng (original kampong name).
   a. Ama Waru'ing (just No. 1 rank; not a personal name).
   b. Enga (a personal name; last rank, Tuhowutung).

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On the records there is a case of a man of

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	Men	married	Women
614	Djawa		Some other
582	Rewarangga		Wanda
	Wanda		Some other

At all crucial points, he doesn't know! But he does say that once it was not allowed to marry in the suku. And he also says that a daughter must not marry into her father's suku (and yet I am sure there are some cases), while a son by preference should marry into his mother's suku. He also says that if once one marries into a suku, the sons should continue this custom. This is why he says his son should marry into his wife's suku. Thus clearly we have mother's brother's daughter preference, and father's sister's daughter taboo. And they seem to have some memory of a regular circulating scheme so based. However, the system has broken down, and so has the exogamy to some extent (but my guess is that the records will show few if any endogamous marriages). The trouble is, I had no time to ask or rather have him investigate how many of the present marriages of men are with women of their mother's suku. I will try to do a little detective work from the records. Because of the Hebrew "bin" [551] system of names, I may be able to spot father and son. Anyway, I may be able to see whether there is any pattern to the suku marriage choices of the men.

114 I pulled out of Ende for the last time on January 21, and had a difficult time getting across the Nangaba, which is still in flood. With pushing, I made it. The motor stalled on me, as it is filty. It was a long day across to Ruteng, but I had no further trouble.

124 We Weol: I started the last stretch of a week here on January 23, on Tuesday. I went to the

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husband	rona (non-vocative); the vocative term involves primogeniteknonymy: "ema of" (first child's name); before a child is born the vocative consists of the personal name of the husband; but after a child is born the wife always uses the primogeniteknonymy, unless she wishes to insult him, when she uses his personal name. This might happen in anger, implying, I suppose, that he has no child.
wife	vina (non-vocative); the vocative uses primogeniteknonymy: "ende of" (first child's name); before a child is born the husband uses his wife's personal name; but after a child is born he always uses the primogeniteknonymy term, unless he wishes to insult her, when he uses her personal name. This may be used, for example, in anger, implying, I suppose, that she has no child.
husband's father	amang
husband's mother	inang
wife's father	amang
wife's mother	inang
wife's sister	vina (non-vocative), kae--ase (vocative).
wife's brother	kesah
husband's sister	ipar

F [404 cont.]
342 be mentioned. Here the house stands on piles 1.50 to two meters above the ground and has vertical walls about 1.50 meters high. Above this there is a very high roof which, except in front, F drops to the height of the floor, offering double protection inside [132] against the often very cold winds in these areas. [405] An inner gallery is built against the house on the front, with the floor lower than that of the house; it is partially closed off at the front by a wooden or bamboo balustrade. In front of it and somewhat lower still is an outer gallery that is not closed off. [Illustration appears here.] This is often attached to the galleries of the adja- F cent houses, so that a number of houses in the same row are con- [531 554] nected with one another. The houses of prominent persons often have three galleries. Woodcarvings are common around the door and in other places. The houses of the Ngada serve as dwellings F for only one or two small families [gezin]. During the day peo- [512] ple stay in the front gallery and at night inside the house where a fire always burns.

I From the foregoing description it is already obvious that the 342 building materials are always wood and bamboo, never stone. An exception to this general rule is found in the houses on Bali B and a part of Lombok where clay and natural stone are used. L 342 "The typical Balinese dwelling is an oblong rectangle divided into three parts. The front part includes the rice granaries, or in some cases the cattle shed, and accommodations for guests; the second, the [406] sleeping rooms and the kitchen of the B family; and the third, the house temple. The living rooms are [316] of clay and covered with thatch or atap. In the stony areas of Karangasem and Bangli, which are poor in clay, natural stone is used for the walls and bamboo laths for the roof covering. Well-to-do Balinese divide their compounds, which cover a greater area, into more sections, each of which is used for a particular purpose" (1). [Illustration appears here.]

1. Encyclopaedie van Nederlands Indië, Vol. I, p. 121. See also the detailed

5: Kennedy--64 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

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Men of	Marry Women of
IVa2	III
IVb	I, II
IVc	I, II
Va	I, II
Vb	I, II

582 614 835 The case of IIIc intermarrying with IIIa (perhaps it is IIIb) was one of incest which involved three virtually simultaneous marriages which occurred two generations ago. There were three men from one family who paid a very high bride price. This is like the similar case in Leloba. I asked how much higher the bride price was in these cases, and he said that they had to pay more tusks, but the man had to kill all of his animals. Thus it seems like a kind of tremendous purifying feast in order that the incest may be allowed. He said that the Leloba incestuous arrangement is still technically in, and anyone who wants to follow it now may do so without paying the tremendous price the pioneers once did. Both of the men who did it in Leloba are dead now. As for the Wailolong cases, this arrangement has been stopped, or rather, if it is carried on today it is wrong. They don't do it any more. There were the three men and then it ended. I asked about any resulting disasters and he said it is true that these sinners had had terrible troubles. I must ask what these troubles were exactly.

582 614 835 583 684 178

624 622 614 554 The offices are as follows:

--Kepala Kampong Kottang (Ib)

I. Radja Tuan Datong (kepala suku, tuan tanah) (Ia)

(2) a. Kelake Ama Radja (kepala ama (same man as I)

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622 (1) b. Kelake Ama Belolong
624 c. Kelake Ama Rere
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--Kepala Kampong Keleng (Leworita) (IIb)

II. Radja Tuan Leworita (IIa)
(1) a. Kelake Subamaki(ng) (same man as II)
(2) b. Kelake Harutmaki(ng)
(3) c. Kelake Tapopuka(ng)

--Kepala Kampong Hurint (IIIc)

III. Radja Tuan Ama Hurint (IIIa)
(2) a. Kelake Hadumbole(ng) (Same man as IIIa)
(1) b. Kelake Marimaki(ng)
(3) c. Kelake Melamaki(ng)

IV. Radja Tuan Lewato (IVa)
a. Kelake Waru'i(ng) (same man as IVa)
b. Kelake Waktuka(ng)
c. Kelake Tuhowutung

V. Radja Tuan Lewodoreng (Vb)
a. b. Kelake Waru'i(ng)--Engamaki(ng)
(same man as V)

(The arabic numerals to the left of the lower case letters in the above list refer to the relative rank of the offices listed.)

The last of these five suku is small and so has only one officer. There are only nine men in this suku (they reckon the size of a suku by the number of men in it), and thus there are perhaps only about thirty to forty people in all. They mentioned other suku with forty or more men. Lewato is also not very large. They say it has about twice as many as Lewodoreng. (These are IV and V.)

622 The kepala kampong is purely an administrative
624 chief. The adat chiefs, who were evidently the
614 only chiefs formerly, are the radja tuan and the

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614 giving the first fruits to the masters; (c) owing
567 certain duties to the masters; (d) respect shown
423 to the masters; and (e) not being in a good
582 place at feasts. They may intermarry, however, and the bride price for them is the same, etc. He said that even in the beginning they intermarried; in fact as soon as they got into the area they integrated into the marriage system. So strong is the need for these marriage rules that even slaves must be put into the system.

The Ama Rere is a peculiar case too. They
[727] are descendants of war captives brought back from the Maumeri area eighteen generations ago. They too have no ritual standing, as can be seen above in their lack of chance to do any of the duties of the Datong suku. They do not have their own land either. They have to work for
[796] Ia and Ib. That is, they have no ritual standing, no land, and they must do certain duties. In the marriage system, however, they are equal.

614 Also peculiar in the Wailolong setup is the
554 Ama Hurint. They do not have a full position
423 in the kampong, because their ancestors came in from Leloba. They have no land of their own in Wailolong. Each year they receive land for their use during the next year.

721 Then we got onto the schedule and learned a number of incidental things. For instance, right now the Leloba folk are scared to walk along the road near Waibalun because there is a state of war. Thus this is a real war and not play, and there is real danger of death. The "big houses,"
778 i.e., the houses of the radja tuan and the kelake,
789 have holy stones before them. It is not proper
171 to call them nubanara but rather saoniwa(ng). The nubanara proper are the holy stones of the kampong in front of the korke. The saoniwa(ng) hold the magical power of the radja tuan and the kelake. The power of these stones invigorates the respective chiefs, and this is why the folk

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789 that the Larantuka radja does have an aradjang, but this is not the word for it here. I must
●554 get the right word. There seem to be no out-
614 ward signs of status. The main thing seems to be a general knowledge of everything in the kampong and also whether a person lives in a "big house" or not. The Lango'Bele' system is impressive.

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796 the mountains. On the way, especially in the
535 kampongs in the Lio mountains, we saw many small processions with drums, singing, and many people who were drunk. While dancing the people seem to use handkerchiefs most of the time. This is

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796 done in an excited pagan style, although on the
535 occasion of a Christian festival. We saw
144 clearly the difference between East and West Flores as far as racial composition is concerned. As you pass into Lio hills the proto-Malay becomes much more marked, though the Negroid element is still there. Some of the women are remarkably white. Such women are seldom or never seen in East Flores.

797 About the Malay here: When they want to say someone is converted, in Larantuka, they say that he "ikut Rom" [follows Rome]. The titles
• 554 are interesting: the territorial priest of
793 Flores is Tuan Regionale; then there are the Tuan Boswesen, Tuan Landbouw, Njonja HPB, Njonja AR (Assistant Resident), Njonja and Tuan Bestuur (Bestuurshoofd), and for a nun
[792] they do not use Njonja, but Tuan Zuster.

647 Note: The Controleur here is C. B. Arriens.

Although there is a general similarity in
342 house style all over East and Central Flores, there are differences. The tremendous high roofs are typical of Lio and Ende. The flat and large four-sloped ridges are found in Larantuka, and in between, in Sikka and Tana Ai, there is an intermediate form, with the four-slope ridge a bit on the rounded off side, and the whole thing appears to be smaller.

411 In East Flores especially the bow is still
224 used. We met a large band on Christmas not far
126 from Larantuka with bows and spears. They were coming up from a kampong with a large church. I asked if they were going to war or to hunt, and they said they were going to hunt deer. I took a photograph of them. They are always glad to be photographed. I can hardly take photographs, however, because they all rush in to be included, especially the children.

291 The style of clothing changes from place to
184 place, though here again there is a general

611 I think he[1] said it is possible to pay Also part of
614 the bride price and then to give some of the
583 children to the mother's group. This is not so
582 important, however, as the usual marriage is endogamous. They prefer to marry within the sib. They may marry out also. They have the same term for all cousins, and may marry with any cross or parallel cousin. Descent is patrilineal. Female descent is traced too, and thus there may occur cases of double descent with patrilineal emphasis and endogamy and clans. This is remarkable.

784 They also have totemism here with animal de-
824 scent and tree descent. A member may not kill or eat the animal totem and may not cut or burn or use in any way the wood of the tree totem. Two of the latter are ficus and lontar. The
583 amount to be paid as a bride price is a matter
554 of pride. Many kampongs have only one voi,
614 but others have several.

197 The language of Ngada is related to that of
193 Ende and is very close to Nageh. Manggarai speech, however, is quite different. Arndt says there are no affixes in Ngada, but instead they use particles.

614 Correction: Not all voi have women as an-
565 cestors, but most of them do. There are four
582 classes (not three as van Staveren[2] says). These are the nobles (ata gai or gai meze), upper commoners (ata gisa or gai giza), lower commoners (azi ana) and slaves (ata hoö). An upper woman may never marry a lower man, but the reverse is all right. The peo still stand.

124 We talked about the possibility of working in a Ngada kampong, but the Soa area has already been covered, and Arndt has a book nearly ready on the sociology of Ngada. There is practically nothing on Manggarai, so we decided to go to Ruteng first. We left in the afternoon, and after a hard drive, largely in the rain, we

[1] [i.e., Arndt, pastor in Ngada area--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

000 have a taboo on lusa. There are two panga here:
614 Rosong and Nggurus. Each panga has two houses,
592 and thus there are four in all. There are more
342 houses, however, and these are of the non-Wol
178 newcomers, especially those from Ruteng. In addition to the four old houses of which two are built in the old style and one in the new style, there are: one round house belonging to the newcomers, mixed; three new style houses of newcomers, mixed. The reason that there are only three original houses is that one of the pangas has people living in a temporary, awful long tumbledown shack, wherein live also some newcomers. This is to be torn down as soon as two new style wooden houses, now under construction, are finished. In one of these will live the newcomers of the shed, and in the other the panga folk now living in the shed. Thus the houses are:

1. Tuan tanah house, new style, panga.
2. Round house panga.
3. Round house panga.
4. Small shed with one family who should live in number 3. It is beside the latter.
5. Round house newcomers.
6. New style newcomers.
7. New style newcomers.
8. Small shed newcomers.
9. Long shed mixed panga and newcomers.

Number 9 will split when the two new houses are finished, and the newcomers will go to one and the panga folk to the other.

342 I asked about the roof ornaments. The horns
531 are pretty clearly a sign of the tuan tanah's
554 house. The other type, the straight upright
624 rod, is an ordinary decoration. Some of the horns have a bird head in the middle, and I have seen birds on the horn tips, but not here. The tuan tanah of Ndung has the horns, but in the center there is a human face.

We

624 In the house of the tuan tanah of Weol there
342 are four households. The tuan tanah has a sec-
592 tion to one side, since the old place in the
554 rear, as in the round house, is impossible be-
534 cause the rear door is located there. He keeps the gong-gendang, which is the symbol of his being tuan tanah. One might even call the tuan tanah house the drum house. These drums are important, as they are used in agricultural rites.

778 There are no holy stones (yet see later) in the kampong here. I hear that there are some in kampong Ruteng, which I must see. In each kampong there is a tree (the Weol one died some time ago and was replaced; the new one is rather small). Around these trees (the assistant knows nothing of the significance of the tree) are placed stones. He says they have no magic power, but in sacred rites animals are sacrificed there below the tree. In the cleansing of the kampong rite these stones are rearranged nicely.

178 Nowadays it is possible to marry in or out
582 of the clan. It is also possible to marry
614 within or without the kampong, and the kampong
[621] usually consists of one clan. But even now one may not marry in the same panga. Thus there is lineage exogamy.

Formerly clans too were exogamous, but in special cases one might marry in, for example, if the girl became pregnant. Evidently there were other cases too. But since about fifty years ago endogamous marriages within the clan have been possible. Nevertheless, most marriages are outside of the clan. The first case of clan endogamy in Weol kampong involved the parents of the present tuan tanah. This occurred fifty yeargs ago. He said that they cannot remember what trouble was caused if any. The assistant has heard tales of evil following such cases of endogamy. I must follow this up. What has

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776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 Kraeng here is the original title for high
●554 nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

196 At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is
614 done by families or pangas. Each man in the
782 group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck
231 with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunt-
[887] ing.) Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say
535 here) is done at many feasts. Each house has
574 some costumes, and the men may use them. They
555 say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 In the afternoon we went to see some fine
527 dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part
526 of the week long independence festival. The
533 lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and sing-
[276] ing. Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertain-
[887] ment was complicated and good. Most drummers
200 and gong players seem to be old women. These

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
614 living on the level of the road and the other
621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo. At the road border of the kampong a bit in from
[211] the road, standing against the skyline, is a row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe heads. They are thin and tall. They are set on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
[417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical of all kampongs in this region, so that the kampong itself is located down in a stone wall enclosure.

Below the first row of stone pillars there
346 is another with just as many stones. It is also
769 set on a mound. Just below this stands the
531 umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on one side there is a living tree with Y-branches at the fork. Stones are heaped around the ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet high, and consists of a single pillar with thatched cap. The pillar is made of hebuh wood and is carved in fancy designs which are hard to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were made of white shell). Looking under the cap I could see that the pillar forks were in the shape of a U, and so it is really about the same as the Nagoh peo, but less clearly Y-shaped and covered with a cap.

To either side of the plaza, which was of
342 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small
361 and had rather low roofs. These houses are set on piles. On one side was the house of the
624 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
769 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
346 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
565 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
554 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in
574

624 565 554 769 346 574 [782] order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase his fame. However, a common man cannot do this. Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions. Also, buffalo sacrifices are needed for putting a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger" mori ndaru who lives on the other side of the plaza. This has some relation to the elder and younger brother stuff mentioned in the manuscript report on Soa by a priest. Mommersteeg[1] 342 624 532 has lent me this report. The mori ndaru house has a wood post in front, on either side beside the steps. They are rather thin and low and are carved in a human form. This is known as the ata deo, or rather these are the ata deo.

342 531 [171] Also, beside the door of the house and on the porch are two richly carved wooden rectangles measuring about 3x2 feet. This looks like the Balinese stuff and consists mainly of scrolls so far as I could see.

237 342 531 Not only on the houses of the mori ndaru but also on others, we noted many lower jaws of pigs, wild pigs with tusks, deer horns, and buffalo horns. These are partly ranged along a rack under the roof eaves and partly, especially true of the buffalo horns, stuck in beside the wall of the porch. We later found out that the ata deo may be used by others than the mori ndaru, but evidently the carved wood slabs are only for him. I saw some especially elaborate lower jaw carvings on a barn in Brova.

346 231 [624] In the lower kampong, Lodo, which has a low stone wall between it and Naru, there is the house of the mori ndaru (thus each suku, voi, has a mori ndaru, and there may be more than one per kampong) and the rest of the things just mentioned. The ndaru there, however, has a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had been no renewal they said that they would do so, but they would have to get the buffalo first.

[1] [pastor at Soa -- Analyst]

574 He furnished us with fair food, rice and chicken, and coffee, and then fixed up the beds without mosquito nets in one room. The son of
872 the mandur of the pasanggrahan of Badjawa was with us, on his way to school in Ende, and he had a little packet of clothes, a canteen and a ukulele. The latter was in sad condition.
484 He slept on the floor on a mat. The next morning we just about made it across the river with our goods lifted by the men in order to lighten the jeep. This was a hard experience, and we decided to make the western run only once
132 more, at the end. This rainy season is too hard here and it is dangerous because there is always a risk of delay from floods or landslides. Ende seemed luxurious after this run to the west.

324 The assistant was in Ende for a tax meeting of kapitan, and after noon I took him and the kapitan and the latter's servant to Roworeke. They had to work on taxation in the afternoon, so I decided to start in tomorrow morning. Roworeke, as usual, is always troublesome. The jeep was overcrowded with many riders. I took them out, and came back with a load.

<u>Incidental notes on Flores</u>: We saw the use
482 of a tumpline in Sikka. This is true also for Nageh and Ngada. They use this for carrying loads especially in Sikka and also for betel ingredients in Ngada. They use small plaited bags.

Girls in Ngada and Nageh have half-shaved
302 tonsures. This is not true of all, but certainly of many of the girls. There are variations in style, including topknots. I note the latter on boys too.

721 A Ngada man denied head-hunting at any time
346 and said that there is no head under the new
231 ndaru, but rather a red dog, a pig, and a cock, all buried alive. But ENI says that there was
[554] head-hunting and that Ngada heroes had goatskin bands under their knees formerly.

764 with upright stone. They are built by indi-
211 viduals to commemorate their own name. There
[554] is great vanity here in keeping one's name
alive after death. Thus the ngadu builder
gets his name on the ngadu too. There are no
offerings, however, at these rest places.

The Nageh in Soa kill animals with spears
231 as they are released (probably a hunting sur-
411 vival). Perhaps this is related to Toradja
spearing?

Larantuka: We left Ende on Friday, January
556 6, and after ten and a half hours we got to
237 Larantuka. There we met a young Chinese trader
177 who was born in Lomblem and whose father has a
438 toko there. They are now in Surabaja, but he
comes through Flores and the islands to buy
stuff each year. He is now buying kemiri nuts.
He told me a lot about Lomblem. He said that
there are thousands of tusks in Lomblem alone.
And he said that Maumere, which is relatively
rich in various products, is cornering a large
part of the tusks of Flores. In other places,
for example, in Larantuka, there are fewer
tusks now, and people are beginning to pay
money instead. The Maumere folk, he said,
think nothing of money. The real wealth and
goal of all striving is tied up in the tusks.
He said that the Chinese brought the tusks in
originally and told the radjas here that they
were the teeth of the naga (which was important
locally before that). The radjas paid dearly
for them, and soon all the folk here wanted
them. Hence, thousands were imported by the
Chinese. It may have been the same situation
as that which obtains with the mokko in the
Alor area. They too may well be from China.

This Chinese said that in Lomblem the folk
511 want very little. They work a little, just
461 enough to get the corn going, and then drink
185 enough gin to go to sleep. When drunk they
273

War

684 out, one or both could be killed. (He said that usually one escaped.) (I didn't ask about widows, but must do so.)

659 Note: Formerly, no vital statistics were kept here. Only since the war have they bothered to keep a record of births, and deaths. They still do not record marriages.

842 The belief here is that the more children one has the better it is for him. A man feels big
●534 if his family is large. It is fine to have
556 twenty children. They have no idea at all of
857 limitation, or that it might even be conceivable. If a man has no children it is cause for terrific shame. This applies even if he has only a few. They like boys and girls, and perhaps boys even a bit more than girls. Girls bring in tusks, but this is not all gain, because the family must pay a return gift. The boys, however, work in the fields and thus bring in a certain income. In addition, if there are lots of boys and thus a large family income, the family can buy tusks.

Thus the girls get tusks, weave, and cook; but the boys work and bring to the family an income and keep the group name going (and in the old days were probably good for warfare).

181 The word hasil is very important here. It means product, and this is the center of their life. Everything is judged in terms of hasil, and even religious and ritual leaders are judged by their hasil. If they produce, they are all right. If they do not, something is wrong. And these profits, or income, or produce, include food, children, tusks, magic, etc. This is a wide concept. They want lots of hasil, and of all kinds.

721 I asked about war in the old days and how
789 any of the kampongs could fight the traditional enemy Riang Kamiê when it was always so much bigger. The kepala kampong looked significantly

War

721 at me and raised his brows, saying, "Ah, but
789 you are forgetting the kekuatan adjaib. It was not a matter of men alone." I am accepted as one who can appreciate the magical things. In this case he was pointing to "those intangible factors which mean so much in warfare."

842 There are no limitations on the number of children in a family. There is not even a conflict here with the church. He did say, however, that they know or think they know a medicine (at least he has heard that some women know about this) which might limit the number of children a woman could have (or did I say this?). Anyway, it is unthinkable.

[614] The bigger the family the better it is. A big family, ama or suku makes its members cocky.
[534] As Roy says, he is a member of Hurint, the biggest sib here, and he would like to see the so and so who would try anything on him. He would have to settle with the group. Thus numbers mean strength all along the line.

162 The average size of the family here is about
178 eight individuals. Formerly, about fifty per cent of the children did not grow up. Now they
165 nearly all live (I doubt this, but evidently
758 the change has been so dramatic with the introduction of modern medicine and cleanliness that it seems this way). I asked why, and they at once said new medicines and cleanliness.

355 Women do most of the upbringing. The father,
368 for example, just looks on once in awhile. The
178 mother is the crux, as well as other women. Later on, boys learn to work from their father and girls learn their tasks from their mother. The only change in all this is the school and church, especially of course the former.

581 There has been no significant change in the
178 concept of a "suitable man or wife." So little has the pressure for mere existence lessened that appearance and looks are minor. First of

R

565 the present time. Thus the guru and the assis-
555 tant had illiterate, pagan, farmer fathers.

554 The only time one can see status marks is
614 at feasts, when the ornaments of rank are worn.
422 These are made of gold and are now largely
565 lost. Some still remain. They are suku property, and not all suku have them. Odja and Gusa have some (this may be why the kapitan and others are mad for gold: they want to get it in order to have ornaments made for feasts and for ceremonial objects). If they sell these objects, they will become sick. On ordinary days, one cannot tell upper class folk (for example, members of the Odja suku) from ordinary people. They are really unclear about this. Then I asked who wore no gold and who had no such marks of status, if all of Odja and all of Gusa and all the members of some other suku had them. They said vaguely that those who did not wear them were the "ordinary folk." I asked who, the slaves? And they eagerly said yes. I get the idea that there are not many of these ceremonial objects left and perhaps only enough so that the mosa laki or kapitan, etc., can wear those of the suku at certain feasts. They strut about wearing the suku's wealth. And these things are suku property and do not belong to the families.

614 The social order of the individual, family,
565 etc., here has not changed very much. The
624 most direct thing is that only certain folk of
[178] the right suku have land rights in the kampong.
[428] Within the suku, however, the mosa laki or other office holder is probably a bit higher. They say, however, that the mosa laki gets no more of a bride price for his daughter than an ordinary man gets for his. I can't get very far in class investigation here, that's quite clear. And now I see why he was so puzzled at first when I asked him to indicate class distinc-

Wae

423 by the radja tuan), suku, ama, and family. Houses are categorized in the same fashion.

Houses, however, are strictly speaking owned by the family or lineage. The eldest [428] son inherits the house, and other sons build their own houses or may live in with the eld- [591] est son and his family. The women have no houses, as residence is patrilocal except in unusual cases.

462 The only specialization here is by sex.

426 He says there is no lending of money. They may borrow food, and the interest on such accrued during the following year is from fifty to one hundred per cent.

465 The only wage earners are the gurus. There are no other paid jobs. (How about the three kepala kampongs? I suppose they get eight per cent of the taxes as usual?) There is not one commercial enterprise here.

622 The chiefs, says Roy, are regarded as fathers.
789 The genealogical organization is strong here. Indeed, their posts depend on hereditary descent entirely. The people here obey them because they are in the place of their fathers. The curse of a father is a terrible thing, and this goes for the chiefs too. It should be remembered also that the chiefs have magic power, derived from the sanction of the ancestors and visibly shown by the stone fetishes in front of the chiefly houses.

567 The nipatale intermarry with other people, although they originally were slaves. Thus there is a slave class, but it is integrated with the others, and it has only a few marks.

[555] The only ones who have risen are the gurus.
554 And those in Wailolong are from some other area. There are no visible signs of status except that of living in a chiefly house, belonging to a "big house" suku, and having the stones of status in front of the house. I note also that

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I note also that

554 there is a kind of mark of "upperness" in the
[177] wearing of European shirts by the men! This
[291] probably holds for the European dress worn by
some women too.

195 Roy says that in Larantuka town there is a
high and a low language, but I wonder if this
may not mean that there is merely a polite
idiom. Here in this area they all speak the
same language, but use fancier language in the
[554] ceremonies. The only titles are those of the
listed posts. One must be respectful to the
uppers.

614 The whole rank system depends on genealogi-
565 cal descent. There are no rules in regard to
interclass marriage, and everything depends
upon the suku system.

634 The Radja of Larantuka is a descendant of
565 the Ili, just as the other folk are. He is a
bit mixed up with Timor, via Pategolo. And
the Radja kedua is from Kroko Putang. However,
the entire upper "nobility" is really inte-
grated with the commoners. That is, there is
no heaven descent. They are just like the
other people, except genealogically they are
ranked a bit higher. All power also depends
on descent.

793 In 1905 the first guru of Leloba, Bala,
started his religious work. He had been con-
verted before this at the school in Larantuka.
At that time there were priests in Larantuka.

361 In 1912 a church was built at the kampong
lama of Riang Kamiö (this is another example of
how much and how recently these kampongs have
been moved from place to place). In fact,
only in these years, all kampongs except Lewo-
neda were still in the hills. Wailolong was
moved from the hills to the beach in 1913. At
that time a guru was sent to Wailolong, and in
1922 or 1923 Wailolong moved to the present lo-
cation.

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764 were put in a box and placed in the "attics" of the tombs. All except one of these tombs are gone, and this one is the Odja shrine. Now I understand why the bones are placed above in this shrine. This is like all the
[656] big men in the old days. Today, they can't use trees because the government forbids this on hygienic grounds (why worry? the place is so dirty and disease-ridden that it seems foolish). Today the big men are buried in especially elaborate tombs of stone, in which many bodies are put (as in Sumba). Formerly, ordinary folk were just buried, or if they had money enough they were placed in tombs.

764 Thus one can say that only big men, that is,
●554 the kepala suku, were put in the attics of the
565 pondok before. Other nobles were placed in stone tombs if they could pay the expenses. Evidently both of these kinds of nobles were first placed in a tree. An ordinary noble who did not have enough money, however, was simply buried, as there would be no use putting him in a tree if there was not to be a second funeral and a stone tomb.

764 Today bodies must be buried within twenty-four hours. They are buried or put in tombs. The only "memory feast" aside from the second burial disposal was held when it was desired to ask for rain by calling directly on the dead (evidently).

[184] Only the pagans still put the body in knee-chest position at burial. The Christians and Mohammedans bury their dead in an extended posture.

At the old tombs, when they have a funeral of one to be put therein, the Catholic priest, (and I presume the Mohammedan leader too) prays.

At the funeral feast, pagans, Catholics and Mohammedans all kill animals.

517 All amusement is local, except for rare and

651 Arriens said that he had heard this from the Radja as a big source of trouble now. I can imagine it. Their big trouble on this simple level, with the government, was only taxes (and for a few, jail). Thus, when freedom comes in, it means freedom from the Dutch burden, taxes.
[622] Anyway, I noted that the kapitan, as usual
[554] when in trouble, had called the giri tumba and the big ata ngga'eh nua (Bapa Ketjil) to come to his house in full adat dress. This underlines again the point that real prestige is in these old adat chiefs. They are the ones to call upon when a real decision has to be made. And there sat the malcontents, about to face the adat chiefs.

114 In Ndona, as I waited for the assistant to get the dukun from the hills, I sat in the jeep and read Bruine's[1] report on Lio, which was very
123 appropriate. As church got out, there gathered about at least twenty men and boys, and the latter hung over me while I was reading or at least trying to read the book. They were astonished, and read aloud, when they saw words
[212] like "mosa laki Ndona." And some of them could
[515] read the Dutch. Overall was the smell of sweat and onions.

181 The last trick of the assistant was to ask
123 for my fountain pen so that he could look at it and think of me. These folk are easily the most greedy yet. I doubt that one could appeal to mere good spirit here.

114 I think I have finally located the Rea which Elbert and Körner[2] always refer to as Rea Ndona.
103 I think they mean the Ende coastal area. I know where Ndona is, but I now see in a map in the Bruine[1] report that Tanah Rea is the former name of the area in which Nangapanda is on the south coast. It stretched to the north coast of Flores.

000 Back in these hills, which I wish I could explore, there may well have been endocannibalism!

[1] [probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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621 614 554 There is certainly no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village. Still, the gelarang kampongs feel a bit superior to the former slave ones, for example, sekontu and lampang. They look down a bit on Tjantjar, as it is not of the Veol va'u. But the branch kampongs which are of the va'u Veol are as good as the central kampong. Thus Ndung is just as good as Veol, and so is, for example, Sampar. They are original people too. Thus the blood bond comes first. As for outsiders who live in the kampong, if they get angry they may throw this up. For example, the assistant said it might happen to him.

He also said that no matter how long a person is away, no matter how many generations intervene, he and his descendants are still Pau people and go there as often as possible; that is, unless the case involves people who have been established as real members of an independent clan kampong elsewhere. However, they still remember the real, old ancestral kampong. 614 621 602

As yet there have been no returning villagers to tell anything about the outside world.

In inter-community relations the important thing is the blood bond. The va'u comes first, and then the kampongs or clans or families with many marriage bonds. Thus it is mainly genealogical. The gelarang is important, as generally all the kampongs in a gelarang are of one va'u. The only exception here is the unusual Tjepang kampong. Tjantjar and other kampongs here have many marriage relations with it. Ndung is close in all ways.

[622] Thus the gelarang is just about the same as a "clan district," and the tuan tanah in the central kampong is the head, and the other tuan tanah are branch-offs from him.

Beyond the va'u there are nearly no real relationships, except for the areas where va'u

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567 are no more "slaves."

The dalu of Reo, who is the grandson of the last radja naib, or proconsul, of Bima in Reo (and thus he is sore that he is not the radja of Manggarai) when I asked him if he knew about the Do Donggo, said that they were actually descendants of Manggarai slaves who had escaped or who were let loose into the mountains of Sumbawa. I asked if they spoke the Manggarai language, and he said no, they had forgotten it. I suspect this, but it is interesting and might bear further looking into.

555 There is little chance for one to move within the social system here. The only chance I see is by becoming a guru, but so far no one from Veol or Ndung has become a guru. I note that there are a couple of policemen from here who have gone to Kupang and Ende. And the boy who went to Makassar they said had worked here for a Chinese. Then he just went along with him to Makassar. They agreed that he might make his way ahead there in the big world.

565 291 177 554 There are pusaka kris, and costumes, but they appear mainly at feasts. One can see them then. Otherwise, there is just about no difference in clothing between one class and another, and I get the impression that even formerly there was not much in this regard. However, I note that nowadays, for everyday appearances, here and everywhere I go, the new mark of the new middle class is a European shirt or dress, perhaps shoes, pants, etc. And of course most significant is a fountain pen and brief case. I can see this even when an old type lad has higher rank and his assistant is, for example, a Minahasa government worker. The latter, because of his education, patronizes the former, although he observes the proper respect indulgently. The dress marks the difference. Where the chief is also European

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565 dressed, e.g. the kapitan of Roworeke, he is not
291 dominated by an "assistant." However, he domi-
177 nates (cautiously as yet) the adat dressed mosa
554 laki. This is interesting.

565 The Pongkor kraeng said that manners differ
576 by class, and he may be right. However, I met a rough kraeng in Anam. And I think that he was from Todo too. Todo ones have a reputation of being more refined than those from Pongkor. All this probably does not mean very much.

[195] Special words are used as part of the lan-
576 guage of ceremonies and rites. However, this
178 is merely a matter of occasion. In the old days real respect was shown for the Bima dignitaries, the kraengs, etc. When one approached a kampong where there was a kraeng, one had to dismount from one's horse and remove one's shoulder cloth down to the hips, where it was wound around, leaving the torso bare.

[689] If one did not show the proper respect formerly, a whole kampong might be made lampang. Thus, enslavement was the great mass punishment. Even today there is still a bit of feeling in regard to the rank of the kraeng, although it is nothing like what it was before.

554 There are grades of pride on the kampong
621 level, and thus Veol feels a bit higher than
614 its branch kampong Tjantjar. Also, Veol va'u feels a bit better than the incoming va'u Tjepang. But this is not a real formulization.

565 There are no approved marriages with mendi.
582 This is still very bad. It is possible to marry with other kinds of "slaves" (e.g., lampang). There are a number of such cases now in Veol. Everyone, up to the radja, may marry everyone else except the mendi. There are plenty of such mixed marriages, and even the radja has a commoner for a wife. Here again one can see the ordinary quality of the radjas

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797 are the ones who most often get lost to the
183 church, and they are the ones who fight bitter-
578 ly against the church. Perhaps here Mohamme-
595 danism might have an advantage, but the pig necessity at ceremonies would stop it cold. These people can get along without more than one wife, but without pigs the whole ritual life would be unthinkable. Thus each church has its weakness.

634 The first Radja of Manggarai, Baruk, was
595 put in by the church, actually. He was a
797 Catholic. The present one has two wives, one
578 of them a Minahasan. The mission is worried.
183 This is why the radja is only a deputy or acting radja and not a full radja. The mission runs Flores and will not agree to let him become a real radja as long as he remains a polygamist. The mission is on the spot. Probably the present man will never get the full status. This is checked by Degens, the Controleur.

Later, in Waingapu, Oudehand, the former Controleur in Larantuka, told me that the Radja of Larantuka also has several wives and keeps them, although he is "Catholic." One of them, the head one, is the daughter of the Sikka Radja.

This is all beautiful material in regard to acculturation and Catholicism. The Catholics are as tolerant as they can be, but they can't accept polygamy.

554 Note: The title nyora (from Portuguese sen-
177 hora) is used here as in Ambon for the guru's
171 wife. I don't know whether it is also used, as in Ambon, for a chief's wife.

771 There is no Mohammedanism here, and no tendency toward Mohammedanism. Polygamy would work out all right, but the pig taboo would be very difficult indeed.

162 Degens says that the population of Manggarai is about one hundred and ninety thousand. Of these, about ninety thousand are Christian.

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764 they will encounter no big stones while digging, as this is a sign that more people will die. After the burial they return to the house and [888] pray. If the person who died was old or a big [554] man, they kill a buffalo. If the person was of lesser status, they kill only a pig or a fowl. Three days later, if the person who died was old or was a big man, they may kill two or three horses or buffaloes and eat them. At the same time, if the person was of lesser status, they will kill a pig or fowl.

[766] Clothes are placed on the grave of a person who dies a violent death. (See Coolhaas.)[1]

The local Catholics go through the same rites, except that they add on the church service.

[178] The big feasts for the dead dalu mentioned by Coolhaas[1] are no longer held. On such occasions they might wait quite a while. They killed up to perhaps ten buffaloes.

769 There is a very close relation between the ancestors and the death cult. The dead are always invited to feasts. There are no tombs, but the ancestor cult is strong.

[574] Note: The whip duels are held at all big
526 feasts: New Year, harvest, illness exorcism,
524 wedding, but not at the funeral.

All local recreation is native: tjatjih (whip duelling), tug of war, rope jumping (1), children's games like tag and hide and seek (he says they are the "hunter and hunted"), the bam-
[535] boo jumping dance (tekarulu). The dances are: sanda (round), sae (group and solo), danding (round). They play the rattan football (raga) and soccer.

526 The most loved of all is tjatjih. Cornelius says that to the best of his knowledge he has never known of any man being actually blinded, because the superorbitals protect the eyes. However, plenty of people get bad scars on their

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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721 whips. Later the mandur of the pasanggrahan,
555 a Manggarai man from kampong Ruteng, said that girls especially like a man who has knocked out another's eye with a whip.! It looks like a head-hunting pattern, but so far I have gotten no response on the subject of head-hunting, and the priests say it did not exist here even in former times. I must check on this.

[126] We took photographs, and one of them was of
634 the Radja. He was a bit drunk, and said that
273 the dancers were hot inside too. He made what
537 seemed to me to be an unnecessary speech to
609 the men around him to the effect that we were Americans and not Dutch and as to why we were here. Later he said he was busy as this was the day of the kampong folk. He said he would see us later so that if we needed any help we could call on him, and he could also warn us of possible dangers. The latter reference was vague, and I can't see the point. He called a lad who came with a bottle of brandy and we had drinks in front of a great crowd. He wore a songko, which is strange for a Christian radja. Evidently, from what we hear, the Radja here has been in for only a short time, and this one is both young and new, as his father died recently (maybe not his father?)

614 Then we went back to the pasanggrahan and
582 talked with the mandur who said that in the Ruteng kampong there is still plenty of the old culture. He said it is possible to marry inside the va'u (this is the correct spelling) or outside. He said marriages usually occur outside. He said something about how if one partner was from the older sibling branch of the va'u and the other from the younger sibling branch, they may marry (could it be that here we have a subclan?) The assistant says they have panga inside the va'u, and he gave his own as the first, which I think means the older branch. Thus

! [i.e., during the ritualized mock warfare games; see p.92, c.st.116 --Analyst]

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776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 Kraeng here is the original title for high
554 nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

796 At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is
614 done by families or pangas. Each man in the
782 group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck
231 with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunt-
[887] ing.) Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say
535 here) is done at many feasts. Each house has
574 some costumes, and the men may use them. They
555 say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 In the afternoon we went to see some fine
527 dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part
526 of the week long independence festival. The
533 lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and sing-
[276] ing. Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertain-
[887] ment was complicated and good. Most drummers
200 and gong players seem to be old women. These

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789 unfulfillment of ancestral duties can cause ill-
753 ness too (note the illness fear theme; this is just right for these folk who are ill a good deal of the time). But there is no real kekuatan adjaib here.

567 There were many slaves here before, and this
582 applies even to twenty years ago (this is
178 probably a bit too late, I think). The regular
565 thing was for the father of a girl to include
[583] in the return gift at marriage, two slaves (like the "and two persons" still used in the formula for the bride price among the Buginese). There are slaves in the kampong now, but he thinks that only about two to three per cent of the population are so categorized. They are, and were, taken into the suku, but formerly there was little intermarriage with them, and then it was only between a higher man and
[684] a slave girl. If the reverse took place, the death punishment could be meted out. The marriage taboo is still in, but it is lessening, and even a boy of slave descent (if he is an excellent man and a good worker) may marry a higher girl. However, they are well known, and in general are still to be classed underneath. For example, they have to do certain duties (the guru said they are like "servants"; he used the Dutch word "jongens"). They live in houses with regular people, or perhaps in their own houses. Everyone knows who they are, but no mention is made of this because they reportedly get furious. This is a thing worth investigating further: exactly what are the duties, and exactly how are they thought of and what do they think of themselves, etc.? (Remember that in the United States no one really thinks of taunting Negroes with an open charge of being descended from slaves.)

565 There are few possibilities for class mo-
555 bility. There are some meager beginnings at

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565 the present time. Thus the guru and the assis-
555 tant had illiterate, pagan, farmer fathers.

554 The only time one can see status marks is
614 at feasts, when the ornaments of rank are worn.
422 These are made of gold and are now largely
565 lost. Some still remain. They are suku property, and not all suku have them. Odja and Gusa have some (this may be why the kapitan and others are mad for gold: they want to get it in order to have ornaments made for feasts and for ceremonial objects). If they sell these objects, they will become sick. On ordinary days, one cannot tell upper class folk (for example, members of the Odja suku) from ordinary people. They are really unclear about this. Then I asked who wore no gold and who had no such marks of status, if all of Odja and all of Gusa and all the members of some other suku had them. They said vaguely that those who did not wear them were the "ordinary folk." I asked who, the slaves? And they eagerly said yes. I get the idea that there are not many of these ceremonial objects left and perhaps only enough so that the mosa laki or kapitan, etc., can wear those of the suku at certain feasts. They strut about wearing the suku's wealth. And these things are suku property and do not belong to the families.

614 The social order of the individual, family,
565 etc., here has not changed very much. The
624 most direct thing is that only certain folk of
[178] the right suku have land rights in the kampong.
[429] Within the suku, however, the mosa laki or other office holder is probably a bit higher. They say, however, that the mosa laki gets no more of a bride price for his daughter than an ordinary man gets for his. I can't get very far in class investigation here, that's quite clear. And now I see why he was so puzzled at first when I asked him to indicate class distinc-

Wae

423 by the radja tuan), suku, ama, and family. Houses are categorized in the same fashion.

Houses, however, are strictly speaking owned by the family or lineage. The eldest [428] son inherits the house, and other sons build their own houses or may live in with the eld- [591] est son and his family. The women have no houses, as residence is patrilocal except in unusual cases.

462 The only specialization here is by sex.

426 He says there is no lending of money. They may borrow food, and the interest on such accrued during the following year is from fifty to one hundred per cent.

465 The only wage earners are the gurus. There are no other paid jobs. (How about the three kepala kampongs? I suppose they get eight per cent of the taxes as usual?) There is not one commercial enterprise here.

622 The chiefs, says Roy, are regarded as fathers.
789 The genealogical organization is strong here. Indeed, their posts depend on hereditary descent entirely. The people here obey them because they are in the place of their fathers. The curse of a father is a terrible thing, and this goes for the chiefs too. It should be remembered also that the chiefs have magic power, derived from the sanction of the ancestors and visibly shown by the stone fetishes in front of the chiefly houses.

567 The nipatale intermarry with other people, although they originally were slaves. Thus there is a slave class, but it is integrated with the others, and it has only a few marks.

[555] The only ones who have risen are the gurus.
554 And those in Wailolong are from some other area. There are no visible signs of status except that of living in a chiefly house, belonging to a "big house" suku, and having the stones of status in front of the house. I note also that

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567 are no more "slaves."

The dalu of Reo, who is the grandson of the last radja naib, or proconsul, of Bima in Reo (and thus he is sore that he is not the radja of Manggarai) when I asked him if he knew about the Do Donggo, said that they were actually descendants of Manggarai slaves who had escaped or who were let loose into the mountains of Sumbawa. I asked if they spoke the Manggarai language, and he said no, they had forgotten it. I suspect this, but it is interesting and might bear further looking into.

●555 There is little chance for one to move within the social system here. The only chance I see is by becoming a guru, but so far no one from Veol or Ndung has become a guru. I note that there are a couple of policemen from here who have gone to Kupang and Ende. And the boy who went to Makassar they said had worked here for a Chinese. Then he just went along with him to Makassar. They agreed that he might make his way ahead there in the big world.

565 291 177 554 There are pusaka kris, and costumes, but they appear mainly at feasts. One can see them then. Otherwise, there is just about no difference in clothing between one class and another, and I get the impression that even formerly there was not much in this regard. However, I note that nowadays, for everyday appearances, here and everywhere I go, the new mark of the new middle class is a European shirt or dress, perhaps shoes, pants, etc. And of course most significant is a fountain pen and brief case. I can see this even when an old type lad has higher rank and his assistant is, for example, a Minahasa government worker. The latter, because of his education, patronizes the former, although he observes the proper respect indulgently. The dress marks the difference. Where the chief is also European

578 wars. There is no more head-hunting (but the
721 priest in the mission thinks it still goes on secretly, especially for the main post of a new korke).

53 The arts here are poor in all ways.

583 The bride price must be paid, but ambil anak
611 can occur. In the latter case a daughter or
237 daughters are given to the family in place of the
[556] price. This is especially true for the poor. Elephant tusks are needed for things such as the bride price, but this is evidently mainly for the uppers. And Krol said that nowadays, when the tusks have become rare, they often merely make the transfer in their heads, talking all night, and never actually transferring the real tusks from one family to another. It is a kind of clearing-house procedure. The tusks may be "transferred" up to twenty times in their heads, and they balance out in the end. Thus there is no real cost. It is a matter of delayed payment and really works out to a system of woman exchange between families. The tusk transfer is fictional. Thus A will "pay" tusks to B for a girl, and B will "pay" these to C for a girl, and C will "pay" them to A for a girl, and so on. The tusks, however, may even be non-existent in a particular case, and since they balance out in the end, no one really pays.

764 I was told that they used to put the bodies of
766 the war dead (I think) in trees before burial. Newborn children were buried in the kampong in front of the house. Cemeteries here were evidently placed outside the kampong.

124 We will return to Leloba tomorrow and try to
621 get the assistant matter straightened out. It
578 is notable that the guru said he is more comfortable working in an outside kampong. If the kakang gives the order the people must cooperate. This shows that the kampongs here are fiercely separatistic and only the upper government controls this atomism.

764 with upright stone. They are built by indi-
211 viduals to commemorate their own name. There
[554] is great vanity here in keeping one's name alive after death. Thus the ngadu builder gets his name on the ngadu too. There are no offerings, however, at these rest places.

231 The Nageh in Soa kill animals with spears
411 as they are released (probably a hunting survival). Perhaps this is related to Toradja spearing?

556 Larantuka: We left Ende on Friday, January
237 6, and after ten and a half hours we got to
177 Larantuka. There we met a young Chinese trader
438 who was born in Lomblem and whose father has a toko there. They are now in Surabaja, but he comes through Flores and the islands to buy stuff each year. He is now buying kemiri nuts. He told me a lot about Lomblem. He said that there are thousands of tusks in Lomblem alone. And he said that Maumere, which is relatively rich in various products, is cornering a large part of the tusks of Flores. In other places, for example, in Larantuka, there are fewer tusks now, and people are beginning to pay money instead. The Maumere folk, he said, think nothing of money. The real wealth and goal of all striving is tied up in the tusks. He said that the Chinese brought the tusks in originally and told the radjas here that they were the teeth of the naga (which was important locally before that). The radjas paid dearly for them, and soon all the folk here wanted them. Hence, thousands were imported by the Chinese. It may have been the same situation as that which obtains with the mokko in the Alor area. They too may well be from China.

511 This Chinese said that in Lomblem the folk
461 want very little. They work a little, just
185 enough to get the corn going, and then drink
273 enough gin to go to sleep. When drunk they

511 sing a little and then go to sleep. The only
461 time they work hard, and this consists of
185 bringing in coconuts and other stuff to the
[273] Chinese, is when they want to get clothes for feasts and when they have to pay taxes. Their only thorn is taxation. Without taxes they would be completely happy. I heard later, in
237 regard to the tusks, that there are very few
438 in Wailolong, perhaps only ten. However, they
556 circulate and keep the system going. The assistant said that many have been sold because the people need money so badly. Many were sold to the people in Tandjung Bunga.

Wae When we went to Wailolong we met the assis-
614 tant on the section of Wailolong which is on
241 the side road near Leloba. He was there getting
796 census material. We went off there and at-
231 tended a rite of the Leworita suku, or rather one of the ama of the suku. It was the rite for the beginning of the agricultural season. The big kampong rite was held first, and here it was held on Christmas. Then, each suku has a similar rite, and then again each ama. They are just now getting around to the ama rites.
[343] In this section there are two kebang (lumbung or barns) adat, i.e. suku or ama barns. The big kepala barn is that of the Number One suku (here Ama Dotang [usually Ama Kottang] which is near the main korke). The two suku represented here are Lewodoreng and Leworita. This rite was held under the adat barn of Leworita (where jaws of sacrificed pigs hang), but the land is owned by Lewodoreng. This is why the men who played the roles of Kottang and Kelen (head and feet) were not from Leworita but from Lewodoreng.

The old pagans (some were not so old) did the rites, but the Christians stood all around, and they ate what they could get later, probably. A small pig was brought in and then the prepa-

War

684 out, one or both could be killed. (He said that usually one escaped.) (I didn't ask about widows, but must do so.)

659 Note: Formerly, no vital statistics were kept here. Only since the war have they bothered to keep a record of births, and deaths. They still do not record marriages.

842 The belief here is that the more children one has the better it is for him. A man feels big 554 if his family is large. It is fine to have 556 twenty children. They have no idea at all of 857 limitation, or that it might even be conceivable. If a man has no children it is cause for terrific shame. This applies even if he has only a few. They like boys and girls, and perhaps boys even a bit more than girls. Girls bring in tusks, but this is not all gain, because the family must pay a return gift. The boys, however, work in the fields and thus bring in a certain income. In addition, if there are lots of boys and thus a large family income, the family can buy tusks.

Thus the girls get tusks, weave, and cook; but the boys work and bring to the family an income and keep the group name going (and in the old days were probably good for warfare).

181 The word hasil is very important here. It means product, and this is the center of their life. Everything is judged in terms of hasil, and even religious and ritual leaders are judged by their hasil. If they produce, they are all right. If they do not, something is wrong. And these profits, or income, or produce, include food, children, tusks, magic, etc. This is a wide concept. They want lots of hasil, and of all kinds.

721 I asked about war in the old days and how 789 any of the kampongs could fight the traditional enemy Riang Kamiĕ when it was always so much bigger. The kepala kampong looked significantly

621R
578 nature of these people. He said there are many
632 boundary disputes and have been many in the past.
144 Now I see the truth of the racial mixture zone here. All types are represented.

614 I get the impression that the suku were originally localized largely if not entirely. This is still so. Thus one part will be all or nearly all Odja, another similarly Wanda, another Tibo, etc.

591 I met a lad in Roworeke proper who is from a kampong which is rather far off. They said he had married a woman of Roworeke, and I thought perhaps this might be a case of ambil anak. This is not the case, however, and he had merely come there for a day, because his wife has land here. They live in his kampong. Residence is patrilocal usually. Kattenburg remarked that in
178 material culture and in level of living the young
578 people are not much different from the old. They
561 do wear different clothes, however, and as he says, in general outlook, religion, knowledge of and adherence to old thoughts and ways and religion, they differ. There must be an intergenerational conflict here, especially as they are so disputatious anyway. I must check on this.

The next day we[1] set out early and got them to
344 let us work in the office. This is an amazing
217 place, with cocoanut stalk walls and a dirt floor.
124 In one room (they are all empty of furniture), scattered on the floor, are the "files" of the kapitanschap. Some of them are in paper boxes and others are just on the dirt. They call the kapitanschap the "gemeente." We sat on the front "porch" on chairs that almost collapsed and at a table that leaned loosely at an alarming angle and slowly leaned more and more until it seemed impossible that it would keep from collapsing.
124 With us was the giri tumba of Rewarangga and later the kepala kampong (ata nggaeh nua) of Woro-

[1] [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg --Analyst]

We

000 This is an example of radja tyranny.

888 178 622 Formerly, politicians were older than they are today. Indeed, they would not follow a younger man formerly very well. Today there are plenty of cases of an older radja tuan giving his rightful kepala kampong post to a younger brother. At least it is usually the latter, for this keeps it in the proper family. The older man keeps the adat post. (This is what Roy himself has done here). He said that this is done: (1) because if there is trouble in the kampong, the kepala kampong bears the brunt of this and may have to go to jail. It is better to have two men so that one can carry on the administration; (2) the older man is often unable to read and write. Formerly the three kepala kampong were always the same men as the radja tuan of the three main suku.

[561] 178 797 177 This led to a long talk about the conflict between generations. Roy says that there is no conflict here, as they give in if the children are firm enough. He also says that although the old resisted religious change before, they have surrendered now and know that it is hopeless. When they are dead they know that paganism will be finished. It came out clearly here that the only real force of change has been Catholicism. And the only area of change has been religion, although other aspects have been affected thereafter. Thus we got again onto the subject of religion.

797 178 I asked if, if there were a long period of misfortunes, there might not be a reversion to paganism. He said that this is conceivable, but that it has gone too far now for this to be a strong probability. He gave a case of a kampong on the neck of Tandjung Bunga, Riang Koli, which not long ago decided that it would not give up paganism but would merely make a deliberate combination of it and Catholicism. How-

513 882 178 [171] Ambon and Ceram youth-club houses are really survivals of the regular thing.) In Leloba the main hangout is the "pasanggrahan" (bivak), where there are seldom any guests, and the boys simply take over. Kattenburg inspected it and found that it has sleeping benches and even a [83%] few walled compartments. He asked the kepala kampong if perhaps the girls did not slip in, and the kepala kampong said that this was absolutely not the case.

178 513 882 177 614 In Wailolong there is a guru from Bama, where they have regular boy's houses. This fellow has introduced a new type of boy's house in Wailolong (but no other kampong in this area has one), i.e., he has built three on the Bama pattern and the boys sleep there. One of these is our "office" when we use it. These boys' houses are arranged according to suku, and are shared by suku. This is a remarkable case of acculturation within a pattern from one district to another.

[562] 882 561 887 513 The girls have no such houses, and never did. However, before, as today, they seldom sleep with their parents when they get older. Groups of them have hangouts where they sleep together. These groups are of friends. They weave together, etc., and like to gossip, sing, etc., at night. They just fall asleep there, together. This may be a sleeping bench, or it may be that they get a section of a sleeping bench in one of their parents' houses. There they bunch up. Everyone knows where the groups hang out. Kattenburg found that even old women sleep in groups. They may be, I think, groups of "the girls" who are old and widows, and who go back to their girlhood days and sleep with their coevals, and have a good time. If this is so, it is practically a revived age-grade for the girls who in their youth grew up and slept together and now at the end of their life bunch up together again.

We

582 people married earlier, because they got their
291 clothes earlier. Cornelius[1] says that until
178 about twenty-five years ago you could see quite old and young people going about naked. He remembers this. They do not like too young marriages (!). Also, they do not like them if the partners are too old.

●[561] There are no age grades.

614 The Veol clan is very large, but there are clans which are even larger. Not a single clan has ever become extinct. However, some panga have. There is one such panga in Veol.

562 Formerly, the position of women was really
178 low, like that of slaves. Now they are a little
584 higher. Today there is a beginning in the direction of freer choice in marriage. Formerly all marriages were arranged by the elders.

611 The system here is all patrilineal, and there have been no changes.

162 In 1930, Cornelius[1] says, there were five thousand extra women in all Manggarai. I will check the records for the ratio.

587 The levirate obtains if there is a widow. If
768 there is no brother, her family must take her back, and pay one horse. The children stay with the dead father's family. If the levirate goes through, the man pays one horse.

[583] If a widow remarries to a man other than the brother of her deceased husband, the price must be paid to the family of the dead husband, and the "bonds" are "broken." The sororate is not required. The bride price is required in the case of a sororate. It is quite usual, because the sister of the deceased is accustomed to the widower and his children. The children of course stay with the father's family always.

586 There is not much divorce, but it did occur and still does.

[587] The main cause of divorce is discord, not barrenness, as in this case a man simply gets another wife.

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

Wa

000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass
thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in
area where there is a large bench for sleeping.
There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the
roof and often in front too. Here sit the women
while they work. If there are two families to a
house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
797 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel
as in other kampongs. The church to which every-
one here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamië, but
since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are stan-
dard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are
nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have
brown hair or hair which is partly brown.

[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk
along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-
bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue
and black mostly. The designs are even poorer
than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used
for men and for women. They say that a cloth
takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many
304 men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
few old people, it seems especially the women,
have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

We Then we went to
614 the boys' house in Wailolong, which turned out to
882 be a windowless house with sleeping benches in-
●562 side. Here the boys from about twelve years on
[342] sleep. Thus there is a real men's house here.
There are three, I think, in Wailolong, because
some of the suku share houses. Normally the
rule is one house per suku. It is taboo for the
girls to enter these men's houses.

124 Then we went to Leloba and began on the Vatter[1]
social organization material. They were delighted
to see the Vatter book, especially Roy who noticed
his name in it.

614 I started with the usual outline of groups and
got the following list of suku and subdivisions
and sub-subdivisions of the suku. I had told the
guru yesterday that there must be a sub-subdivi-
sion, but he said no. He said he had thought it
over and understood what I meant. The names
[171] often have direct references to parts of a house,
and thus it looks like, as in Ambon, there used
to be one suku to one house. Thus Ama Marang
Do(ng) Lau(ng) means (the last words) bale-bale
laut, i.e., in the old days the ancestors used to
sleep on the bale-bale part on the sea side of
the ancestral house they shared with the other
division. Therefore, Ama Marang Do(ng) Rae(ng),
which means bale-bale darat, or the bale-bale
on the land side, was for the other division.
The former has more power than the latter.

614 As for the recurring Lango' Bele', it means
565 big house, while the twin term Lango' Kene'
788 means small house. The former is the section of
the subsib or ama, with more power. The latter
is the section with less power. Maki(ng) means
descendants. The whole system has reference to
the rank of the sibs, which is symbolized in
ritual animal killing. Thus Kottang holds the
head and is the chiefly or head suku normally.
The symbol is the head. Keleng holds the feet,
and they are the assistant suku to the head.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 — Analyst]

We

784 There is definite totemism here though some
614 clans have no taboos or totem ancestors. But
611 it is the usual thing. Weol may not use one
769 kind of bamboo, because the ancestors were born
562 of this bamboo. Pau may not eat a certain kind of monkey, as the ancestors were linked (this is the assistant's va'u). Women marrying out of the va'u may eat the totem of their own clan but must go through a special rite. Men may never give up the totem taboos, even if they live in an ambil anak arrangement.

574 The next day we went to Weol and up to the
273 kampong with the assistant. We brought native
276 tobacco and gin which we had bought for fl. 2.00
123 in Ruteng. As we entered the kampong, on the right we noted the house of the kepala kampong. Next to it is that of the tuan tanah, where we sat on the front porch. Both of these houses are of the new style, but are sooty because there are no chimneys. The children carried two chairs up from Tjantjar for us and later brought a table from the school. However, the assistant and the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong sat on a mat on the floor. Others were in the background. On the rise in front was a great crowd. We gave gin and tobacco to the old people and
[262] were later served first coffee and then two hard boiled eggs. Others got no eggs. The eggs came by chain-passing from the next kampong, Ndung. Evidently eggs are something special. The old tuan tanah knows everything, and his brother the kepala kampong is old and smart too. The kepala of the third panga of Weol kampong sat in the rear. He too is old.

632 The daluschap Rahong is one of the thirty-
621 nine in Manggarai. The dalu are of Bima origin, or at least this is true of most of them. There are thirty-three kampongs in Rahong. The tuan tanah knows all of them, including the constellations. They are as follows:

We

614 All the people in Weol gelarang are of va'u
166 Weol. There is one exception, the va'u Tjepang. These folk came in before from Boleng, in North Manggarai. They settled in kampong Weol, but when things became crowded, they went below to kampong Tjantjar. The latter alone has many people who are not of the va'u Weol, except for real newcomers, such as the Ruteng folk in Ndung, who came to work in the gardens (evidently as coolies) and settled down. There are many outsiders in the mixed and new kampong Tjantjar.

614 The original ancestors of the va'u Weol came
773 out of a bamboo at a spot near the present spring
824 below Weol. There are bamboo trees there de-
784 scended from the original one. The original ancestors were a pair: Vako Dangka and Ine Karas. Not only is the bamboo taboo but also the lusa (red beans). For example, if a child eats these unwittingly, a fowl must be killed. They do not "cut off" the tongue symbolically with a leaf as is done in some other areas.

614 Women from other clans marrying into Weol
784 must take on the taboo of their husbands. A Weol woman marrying into another clan may eat
562 lusa, but only after performing the rite called
783 ela penteng pitak, which means "to clean off the mud." She must take on the totem taboos of her husband's clan. The woman marrying into Weol gives up her own taboos, but must also do the ela penteng pitak. This ceremony involves a pig sacrifice. Thus every woman marrying into another clan must do this rite to give up her own totems. The name of the totem taboo is tjek'ki.

565 There is a nobility which applies to the
632 radjas, dalu, and gelarang. The gelarang are
624 the tuan tanah (and kepala kampong) of the cen-
622 tral kampongs of the gelarang districts, for
634] example, Weol. Thus Weol has two gelarang, and Ndung has only one, because the kepala kampong

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614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and Rundu.

784 824 614 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The other kinds, for example betong, which is thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung pesi is also tabooed for the members of the Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only on the first-born of each family. The first-born is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 114 624 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his material. There are now two more kampongs in the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas is in error in stating that Ladja is the fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung. Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung. The Manggarai

624 824 796 name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Teno is the kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post which is set in the center of the star of fields for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a

[533] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum.

[562] Some of the beats are the same for the men and for the women, but others differ by sex. Another term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 423 651 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which are basically the property of the tuan tanah. Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay tribute for his house space. This tribute is used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 778 [104] Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on the side of the highest hill. It is in the form of a rough human figure, which used to have

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

582 rule. There is also a taboo on father's sister's daughter marriage.

(Lalong kampong is not far to the northeast from Weol.)

582 583 There may be a system here, but they are sure that it is not a mere three move thing like what we found in Larantuka. In fact, I asked about this, and they said that it was impossible (that is, for example, Weol women to Tjepang, Tjepang women to Lalong, and Lalong women back to Weol; this is impossible, i.e. the last move). In fact, there does seem to be a system, as he said even four moves is not possible, but five moves may be. Also, when I described the Larantuka figuring on how to get around the bride price by arranging a series of marriages, he said this type of talk is done here but that the price must always be delivered even though the books might balance in the long run. In Larantuka they can wait, but here they must make actual payment (though theoretically the same horses and buffaloes might some day come back to the original giver).

583 It is true that the bride price must be in horses, buffaloes, and money. The return gift is in women's ware, that is, pigs, cloth, and ornaments. In value, the women's ware return gifts are far less than the former. Coolhaas[1] [114] was wrong to assume that perhaps fowls were included in the return gift.

562 181 The assistant saw the point of a male-female dualism in the whole society, but he is not sure that it is entirely so. He agreed that it is a good hunch.

231 585 At the marriage feast they kill animals. Usually about ten pigs are killed and the normal custom does not include other animals.

114 585 565 The wedding rites described by Coolhaas (page 351)[1] are all right, but the amounts quoted are for the upper classes. The lowers have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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778 feasts. Thus it is like Barupu in Toradja.
769 (Ratebedi is one of the Rabu kampongs.
346 Vavoëü is another, and so is the non-shrine
574 kampong Kekamberu. The others which have merely the grave-bone shrines have a feast only when they need to fix up a shrine.

632 The next day we went to Roworeke again. Note an error in the preceding notes: The sikesani besar, who lives in Worowai, is of the suku Nggonggora'ba. Thus the Big Four are as follows: Mosa laki mere of Rewarangga, Giri tumba of Odja. Ndeto au of Rewarangga, and Sikesani of Nggonggora'ba. The names of these posts mean: mosa, male (animal); laki, male (human); mere, big; giri, around; tumba, spear (he walks around with a spear); ndetu, many colored; au, bamboo; sike, here; sani, there.

181 I am always impressed by the combination of
124 lack of courtesy and the cringing servility of
576 these Endenese. They constantly talk to each other when I am talking, pass remarks about me in Endenese, etc. At the same time they keep on "tuanning" and bowing. They are grasping too. For example, the kapitan looks steadily at my gold watch and band and asked me to sell him U.S. gold pieces. The assistant asked me to give him personally a ring-spiral notebook such as used for the work. He can't answer questions on the schedule, so I have to do it all. The kapitan is a bit better, and the guru is smarter, but I get the idea that these folk are a rather poor lot.

784 Again we got on to the subject of totemism.
262 The word for such taboos is pire. I doubt that
614 I got the whole story, but as far as I can see
562 there are three kinds of totem taboos and they apply to foods:

(1) Suku or pu'u taboo. This is called pire ngguäh, the latter term meaning "descen-

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784 dants of suku". (Evidently related to the
262 adat kepala kampong, the ata ngguäh nua "man
614 suku descendants kampong.") I must ask what
562 the suku membership variation in adat kepala kampong are; here he is an Odja. These taboos apply not to men nor to children of the suku but to women who marry into the suku only. This is very unusual, in ethnography. In the Odja suku these apply to the tomato, dog, eggs, and four other kinds of food. The males of Odja and the children may eat everything, but the wives may not. Thus if a Wanda woman marries into Odja, these are her taboos. If she eats
[753] any of these, she gets terrible sores, and they always point to their arms, just as the Ambonese say that sores on their arms are caused by the same thing. The Wanda taboos are the tomato, eggs, a kind of maize (djagung Solor), and ripe coconut.

784 (2) Family or household taboos. These are
262 called pire sa'o teenda (sa'o teenda means
753 family). These are set by the father (and by
592 the mother too?) on all the members of the
614 household, including the man, wife and children. Thus the assistant had bad sores two years ago and asked the dukun why. The latter diagnosed the cause as buffalo meat (the horns stuck through the skin). Whereupon Migo declared that buffalo meat was taboo to himself, wife, and children. Such a taboo stays in the direct line (thus a kind of lineage totem) until some head of a line decided it is needed no longer, and then a feast is given together with an animal sacrifice to lift the taboo. Thus Migo
[773] has started a taboo, and perhaps fifty years hence, unless it is lifted, they will have a story in his family about the origin of the taboo. The suku taboos have more ancient legends to explain their origins. These taboos of household restrictions are thus a kind of assumed taboo.

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614 assumed taboo.
784 (3) Personal totem taboos. These apply to
262 individuals only, not to a wife or husband or
753 child or anyone else. This is a kind of "allergy." These are pire se'imu (the latter term means "individual"). Thus the kapitan's wife got sores and decided (dukun consulted?) that it was because she had eaten buffalo meat. Now she eats none. If she wishes to lift her taboo, she must give a feast with animal sacrifice. The kapitan and his child may eat buffalo.

614 The kapitan's wife thus has the taboos of
784 the kapitan's suku and her own personal one
583 too. She was also of Odja, but until she mar-
●562 ried did not have the Odja taboos. Migo's wife has Odja suku taboos (she was from the suku Wanda) and also Migo's household taboo. The kapitan has no taboos, but Migo has his household taboo. It is notable that if a man
[591] pays no bride price and lives matrilocally, his wife does not take on his suku's taboos, but assumes the taboos of the women who marry into her own sib. That is, she is a married woman, and thus must follow suku taboos. But since the bride price has not yet been paid she is not a member of her husband's suku, and so she merely takes on her own suku's taboos as though she were a woman married into her own suku. When the bride price is finally paid, she takes on her husband's suku's taboos, and of course they move into his house. Thus one can say that the totem of the suku hits women only, but only women married into the suku, not women of the suku. Lineage taboos are coming in all the time, and they apply to all household members and may pass on down from generation to generation. Personal taboos are for individuals only. This is queer, and I am sure that I have not yet got the whole story.

R
621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are still formed partly of suku or suku sections coming in and joining the old settlers from the negri lama.

443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series as in Celebes. These wheels run in different directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru, and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The traders follow the pasar week from market to market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kam-
583 pongs, although there is gift exchange in
562 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male" things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a woman gives in return "female" things (cloth, mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere, and said that many had drowned there recently. The water is deep, he said, and there lives a "head" of a human being. It is still living and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has seen it several times, in daylight. It moves around as though on short legs. It is just a human head, with hair. They don't know what it is or where it came from. However, the people are now scared to bathe here. The victims have been sucked under. He asked me my opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
[123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith, because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere. They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head alone").

622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

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614 ration began. At the head of the group sat the
241 kelake of the Leworita ama doing the rite. On
796 one side sat two old men, one from Leworita and
231 the other from Hurint, who prayed. They were
merely the oldest and cleverest ones there.
[301] They were real pagans, with bobbed hair, red
necklaces of beads, and silver earrings. One
had a tattoo (relatively young fellow). One
[769] prayed steadily, giving generations of Leworita
and calling all these ancestors in turn, and at
each generation the other chimed in with a
chant. The rhythm was fine. On the other side
sat the three; the man from Lewodoreng Waru'ing
holding the head of the pig (as this ama has
the Kottang function in this suku); the man
from Engamaking holding the feet (as this ama
has the Kelen function in this suku); and the
man from Hurint, who cut, as usual.

178 To the side from these sat two old women
● 562 who were the tuno wudjo, one from Leworita and
796 one from Lewodoreng (they needed two because
887 the former was giving the rite, but it was on
241 the latter's ground). In the old days it was
614 always a young girl virgin who acted as tuno
wudjo, but there are no more in these groups
who are still pagan, so they have to use old
women. I can see the same thing on the schedule:
in Wailolong there are some tuno wudjo who are
very young (e.g., three or four years old) as
they are not yet Christians, but others are very
old pagan women. Thus, the pagans are making
the best of it, but what can they do when the
old women are dead? The answer is found in
Leloba, where they no longer are able to have
rites. They have given up the suku and ama
rites, but still have the kampong agricultural
ceremonies. First, however, a mass is held in
the chapel, and then they say prayers, but are
[769] allowed to recite the names of the ancestors.
They no longer use the tuno wudjo, however.

178 After the ancestors are called, the pig is cut,
562 first sawed through the neck until the windpipe
796 is cut, and then with one blow the head is cut
241 off. The assistant said that if it is a big
887 pig, a strong blow is required to knock the
769 head off with a single sweep.
614 Note that the two old men who prayed were from Leworita and Hurint. Evidently this makes no difference, but they do choose old people who know prayers (however, they have one from the suku giving the rite, as he must recite the names of their ancestors).

[276] Then betel was prepared and passed around. As the pig bled, blood splashed on the tusk which was lying on the ground beside one of the posts. This is a ritual tusk and is not very large. It is owned by the ama and is not used for bride prices. The second part of the rite--to give the food to the ground and posts --came next. The tuno wudjo and other old women took the rice and heaped it on a plate like a hillock. The men cut out the liver of the pig and chopped it up. The mixture was put on the ground, or rather a bit of it was, and also smeared on the four posts of the barn. Gin was
[273] meanwhile passed around (we got some), and it was also poured on the ground and sprinkled around under the barn. We left after this as the rite was over, but they went on to cook and eat the pork with the rice. This is a relatively small rite, although it was a part of the entire planting ritual complex.

614 One can say that each grouping (or, as the
241 assistant says, each barn) must have agricul-
796 tural rites. Thus, the system runs down from
343 the big kampong-barn-suku Kottang rite, with all the suku there and all the tuno wudjo (of all suku and ama); to the suku rites at each suku barn, and all suku and tuno wudjo at these too, in all five rites; and finally to the ama-

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123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

We discussed a certain rank which appears in
614 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
343 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
●562 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala
243 suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

[114] We also noted a possible error in Vatter.[1]
614 He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
796 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
831 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
784 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
241 gins, but now with so few young girls still
[857] pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[887] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost
[797] babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

1 [See bibliography, cat 113 -- Analyst]

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694 This was not so. They were merely a kind of fine
231 for committing the wrong, and the animals were all those of the groom. Both parties give animals at the wedding feast.

665 There are no political parties here, not even
181 internal factions. At any given time they may have a kind of loose lineup on an issue, but this is purely ephemeral. There is not even enough issue feeling to have meetings on any subject. Roy keeps saying that the folk here are stupid, and when it comes to politics they are youngsters. This is an illustration of the prevailing habit in East Indonesia of running themselves down. This may be a form of politeness or modesty or a real feeling of self-disparagement learned through many years of subjection to the radjas and to the Dutch.

462 No posts are held by women. This adat. Women
562 are household managers, and work on clothing, food cooking, and the arranging of marriages (or at least advising the men on how to arrange good marriages). They also hold the positions in ritual of nu'a luka and tuno wudjo. If there is a discussion taking place in a house, for example, a group of lads sitting about and talking on political topics (at this level), etc., the women of the house may join in a bit. This is all. However, I don't get the impression that women are suppressed here at all.

186 In the old days, the local people were very proud of Larantuka, and they remember now that Larantuka alone, in all Flores, remained independent when the rest was under Bima. Larantuka was free, and as Roy says, "It bordered on Bima." As for feelings in regard to other radjadoms in Flores, there seems to be no rivalry or enmity. They have not come up enough to do as the people in Ambon do, and say that Flores is the "forgotten island." They do not yet know enough to complain about their share in the Indonesian government.

Wo

582 sirable and that for hundreds of years the folk
835 had been doing this sort of thing (first cousin
827 marriages) without any ill effects, to counter
179 his saying that first cousin marriages caused poor offspring, for example, feeble-mindedness. He took this barrage with polite resignation, but said that he had seen plenty of bad cases of close inmarriage children. The probability is that there is some inbreeding chance of recessives coming out, at least enough to use this argument of rationalization, and surely the priests have played up this "scientific" justification. It is interesting, however, that he uses the pseudo-rational explanation and not the appeal to divine authority, which would at once raise the issue of the wrongness of a strong pagan rule.

562 The next day, our last, was a half day, as
887 I had to get to Maumere in order to get Kattenburg on the place to Makassar. At the end of the session we had lunch with the two guru, and the younger daughter served. Then I found out that in every house the oldest woman is the nu'a luka rumah tangga, paralleling the ritual functions for the women of the nu'a luka suku and the nu'a luka ama. The mother is in Makassar, and the eldest daughter is in the hospital, so this one acted as the server. The nu'a luka is important here, as she directs everything in regard to cooking and eating and also for caring for small animals, weaving, etc. She is the household manager. In this poor area food division is especially important.

127 I looked up the 1930 census material in the report of the Controleur then and found the following:

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513 882 178 [171] Ambon and Ceram youth-club houses are really survivals of the regular thing.) In Leloba the main hangout is the "pasanggrahan" (bivak), where there are seldom any guests, and the boys simply take over. Kattenburg inspected it and found that it has sleeping benches and even a [836] few walled compartments. He asked the kepala kampong if perhaps the girls did not slip in, and the kepala kampong said that this was absolutely not the case.

178 513 882 177 614 In Wailolong there is a guru from Bama, where they have regular boy's houses. This fellow has introduced a new type of boy's house in Wailolong (but no other kampong in this area has one), i.e., he has built three on the Bama pattern and the boys sleep there. One of these is our "office" when we use it. These boys' houses are arranged according to suku, and are shared by suku. This is a remarkable case of acculturation within a pattern from one district to another.

[562] 882 561 887 513 The girls have no such houses, and never did. However, before, as today, they seldom sleep with their parents when they get older. Groups of them have hangouts where they sleep together. These groups are of friends. They weave together, etc., and like to gossip, sing, etc., at night. They just fall asleep there, together. This may be a sleeping bench, or it may be that they get a section of a sleeping bench in one of their parents' houses. There they bunch up. Everyone knows where the groups hang out. Kattenburg found that even old women sleep in groups. They may be, I think, groups of "the girls" who are old and widows, and who go back to their girlhood days and sleep with their coevals, and have a good time. If this is so, it is practically a revived age-grade for the girls who in their youth grew up and slept together and now at the end of their life bunch up together again.

Wa

000 up together again.

Some of the suku are large, some are small,
614 and some have died out. They have the same
171 idea in this regard as I noted on Ambon: that
789 a group which dies out may well have disappeared because of a wrong committed in the old days. It is as though there were a curse on them. Roy mentioned a case of an ama (I think) which did a lot of killing. Now it is extinct. Another group used too much magic, and it too died out. (Magic keeps cropping up. They have taken on my term kekuatan adjaib with a vengeance. I often wonder if they are kidding
[123] me, seeing that I like the pagan stuff.)

Roy says that the roles of the sexes has
● 562 not changed at all. However, when there was
178 much warfare formerly, the women were important
708 in helping the men by bringing in supplies, encouraging them, and in making magic against the enemy behind the lines. (Supply, psychological warfare, morale division, and "research.")

One firm rule which is changing today, however,
178 is that in the old days the women never did work
462 in the field, except for helping in planting and
241 in the harvest. This is still so in a large degree, and it is true enough that the women are seen around the kampong all day while the men are off in the fields. However, nowadays more women go out and help with agricultural work. This is a slow trend. In the old days men would be ashamed to have women doing agricultural work. This was not their role (and there is a very sharp sex division of labor here).

Indeed, women have no work, properly speaking, except house work. They do very little agricultural work, even today. The planting stuff they do is clearly ritually linked, at least in part, and the harvest is evidently always an exception.

562 Roy says that the women have equal status,

We

582 but the men have a slight edge on the women. They are more "important." In rights, privileges, etc., they are equal. There is no abuse of women, and they are supreme in their own spheres; it is just that the men's sphere seems to be a bit more important. Women scold and shout and order the men around. They are not
[593] suppressed. If, for example, a man drinks too much, his wife will simply stop fixing his food and he will quickly come around and apologize.

Formerly, most marriages were prearranged.
584 This is less true today. Indeed, there was much
178 more forced marriage before, and I get the idea
882 that it is rare for one to show resistance when faced with a parental choice. There were cases
[762] of suicide (male and female) and running away. In the old days, the regular thing was for the parents to fix up everything by themselves. Today, more and more of the boys and girls speak up telling whom they like so that the parents learn of this before they try to fix up the marriage arrangement. Thus the initiative is shifting from the parents to the children.

I get the idea that there was quite a lot of trouble in the old days in this regard. Perhaps this was more pronounced as new ideas came in, if such an expression can be used for this stagnant place. For example, Roy's brother ran away.

764 At this point there was a funeral. The other guru had excused himself, and then we heard a
[177] low chant approaching, in the local language. It sounded like the Latin chanting the Catholics do in procession (an obvious imitation of the priests' chanting, in the local language). Then a line of people appeared, two by two, with a bamboo coffin of a little child on a litter, and behind this the guru with a sheet on, which had been made into a kind of cloak, resembling that of a priest. Behind him came the mourners. The

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521 At feasts, when the old rites are put on,
178 the old people reminisce over the old days and
887 the old ways, especially when they get drunk.
Then they are mournful.

562 There are no women in politics. They do not
641 come to the election meetings and have no voice in the government. They are not even reckoned in when the population is totaled to determine the number of electors. They have no political representation, and Migo says that everyone would be against having women take any part in politics. It is simply not right.

829 He says that they are stupid here. By this he means only a few people know anything or ever say anything about Flores or Indonesian politics. And even about the local affairs they say almost nothing. It is starting today, and there are a few people who are thinking a little. But how absolutely rudimentary it is! This is the most backward place yet, by far.

Locally the people have a vague idea that Roworeke is the most important kampong in the district, because it is the center. The fact is, and the kapitan and a few others know this, that rank and influence of the districts in Ende is in the following order: Nggobe, Rodja, Rewarangga, and Pulo Ende. Below this are the other five. About all the people know is that Nggobe is by far the largest, the most populous, and thus the greatest.

They do not know what Ende's place in Flores is, or anything about the place which Flores occupies in Indonesia. This is beyond their ken. There are no political ambitions (yet note that the suku Reandona has been trying to get a man into the kapitan post). They are politically dead. They know and talk nothing about the Dutch, the Indonesian Republic, etc.

They knew that the Queen was their radja before, but that didn't mean much. They know

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513 less pondok where in the daytime I see women
882 weaving. They call the boys' houses "kuwu." There are no girls' houses. The girls sleep with their parents, or rather each grown girl has a separate apartment in the parental house.

562 Males are more influential, and they give most
178 of the orders, but women will revolt if men do not behave. They will not give the men food, they will scold the men, etc. They act up, however, only if the men misbehave. And they are not afraid of doing so. The girls nowadays are a bit freer than before in regard to talking up, etc., but there is very little change, in general. The old folk are not too pleased about having the girls in school. They can't see the use of this.

614 Correction: It suddenly turned out that
597 there are two ata nggaeh nua in this kampong, Bapa Ketjil, for the Odja suku; and the brother (older) of the kapitan for the Gusa suku. If the suku is large enough, it has such an adat expert in a kampong. These are the only ones large enough here. Then the true story of the kapitan came out. He is not classified as a member of Odja, but actually he was born a Gusa. The former kapitan adopted him. He became a foster child, or ana gave (the g here is pronounced like the French uvular r). I asked if this was what Wouden[1] called ndueh, and they were surprised. It turns out that ndueh means "to have two wives." (How could Wouden's source have made this error?)

Such a foster child becomes a member of his foster father's suku. There is no ceremony; he just moves in. He takes on a new set of relatives, but also keeps his own. He becomes a kind of "double-suku" man. Thus the kapitan calls his real brother kaka, and also uses this term for his new brothers in Odja. But I note that he married an Odja woman, and it seems

[1] [See pp. 20&85 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -Analyst]

We

582 the previous talk of the tuan tanah that there
614 are preferred clans. I will clinch this when I get the va'u membership of the inmarriers.

The next day I started in on some more question in regard to social organization.

[103] Note that the name of the kampong below is
346 Tjantjar, not as I have spelled it above [Tjantsia]. I went there halfway through the morning as I heard drums and gongs. There were girls (looking very Hawaiian) sitting on the porch of the house next to the new one of the tuan tanah now being built. The timbers are up. It will be a rectangular house, although the one it replaces was round (I made a photo of the latter only a month ago, which shows how fast the old type is vanishing). The drums and gongs were being beaten because this is necessary when a new tuan tanah house (rumah gong-gendang) is being built.

346 There were several drums and several gongs
533 (and I found that each tuan tanah house has
776 several of each). They must be beaten all the
824 time, with short pauses, and the girls take
● [562] turns. The men may help too (for garden beating, only men may play the instruments). This has to go on all the time while the big house is being built. The reason is that the wood (always spirit-ridden here) must be constantly kept pacified and told that it is being used for a great purpose, a big house. For ordinary houses this is not necessary. (I wonder if the idea is also in order to get the wood used to being in a rumah gong-gendang?) Before the trees are cut for the wood, they are told that they are being cut for a high purpose. Each grove of trees has a local spirit called darat. These are tree spirits. The generic word for spirit is ro.

778 I notice each day on my way here that there is
776 a grove of fine trees standing isolated on a
824

We

346 there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.
824 They beat the gongs and drums to keep the wood
533 satisfied and I suppose to make it think that
776 the work is going on. Also, I notice that a
few men carry planks up now and then to the
rafters, perhaps making as though they were
carrying on the work. Meanwhile a delegation
is in Ruteng to persuade the carpenters to re-
turn. The situation is desperate, and perhaps
the folk regret having argued with the tukang
in the first place. They must "make the wood
cool," they say. This is dramatic.

I also noted that a pig was being skinned
in the shed nearby. This is for the workers,
but it had been ritually killed with prayers,
etc. The drum and gong rhythms constantly
changed, and the girls are really clever. This
[562] is beautiful stuff. There are beats which are
peculiar to men and women, and also some which
are used by both. These people are really
virtuosos. All day the women sit thus, doing
their duty by the wood spirit.

There is a main post in the rectangular
house too, and when it is set in, animals are
killed and blood is placed in the hole.

Until about ten years ago all houses here
342 were round. Today there are very few of the
178 old round houses left. Cornelius[1] says there is
346 scarcely a single tuan tanah round house left,
because everyone must contribute to the cost of
a new one, and when they build one they want
one that will be a strong rectangular type so
that it will last for a long while. The cost of
[435] this new type tuan tanah house is nearly fl.
3000.00 in addition to the free labor contribu-
ted. Each family contributes to the cost and
also gives animals for the workers, ceremonies,
etc. It is a big thing.

342 I went into one of the two round houses left
178 in Tjantjar. It is a bit different from the

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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484 In the Japanese time trips were made to
166 seek cloth, etc., but now this is done to a lesser degree, and the people never leave Manggarai although there is quite a bit of movement
[438] within the area. The people who do this moving are the men who buy and sell horses, tobacco, etc. If they are away for long or at some distance, there is a feast when they return. The four who have left the area have not yet returned. When they do there will be a great gathering to hear their experiences. The assistant has seen this happen in Pau. Formerly there were no relations really with even nearby places like Tjumbi, except for marriages, and if they went to war in the dalu's army, or had internal wars, (which were rare). Nowadays there are many more relations within Manggarai.
[621] In the rituals the only environs mentioned are the environs of the kampong. This comprises the ritual world and the social world of yore.

484 Today they travel more than they did before,
178 but still they do not go very far. Formerly
492 any outsider was fair game for robbery and
166 murder. Thus they were afraid to go afar.
[609] There is little in the way of transportation here. Also, the kampong is a bit too far from Ruteng to make regular trips back and forth easy. However, the horses make Manggarai people greater travelers than, for example, the inhabitants of Larantuka. Every household has
[422] at least one to two horses. They are a big thing here, and now I see why I got the impression at once that there is more internal movement here than in most of the Flores areas. It is the horses. The people are fine riders, and the horses, although small, are fast and
[562] spirited. Women used to mount carefully and the horse on which they rode was led. Now they jump on and gallop off (still, I don't see many women riding horses).

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241 178 [493] plow came in only five years ago. Still, there are no wheeled vehicles. They cannot make them.

291 178 Fifty years ago men dressed only in loincloths. Only the rich had pants or sarongs. They also had shoulder cloths. There has been no change in the dress for women. They used the same kilt down to just below the knees as they use today. Now, however, more women dress in sarongs and kebaya. Pants, shirts, kebaya and sarongs are carefully kept for special events. They are really one's "best," and they are not plentiful. Nevertheless, nearly everyone owns something of this sort.

There is probably not a single pair of shoes in the two kampongs.

[287] Formerly, a long time ago, they used tapa. And in the Japanese time the people made tapa again. They also made wooden hats. The tapa making was pre-Dutch.

In remoter areas a few loincloths are still [301] seen. So are earrings, rings, and bracelets [304] (no leglets). Men never puncture the ear lobe.

302 The style of cutting the hair short for men came in only twenty years ago. Formerly the 301 men were great for beads. Now they are of little importance. The festive ceremonial 292 clothes I saw in Ruteng on the dancers are pusaka. They are mostly men's pusaka. The horns are made of buffalo hide.

304 178 Tattooing (tikam) is brand new. It came in only ten to fifteen years ago and is now going out. It was done by men who learned how, that's all. However, it is just about gone, and there were not very many people who had tattoos at any time.

304 178 562 881 Women always puncture their ear lobes. Both sexes file their teeth, and this must be done before marriage. Some young people (for example, the assistant) do not do this, but they

Wae

304 say of such people that they "grew up in school."
178 This is still preserved by almost all others.
562 It must be done before marriage. Thus, the
881 kraeng did not have his teeth filed until he was twenty-five years old, just before marriage. Usually the teeth filing takes place much earlier, especially for the girls, who have theirs filed at about fourteen years. Formerly they filed the teeth down to the gums of both upper and lower teeth. Many of the people here still do this (I saw one young girl with only stumps left for teeth). The ordinary people do the filing. They used a stone before, but now they use an iron file. (I note that these people take to new tools very fast. They use all sorts at once. This means that there are no taboos on new techniques, and this should help.) Nowadays most people merely file their teeth even. And there is no feast.

There never was any cutting here.

439 Imports here include cloth, salt, tobacco and fish. Exports include stock, rattan and a few other wild products. There was not much business of this sort and never was. There are no markets. Formerly there was no money. Now it is plentiful. Formerly barter was the
436 only means of trade. Note: in 1942 the Dutch called in all silver and gave out only paper money. The Japanese thus easily took all the silver (the Dutch were invariably mistaken).

493 There are no cars here. There are three people in all Manggarai who could drive a car. None of these is here.

There is very little traveling done by car. The only autos are those of the traders (Chinese) and the government. Fifty per cent of the population have never ridden in an automobile.

178 The main change here is that formerly no out-
425 sider could buy land in the kampong. Now an

178 outsider can buy land in the kampong. Also, the
425 kraeng privileges have been cut sharply. In
[422] regard to property in houses, things have remained the same except for the new private houses (see below). There has been no change in the personal articles and ceremonial objects.

423 The land is family-owned, but there are some
428 individual pieces (for example, the assistant's).
562 The kampong has eminent domain, and it is a tuan tanah's. When an old man dies, the land is divided, but the eldest son gets his choice and the larger share. If there is only one garden, he gets it. But generally each son gets a share. Women get no land. Personal effects are divided. They work the land as a family unit until the old man dies.

423 Houses which are large are the property of
178 the inhabitants, who build them. Thus ownership is communal. But a great change has taken place since they have been building single houses, e.g., the assistant's. The eldest son gets this new kind, after all others have married off.

574 I note the remarkable ease of sleeping in houses here. There is no fuss to put someone up. Thus the assistant slept in the tuan tanah's house last night in Veol, and tonight the tuan tanah will sleep in his house at Pau (they are going to talk much more, and he promised the tuan tanah some palm wine for which I paid).

462 As far as specialization goes, the women make mats, do the cooking, wash clothes, fetch water, do the gardening, sew, and take care of the children. They also care for the fowls and pigs. There is not a single sewing machine here. The women also pound grain.

Men plait songko, work in the gardens, carry on trade, gather wood, and do heavy work around the house, and care for buffaloes and horses.

We

634 646 They said no, but that there was much free talk against the radjas in the parliament now!

622 646 624 888 All hereditary posts are genealogically linked. Most of the kepala kampong are still old illiterates. Parliament members are mainly middle aged people (the oldest literates, therefore). Age is of no concern for the hereditary posts, as one person merely succeeds to the post after another. In the kampong, however, the old men have the most influence, and the young people keep their mouths shut for the most part.

[562] Women may not hold hereditary posts. Until now women took no part in elections, but they may change things here.

829 666 There is still only a very restricted political horizon here, and there is little knowledge about such things. But at least they have elections. This is very important. They start with an election. As they say in Celebes, they catch on fast. Veol is the center of the gelarang, and Rahong is the center of the dalu, and Ruteng is the center of Manggarai. They think nothing about the "place" of Manggarai in Flores; the radja is just a "big man." Beyond this they know practically nothing about the daerah, negara, etc.

[614] [632]

648 Most of the people here thought the Dutch were all right and they were too uninformed to criticize them. Also, it must be remembered that they had been under the rule of Bima, and the Dutch at least drove Bima out. They did not even criticize the Japanese! They were simply not concerned. The great memory here is of Bima and slavery. They hate Bima.

609 Except for the pastors, everyone here knows of things and people who are Dutch only by name. Formerly they knew the local civil servants only slightly. They were always afraid of any new men who came here. This is true of my

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533 797 [562] school[1] is overcrowded, and it is the only place where girls can rise above the lowest level in Manggarai. There were plenty of sisters around. The whole thing shows the good organization of the Catholics here.

[124] I used the last two days of work here to get through the rest of the schedule.

585 For weddings, the Christians go to church for a service as well as going through the old rites.

583 Formerly the bride price was not payable in money, but today it is, in part. The bride price (padja) includes buffaloes, horses, and formerly copper or brass (?) boxes. There are no more of these last objects, and money has been substituted for them. Also, cattle are now used, but were not included formerly.

The return gift (vida) includes cloth, bracelets, ear ornaments, etc. Also included are small elephant teeth (used as pendants on bracelets). They are about two inches long. The bride price goes to the girl's family, and the return gift to the boy's family. Formerly the bride price was not very high. Today it is higher. An average bride price includes about five animals.

Both Catholics and pagans still pay the bride [591] price and make the return gift. If a bride [611] price is not paid, the couple must live matrilocally until it is paid. However, the children are always patrilineally descended.

582 614 The distances of mate selection are about the same as they were fifty years ago. There is a bit more marriage within the va'u, which was taboo before. However, the panga remain exogamous.

476 602 614 If the relatives-in-law live too far off, there is no real, actual mutual aid. If they are near, mutual aid is carried out between three groups: one's own va'u ana rona, and ana vina. The help comes especially in aiding a help-mate

1 [i.e., at Veol.—Analyst]

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582 people married earlier, because they got their
291 clothes earlier. Cornelius[1] says that until
178 about twenty-five years ago you could see quite old and young people going about naked. He remembers this. They do not like too young marriages (!). Also, they do not like them if the partners are too old.

[561] There are no age grades.

614 The Veol clan is very large, but there are clans which are even larger. Not a single clan has ever become extinct. However, some panga have. There is one such panga in Veol.

●562 Formerly, the position of women was really
178 low, like that of slaves. Now they are a little
584 higher. Today there is a beginning in the direction of freer choice in marriage. Formerly all marriages were arranged by the elders.

611 The system here is all patrilineal, and there have been no changes.

162 In 1930, Cornelius[1] says, there were five thousand extra women in all Manggarai. I will check the records for the ratio.

587 The levirate obtains if there is a widow. If
768 there is no brother, her family must take her back, and pay one horse. The children stay with the dead father's family. If the levirate goes through, the man pays one horse.

[583] If a widow remarries to a man other than the brother of her deceased husband, the price must be paid to the family of the dead husband, and the "bonds" are "broken." The sororate is not required. The bride price is required in the case of a sororate. It is quite usual, because the sister of the deceased is accustomed to the widower and his children. The children of course stay with the father's family always.

586 There is not much divorce, but it did occur and still does.

[587] The main cause of divorce is discord, not barrenness, as in this case a man simply gets another wife.

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

Wa

586 another wife.

In the case of adultery on the part of a
586 woman, a fine must be paid to the grieved hus-
684 band. The wife pays only a little, her paramour
562 a lot. In the case of a man committing adultery, there is no fine or punishment of any sort. The wife may be angry, but that is all.

A man may divorce an errant wife, but there is no bride price return. This just about never occurs. A man is satisfied with the fine.

Adat here does not allow for killing an adulterous couple caught in the act. This may be done later, but it is still not allowed, and not condoned. The payment of a fine is the thing here.

If a divorce is requested by a man, there is no repayment of the bride price, and he must pay one horse. If a wife asks for a divorce, the price must be repaid. The children always stay with the father's family.

842 The people here like many children; the more the better. There is no set limitation. When I talk about birth control, often, all over they say about condoms that they are "like the Japanese use." He was surprised about other methods of birth control. Until now there has been no thought of limitation.

Cornelius[1] says that about ten children are
[163] born per woman, but only about half or a little more live to adulthood. Sons are more important. If a couple has only one child, they prefer a son. A few more sons than daughters are wanted. Va'u and bride price considerations are important.

868 When the children are very young the mother takes care of their education. Then the children follow the parent of the same sex and learn their roles and work.

584 There is just about no courtship. Formerly
178 marriages were all prearranged. Now, most frequently the young people tell their parents

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

We

000 "standing." There are plenty of songs. Singing
533 is the greatest art, and I was impressed extremely with the school performance. A priest who was musical said that they are excellent and strange. The new songs like krontjong, omba' putih-putih,[1] etc., are sung only in the towns. Here only a few know them, but nearly all the songs which the majority of the people know are old Manggarai ones. Cornelius[2] said that there are about ten kinds of rhythms in
[562] drum and gong playing. Some are for both sexes, others are for men or for women only.

221 May, June and July are relatively free of
527 work. Otherwise there is little free time. Feasts are the fun times here, and they are largely not at set times.

[526] Soccer is loved and so are horse races.
541 These are not native. They are held either in
525 town or along the road here. This is true especially at harvest time. There is betting.
[177] Cock fighting has come in a little from the outside.

538 There are plenty of stories. They tell tales while they work in the gardens and especially while they bind corn in the houses. Also, the old people tell stories in the evenings. They tell tales when they are just sitting around and drinking, too.

There are many kinds of stories. A number of them are sung, but many are not. They are never very long, and none lasts for several days as in Ende and Larantuka.

533 There are about ten kinds of songs.

527 For the Catholics, Sundays are free, and the pagans have largely taken this practice over. They are glad to have the day off. Otherwise, the only free days are feast days.

[868] With the dances and singing and story telling
538 there is no regular instruction. There is a decline in interest in the old tales especially,

[1] [i.e., a song title, "White Waves" -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e., the assistant -- Analyst]

5: Kennedy--416 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

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162 871 [771]	Schooled:	Christian	146	44%
		Mohammedan	14	13%
		Pagan	3	1.4% (all 1 grade only)
[562]	Schooled:	Male	111	35%
		Female	52	16%

Schooled above 3 grades:

Grade 4: three: (ages) 40 (Christian, male), 25 (Christian, male), 15(Christian, male).

Grade 5: six: (ages) 40 (Christian, male) [Assistant], 40 (Christian, male) [Mandur], 15 (Christian, male), 15 (Christian, male), 12 (Christian, male), 10 [?] (Christian, male).

Grade 6: five: (ages) 50 (Christian, male) [Ceram], 15 (Christian, male), 15 (Christian, male), 14 (Christian, male), 9 [?] (Christian, female).

634 Badjawa (the capital of Nageh Keo is Boawai). The Ngada radja is an old style man with thirty wives who hunts and does nothing else. A relative, a wakil, does the work. To the west is the Radja of Manggarai, with the capital at Ruteng. The Dutch Controleur, Degens, also resides in Ruteng. The former radja died three to four months ago, and the new one has not yet been installed.

361 I began by riding out along the road toward Badjawa, and got to a ford about fifteen kilometers out. On the way I saw plenty of small and disorderly looking kampongs, with a definitely different arrangement and house style from 515 any other of the places I have been. Also, I noticed that the people here are slovenly, dirty, and strange in appearance. This is a real mongrel zone, and neatness is noticeably lacking in the people and in the villages. On 771 this west side of Ende in the coastal kampongs the people are mainly Mohammedan. On the east side and into the mountains they are mainly Christian. But in both cases, there are just about as many pagans, and sometimes the pagans are in the majority.

563 The next day I rode out to the east and into 361 the mountains as far as Ndetosoko, high in the 291 mountains. On the evening of the day before I 515 rode out to the other side of the Ende peninsula to Ipi beach. Along this stretch is a kampong made up mostly of Savunese. The houses are of a different style and the people are more like those from Roti in appearance (somewhat of a Hindu type), with sarongs having nice designs and horizontal patterns. I was told by the Controleur's wife that the Savunese are clean and are used here as babu, etc. The Savunese also keep their kampong clean and neat.

764 I stopped here and there along the road into the mountains of Lio and noted some remarkable

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All
727 of them were sold or taken during the Japanese
436 time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese
563 time too, but new ones are being made by
326 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and families. They had been in the mountains making wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They use the natives' gold. Much silver is now mixed in with the gold. They both had complete
[142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large, and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they
611 use money and animals for the bride price, but
591 they may also work it off, although it is not
237 really a case of ambil anak because the children follow the father's suku anyway. The girl must stay with the parents until the bride price is paid. Also, residence remains matrilocal until the bride price is paid. Thus we have an illustration of this in the case of a Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several children, because the bride price has not yet been paid. The children belong to his suku, however. Thus there is bride service, matrilocal residence, but the descent remains patrilineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally, has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to get the assistant to say that they still had tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the
624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before
632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evidently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases
[691] are concerned only with land and marriage questions.

R

166 property and status are kept for them. If any youth wants to go out to seek his fortune, his family and the kampong officers oppose this. They do not want people to leave. There is a [186] strong sense of localism here. For example, [829] I asked why they knew so little about the kampongs which are not far away from them when I had come all the way from the United States to find out something about them. They said that they never went to other kampongs unless it was necessary. This seems to be the Flores pattern.

166 Very few people have immigrated. There are some from other kampongs in Ende and Lio, and in fact these areas account for the examples of immigration aside from the women coming to marry in. Normally, women who marry men from another kampong go to live with their husbands. There are a few individuals from Savu, one [563] Chinese family, and a fair number of Ende town folk on the lower border. They are not members of the kampong.

423 There are evidently two kinds of land: the kampong land in the older parts of the kampong, which is used by members; and border land, which used to belong to Ende or other kampongs and which was bought by either the kampong folk or the Ende folk who live there. Thus the borders have expanded by the latter means. The fields may be used only four to five years and then must lie fallow for a long time. I must get more on the system of land ownership.

614 I had a hard time getting the truth about the 124 suku organization from these people. They are dumber here than in Larantuka by far, and they have lost much more of the memory of the actual rules involved. Still, in Larantuka, I notice that I have to ask many people in order to get answers to some of the complicated questions, for example, in regard to marriage rules. But

769 rectangular. Now, Coolhaas[1] says that in Mang-
778 garai there are two native forms, and he gives
342 the native terms. One is conical and the other
173 rectangular, or perhaps a bit oval in shape.
614 However, the latter is not related to the for-
mer. There are areas of the one and the other,
and evidently some areas have both. Now, the
conical ones seem older, and on any surmise be-
cause round houses are simply older in Indonesia.
Note then, that Ngada legends say that Djawa had
seven daughters who became the ancestral mothers
of the seven main voi. And they married men of
the land, aborigines, here. The men are the
[174] ancestral fathers of the bhou. Could it be that
the conical male ancestor houses reflect the
patrilineal aboriginal culture and the popula-
tion stratum which lived in round houses, and
the rectangular bhaga represent the incoming,
matrilineal population and culture? If so, this
says much about the double descent of Ngada, the
peculiar legend, and the strange double ancestor
houses. Now I think I know why there are those
amazing conical male ancestor posts in Ngada.

173 The legends of Minangkabau immigration may
611 be foolish, and the priest says he thinks it is
342 built up more recently, by the younger folk who
563 hear a name of an ancestor who came in and it
sounds like "Minangkabau." But the surface evi-
dence looks as though Manggarai and Ngada are a
mixture of aborigines and immigrants. And there
are also many evidences of double descent. I
remember now that the priests talk much of en-
claves of "autochthonous" folk in East Manggarai
and East Nageh. They say that the people in these
places are neither Manggarai nor Nageh. The
Nageh enclave is originally from Soa, says Mom-
mersteeg. I wish I knew whether these enclaves
were patrilineal. Anyway, I doubt that they were
unmixed. This may be a pretty good theory and
may explain the umbrella houses.

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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484 are afraid to sleep outside, even today. They
152 fear evil spirits (they say setan) of the out-
186 side. This is a real and vivid fear to them.
[176]

Roworeke does not have a telephone, telegraph
20 or radio. Mail is brought by people who happen to go to Ende, and letters are mailed by the same means. A letter is first sent by the Post Office to the office of the Radja. It may take a long time to get here.

There is a gong used for signaling (it is located near the kapitan's house) on the occasions of the death of a noble, a tax meeting, and the like. News is spread fast by rumor, and the gossip here is uncanny. Everyone in the area knew when the kapitan went with us to Kilimutu.

There are no "local authorities" on the news front. The only people who would approach this are the two police. News bulletins from the Information Service are practically never delivered here. Such things simply do not get this far. There are no traders who give news.

There are markets and there is a market sys-
443 tem. The district markets are located at:

1. Kilometer 14. An empty place, merely. (Friday)
2. Kilometer 24. The same thing. (Saturday)
3. Kilometer 33. In Lio (Monday)
4. Kilometer 52. In Lio. (Tuesday)
5. Kilometer 66. Wolowaru. Lio. (Wednesday?)

Thus there is a circuit, and the Ende traders (papalele) go by truck, day by day, up to the mountains and then down to the start and then over again. Sunday is evidently out (Christian influence, evidently). These traders make little
● [563] money as they are mere tools of the Chinese who
[426] lend to them at high rates or merely pay them salaries, or let them buy and sell on a commission basis.

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538 there are a few who are great story tellers.
533 Some stories are told with singing, i.e., real ballads, and may last as long as two days. The kapitan sang one for a bit, softly. They warmed up and began to appear to be quite proud of these songs. They insist, however that only a few are clever at these things.

They tell such stories when the rice is
[243] ripe, and they may sit all night listening. Most of the stories are about the ancestors. Thus it is the free time--rice-ripe period as usual in Indonesia. This is the time for stories, when they have plenty of time. Perhaps this is also true in the post harvest season. Anyway they do have plenty of stories. And it is not only the old people who know them. For example, there is a rather young lad named Ero who is famous for chanting long stories. These sung stories are voi.

621 They are very clear about the location of
423 boundaries in the district, kampong, and sections of the kampongs, as well as in the gardens. Markers are stone posts, trees, streams, etc.

609 There are different grades of being a for-
621 eigner. The crux of the affair seems to be
[563] people who come from other islands. Thus, though the Sikka are outsiders, they are not foreigners to the same extent that the people from Kupang are. It is a bit hard to fit into a kampong if one is an outsider, although it can be done. The Ende papalele in the huts at the lower end of the kampong are still outsiders, although many have been there since the end of the war. They have few relations with the kampong folk, and there have been few if any marriages. The community is closed.

609 I asked about the teachers and found that the
582 Ndona one found it easy for two reasons: He
608 lives in Waturoga, which is in Lio, and also

R

197 can speak Lio, but Lio people have a hard time to speak Ende, as the latter had difficult phonetics.

212 Today eighty per cent of the population is literate.

203 Very few of the people here read, and the
204 only paper that comes here is the mission "Bentara." It is seen only by the kapitan, the assistant, and the guru. Others ask them what is in the news. If there were more papers, more would read. For the first time, the Information Office (Makassar) monthly "Pandji Negara" came here just now.

The only books here are religious books, and these have to be bought (prayer books). In
217 Ende, the mission has a library and there people can borrow, but no one here does. If they had a library here, plenty would borrow books, because they like stories.

204 The assistant is sad about the lack of newspapers. They would like the reading material they provide, he thinks.

212 As a rule, they do not even write letters, because very few of them ever leave. The Ende script is not used. Bapa Ketjil, for an unfathomable reason, got a man from Ende to teach him a little of this lontar script two years ago.

563 The Chinese family here speaks Chinese and
197 Ende. The man of the family also speaks Lio. The Savu learn to speak Ende fast, but they speak Savu at home.

185 The belief today is that everyone must have
212 literate children, but there is not much thought about foreign languages, except that they know that they now must have Malay. There
[207] is no radio here and few have ever heard one.
546 About once a year some of them happen to see a movie in Ndona or Ende, but the great majority of people here have never seen one.

R

178 In terms of technology and occupation, there
463 have been very few changes. They still farm
in the old way, and there have been no new jobs
342 created. There are today such houses as the
178 kapitan's, with a bit of cement work. This is
354 new. And every house has a pelita [a kind of
lamp] for which they buy kerosene. Few of
them have any real lamps like the kapitan's.
The assistant has one, but it is typically out
291 of order. Shirts here are new, but they are
178 rare and cost much. Shoes are new here and
[413] are very rare. Pens, etc., are extremely rare.
The women no longer wear the homespun blouses.
They wear homespun sarongs like the men do,
but buy kebaya of thinner cloth today.

286 They cannot make thin cloth with their
looms, and this is a great handicap. What
they make is too heavy. This is mainly a mat-
ter of thread. They can't spin thread any
thinner than they do and have it strong enough
so that it will not break in the loom. Thus,
if they could get trade thread, they might be
able to weave thinner cloth (?).

[346] The only tin roofs are on the grave-bone
shrines of Odja and Wanda.

Every woman spins thread and weaves. There
are no specialists, however, who sell cloth.
This is done only rarely.

463 There are no smiths or specialists of any
326 kind. There were about twenty men who worked
● 563 at making pots here, and this started evidently
about two years ago. It was a Chinese company
(evidently tied in with the Radja some way),
and these lads worked in their spare time. As
there are no orders now, they are working
there no longer. It is not a native craft.

241 The most important local agricultural crop
and food source is maize, by far. Then come
rice, vegetables, and yams. There is no sago;
000 they have never heard of it. Little meat is

We

000 that is all.

166 609 567 614 769 There are no rites for ordinary folk who just enter the kampong. In the old days, however, when new slaves came in they had to have rites in order to tell the ancestors that they were new members of the clan. This pretty well clinches the slave entering va'ú matter. They just do. This is why the former slaves are members of the clans. Only those on the inside know who is who. The longer the time gets from slavery days the more it is not brought up.

563 443 793 The only Europeans here are the pastors. The traders are Chinese and Arabs and natives. The business of the occasional Chinese pedlar with his coolie is quite usual here. They stay usually for only a few hours.

The pastors tell stories to the local people about Europe, etc. The Chinese who are regular [203] pedlars have been in Manggarai for a long time, and they spread some news.

484 In these local kampongs everyone has been to another kampong. The women go outside their own kampong less often and do not go so far away as the men. Men go out to trade horses, [438] buy tobacco, etc. During the Japanese occupation they ranged far in order to buy cloth, etc. However, all of this was within Manggarai. All have been to Ruteng.

All have been outside Rahong, as they have been to Ruteng. At least fifty per cent of the local population have never seen the sea. One person has gone to Ende, and two have gone to Kupang as soldiers. One went to Makassar to [167] work. The Japanese took several to Riung to work, but most of the people have never left Manggarai. No one from here has ever left Indonesia. In all Manggarai, the assistant thinks only one person has ever left Flores. He is a pastor, I think.

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476 602 614 [585] to obtain the bride price, but also in such cases as the building of a new big house. The va'u helps with the costs of a wedding feast. The rona get animals for their women, and the vina give animals for theirs. The return gifts go in the opposite direction: the rona give the gifts and the vina receive them.

I get the impression that there is more to it than just this simple roundabout exchange. Thus, a family has several relations of rona and vina, and the same ones will not always be involved in a given marriage. The ones not directly involved evidently help out, or can be called upon to help in a marriage in which they are not directly involved. But this is not too clear to me. Cornelius[1] says that the whole thing is quite a burden, as when they are called upon they must give this aid. The nearer the groups live, the more they are called upon. If they are far off, this is not too much of a burden.

582 ●583 There are no marriages here with foreigners, but in other places a few Manggarai women have married Chinese men. These are definitely not liked. They are "lost." They are outside the adat and the magic circle.

582 291 178 At the time of marriage, local males are sixteen (some are fifteen to twenty-one years old. The majority fall within the age groupings sixteen to seventeen. Females, at the time of their marriage, are fourteen to twenty years old. Formerly they married later. The youngest was about nineteen (I think this was for males). He says that this was because they "got clothes" when they were older. The boys did not even wear loincloths until about the age of sixteen. The girls wore only a little cloth from about the age of twelve on. This was because it was so hard to get clothes. They married only two to three years after getting clothes. The rich

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

632 and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.
103 Roworeke means: rowo is a bandjir river, dry in the dry season, and one can see this plainly; reke, a kind of red fruit. Watu Roga means a kind of soft stone. The scribe who will become
115 my assistant is a mild looking little fellow, of the suku Ambu Odja, and of the kampong Roworeke. He is married, however, into the kampong Watu Roga. His name is Adrianus Migo, and he is a Catholic. In the kapitanschap Rewarangga there
632 are eighteen kampongs (the kapitanschap Gunung
622 Rodja has fifteen kampongs). In each there is
614 a kepala kampong. There are also six main suku in the kapitanschap: Rewarangga, Wanda, Ambu Odja, Rea Ndona, Tibo (or Gusa), and Ambu Tara. There are members of other suku in the kapitanschap, but they are not old inhabitants. They
[171] have moved in (like the "newcomer non-dati" fams of the Ambon negri). The kapitan of Rewarangga were formerly of suku Rewarangga, but after three of these in succession the kapitan passed into suku Ambu Odja, and there have been four of these. Thus about seven generations are accounted
[173] for, or about two hundred years, but the man says that Roworeke is at least four hundred to five hundred years old. This may indicate that the kapitan organization came in only about two hundred years ago. It is not at all certain and I must ask further questions about this kapitan business.

The kapitan must be chosen from any of the
632
565 noble families of any of the five suku. In each
614 suku there are two families which are noble and therefore may become kapitan. Generally the son of a dead kapitan is chosen, but if he is not satisfactory they may choose a kapitan from another noble family of the same suku or from any of the noble lineages of any of the other four
632 sukus. The big reason that the Rewerangga suku
614 lost the kapitanschap was that it had become al-

614 R They did
582 say, however, that Mohammedanism is tending to
178 break down this suku exogamy. Here in Roworeke, however, the old adat is still strong and the exogamous rule still holds. The young people who have gone to school are beginning to rebel, but the elders remain strong and hold to the adat.

771 I asked about religion and they said that at
797 least fifty per cent of the people here are pagan. Most of the rest are Christian, although there are a few Mohammedans. The picture is the familiar one of the younger generation becoming Christian while the older generation remains pagan.

565 If I can believe the story about the nobility,
632 it looks as if there are about ten noble fami-
614 lies eligible to the kapitanschap in all Rewarangga, because there are five suku and about two families of this nobility to each suku.

632 Then I got onto the subject of the officers. In the kapitanschap there is the kapitan, and he is assisted by a scribe, a mandur and an oppas. Evidently these are a secretary, a sort of public works man, and a messenger--sheriff.

622 In the kampong the chief is the kepala kampong,
565 the ata nggaeh nua (ata nggaeh itself is a term
624 for noble). Some of these belong to the nobility and others not (I must find out more about this). The assistant to the kepala kampong is the oro kuni. Then tere are four mosa laki, which seems to them to be the equivalent to the tuan tanah elsewhere. One of these is the main adat chief (thus exactly like the tuan tanah) and he is called the mosa laki mere, or mosa laki pu'u (pu'u is the term for clan, and I must check on this as it may be a survival of a purely genealogical localization of clans in a single kampong). He may also be called merely by the term laki pu'u. The three other mosa laki are: the giri tumba,
624 the ndeto au, and the sikesani. The giri tumba

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773 from van Suchtelen,[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst] but in general the same ele-
769 ments were present. However, he said, for example, that the girl was not really in the form of a lontar leaf but rather that she came wrapped in a leaf. He also said that Toni, one of the sisters, had no children; and Soru, the other, after having a child in Sikka who produced the ancestors of the radjas there, came to Ende and had children there who became the ancestors of the Ende radjas. Her Sikka husband was killed in Timor, and his name, Djau, was given to her Ende son. Thus from the start Ende and Sikka radjas have a common female ancestor. I can see that the myths here have many versions. The Java-Madjapahit stuff is definitely there. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja was quite enthusiastic in telling about these myths, and it always seemed that his ancestors figured largely.

778 I asked if they have a negri lama here, and
361 they at once pointed to the high hills behind both kampongs and said that they are located there. And on them, as in Ambon, are the batu pemali! The Dutch forced them to move to the lowlands as they did in Ambon. Evidently they go to these places from time to time, and I must find out if feasts are linked with them. They
[578] said there is no real open conflict between the new and the old religions.

535 They said that there are still plenty of the old dances and old adat costumes here. They will put on this ceremonial dress for photographing later.

764 I asked about funerals and they said that the
●565 nobles used to be cocooned on a tree branch (not on the trunk, as Körner[2] says for Rea Ndona) until they rotted. Then there was a great feast with
(231) the killing of many buffalo, and the bones and skulls of the deceased were taken and cleaned and put in a chest which was then put in the slab-
[177] covered cist tombs. The Dutch forbade the tree burial as unhygienic.

[2] [See p. 21 of Körner & p. 189 of Elbert as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I must find out how the funerals are run now. Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.
[797] The assistant has finished five grades of schooling in Ndona.

291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
178 men (old style) although this is changing fast, a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
[302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
286 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
531 looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the designs are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
124 I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan. Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they have a holiday whenever there is the slightest excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I must find out about later, is how the kepala kampong is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some re-
624 marks about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan and others are not. I must get this kepala kampong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

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632 then announces the chosen candidate. He has veto
624 power, and if he says no to a candidate, it is
final. The kapitan must come from either Re-
[614] warangga or Odja suku. If all agree, and the
giri tumba also agrees, they may choose a man
from Reandona suku, but this has never happened.
[178] In the old days the kapitan happened always
632 to be from Rewarangga suku, but recent ones have
●565 been from Odja. If the present kapitan dies,
614 there would be about ten eligible candidates. I
611 think this means ten from Odja. These include
171 the sons of the old kapitan plus others from
eligible families. But there are over a hundred
families in Odja. Thus only certain families
are of the bangsawan high enough to be eligible
for kapitan. I could not get it straight who
these families are, but evidently they represent
the descendants of the great ancestor of the suku
Odja in the direct male line. This is always via
the oldest son. Thus the oldest branch of the
oldest branch, etc., as in Polynesia.
613 I asked if there was a name for the set of
565 noble kapitan families in Odja, and they finally
632 said, after much argument, Djo'bi Bene. To this
"lineage" belong the present kapitan, the scribe,
and the giri tumba. The kapitan came in and gave
the family tree of the lineage. So far as I
could see, it ran:

1. Neni
2. Djata
3. Odja
4. Koru Rudja
5. Djo'bi Bene

Thus these are the next ones to Djo'bi Bene.
I must come back again and find out exactly who
Djo'bi Bene was, and where his grave is located,
etc. This was frustrating, and I could not get
[124] it straight at first. I was always worried about
the loss of time in such slow questioning.

We Then we went to
614 the boys' house in Wailolong, which turned out to
882 be a windowless house with sleeping benches in-
562 side. Here the boys from about twelve years on
[342] sleep. Thus there is a real men's house here.
There are three, I think, in Wailolong, because
some of the suku share houses. Normally the
rule is one house per suku. It is taboo for the
girls to enter these men's houses.

124 Then we went to Leloba and began on the Vatter[1]
social organization material. They were delighted
to see the Vatter book, especially Roy who noticed
his name in it.

614 I started with the usual outline of groups and
got the following list of suku and subdivisions
and sub-subdivisions of the suku. I had told the
guru yesterday that there must be a sub-subdivi-
sion, but he said no. He said he had thought it
over and understood what I meant. The names
[171] often have direct references to parts of a house,
and thus it looks like, as in Ambon, there used
to be one suku to one house. Thus Ama Marang
Do(ng) Lau(ng) means (the last words) bale-bale
laut, i.e., in the old days the ancestors used to
sleep on the bale-bale part on the sea side of
the ancestral house they shared with the other
division. Therefore, Ama Marang Do(ng) Rae(ng),
which means bale-bale darat, or the bale-bale
on the land side, was for the other division.
The former has more power than the latter.

614 As for the recurring Lango' Bele', it means
●565 big house, while the twin term Lango' Kene'
788 means small house. The former is the section of
the subsib or ama, with more power. The latter
is the section with less power. Maki(ng) means
descendants. The whole system has reference to
the rank of the sibs, which is symbolized in
ritual animal killing. Thus Kottang holds the
head and is the chiefly or head suku normally.
The symbol is the head. Keleng holds the feet,
and they are the assistant suku to the head.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

War

614 There is no use of a head without feet. At
788 least this is the idea. They are the leg men
565 of the head. The Hurint cuts the head off, and they also cut or finish or decide cases. Thus the double entendre words which seem to prevail in this language come to light. Also the Hurint do the praying, and in the old days the priests were from this suku as well as were the judges. The Marang passed around and still pass around sirih, or perhaps coffee today, at the rites. The Marang also acts as general helper so that if any of the other three have trouble with the beast he rushes in to aid. The function is symbolized not quite so clearly as for the other three, but the social system is symbolized in ritual which in turn reflects a system of rank and function.

632 I heard another thing which should be inter-
614 esting to follow up. The kakang is a Leboba man
583 from one of the Kottang subsibs. His sib (one
576 of the two Belepe Lolong, and must be Lango'
431 Bele' as he has much power) gives women to the guru's sib (Ama Hurint Ola Demo[ng] Lango' Bele') and must be given fowl by the latter. The latter gets women from the former, and gets fish from the former too. Thus fowl and fish form a gift exchange following the marriage exchange system. Evidently the sib that gets the women gives the fowl, and the one that gives the women also gives the fish. Could this be again the serpent and the dove? The kakang said that if he went to the guru's house and there happened to be some fowl cooking there, he must get some, or it would be a terrible breach of respect and much shame would be felt. I think this is correct, but I must check it later.

194 The peculiar nasal end sound indicated by
[114] the parentheses in my orthography is hard to get and Vatter[1] messes it up. The guru says it is hard even for a man from Larantuka town to say it.

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

609 We
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
497 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has magical power, but we didn't get into the full
[778] story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

311 cover for agriculture too, and this causes a
241 great[1] economic problem.

He said that much of Arndt's[2] and other scho-
114 124 159 634 lars' findings were wrong as they use Christian gurus as assistants, and the latter do not tell them exactly what the old men say. The young assistants "doctor up" the information. They also misunderstand some of the old ideologies. This was one of many implications in his talk that showed he was not uncritical of the Christians. He has been radja longer than any other in Flores, thirty-one years and seven months. In his youth he was a Dutch army man too. He says that there was no road built when he was first made radja but the mission was already there. He also says that he is the most important radja in West Flores, although all of the royal families here are interrelated. He says he represents the older sibling branch, and Nageh and Manggarai radjas are the younger sibling branches. It is true that the Manggarai radjadom dates only from 1929, and before this there were only dalu, three of whom were most powerful.

194 The Radja speaks Malay with remarkable gutteral sounds which Arndt[2] says are characteristic of Ngada folk. They also have at least one implosive, as in bhaga. He has his house in the kampong Radja, not far from the town.

361 The town is notably modern in appearance, with
797 the mission influence as usual. In the center there is a large plaza where the football field
[485] is located, as usual. The pasanggrahan is a
622 good one, and the mandur looks like a nickel-
634 head Indian. He was in the army once too and served in Sumatra, especially in Atjeh. He is evidently a friend of the Radja, as he enters
[565] and talks with him freely. The Radja mixes freely with the people here, as we noted at the
443 pasar malam. The latter, to which we went at

[1] [i.e., the Radja of Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

611 I think he[1] said it is possible to pay Also part of
614 the bride price and then to give some of the
583 children to the mother's group. This is not so
582 important, however, as the usual marriage is endogamous. They prefer to marry within the sib. They may marry out also. They have the same term for all cousins, and may marry with any cross or parallel cousin. Descent is patrilineal. Female descent is traced too, and thus there may occur cases of double descent with patrilineal emphasis and endogamy and clans. This is remarkable.

784 They also have totemism here with animal de-
824 scent and tree descent. A member may not kill or eat the animal totem and may not cut or burn or use in any way the wood of the tree totem.
583 Two of the latter are ficus and lontar. The
554 amount to be paid as a bride price is a matter of pride. Many kampongs have only one voi,
614 but others have several.

197 The language of Ngada is related to that of
193 Ende and is very close to Nageh. Manggarai speech, however, is quite different. Arndt says there are no affixes in Ngada, but instead they use particles.

614 Correction: Not all voi have women as an-
● 565 cestors, but most of them do. There are four
582 classes (not three as van Staveren[2] says). These are the nobles (ata gai or gai meze), upper commoners (ata gisa or gai giza), lower commoners (azi ana) and slaves (ata hoö). An upper woman may never marry a lower man, but the reverse is all right. The peo still stand.

124 We talked about the possibility of working in a Ngada kampong, but the Soa area has already been covered, and Arndt has a book nearly ready on the sociology of Ngada. There is practically nothing on Manggarai, so we decided to go to Ruteng first. We left in the afternoon, and after a hard drive, largely in the rain, we

1 [i.e., Arndt, pastor in Ngada area--Analyst]
2 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Weo

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[799] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here, and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

We
842 too uncommon. If relatives help out in this
583 matter,[1] they must be repaid.) The assistant
[602] said that if there are no children or if there
[597] are very few children, it often happens that a man buys a child, who then becomes one of his own. (From whom does he buy?)

565 The ranks are:

582
595
1. Radja bangsawan
2. Dalu bangsawan (he says, since 1880) (Kraeng)
3. Gelarang bangsawan
4. Leke (commoners)
5. Mendi (slaves)

The first three may intermarry, either way. The last two may intermarry, also either way. Polygamist marriages are possible, and this goes even for the Christians who do so in order to have more children. He talked as though polygamy, if done for this purpose only, was not so bad. He is of the gelarang and his wife of dalu. The children are of gelarang.

624 Then we got onto the subject of the social
621 organization of Weol. He said that there is a
342 tuan tanah and also a second man, whom he will
534 explain later, as it is a long story. There is also a medicine man, and he is important in ceremonies. He will give me the posts of the kampong later on the sheets.

Weol has two offshoot kampongs. One is Tjantsia (where he lives) and the other is Tjara, on the next hill. The former has a tuan tanah tjabang (a branch tuan tanah). Incidentally,
[178] the present tuan tanah of Weol lives in a rectangular house, which was an unknown thing here before ten years ago. Even in this rectangular house, there is a main post or rather a place which serves as a main post, and here the tuan tanah sits as the center of rituals. The tuan tanah must have in the house a gong and a gendang

[1] [i.e., meeting the bride price --Analyst]

We

632 1. Weol, with Weol as the center kampong and
621 three branch kampongs. They all trace from Weol. There are three other Weol kampongs in the daluschap Tjibal to the north.

2. Ndung, with Ndung as the center kampong and five branch kampongs. All of them, including Ndung, stemmed originally from Weol. Indeed, the dual kampong Weol-Ndung is the center whence spread out all the kampongs of both Weol
[614] and Ndung. And they evidently were all of the same clan, the va'u Weol. Thus this covers two gelarang districts.

3. Tjumbi, with seven branch kampongs.

4. La'o, with three branch kampongs.

5. Rahong, with seven branch kampongs. But this is a special case as it is the directly governed complex of the dalu. The dalu lives, however, in kampong Waukung, in the gelarang Tjumbi. These kampongs are scattered over the four gelarang into which the daluschap is divided. Thus, in all, there are thirty-three kampongs.

622 There is a tuan tanah in each kampong, but
624 not a kepala kampong in each. See below. The
632 big tuan tanah, the gelarang tuan tanah, are in Weol, La'o, Tjumbi, and Ndung kampongs. I wonder if perhaps, before, these were the district chiefs, that is, before the dalu came in.

Some of the tuan tanah are also kepala kampong. That is, they have two posts. This is so
[565] in about half of the cases, but all kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah "nobility." Thus the kepala kampong of Weol is the brother of the tuan tanah. Thus they have managed to keep even the purely administrative officers in the adat-chiefly families.

The post of tuan tanah goes to the eldest son, but the kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu, after quietly finding out the will of the folk in the kampong.

Weo

614 All the people in Weol gelarang are of va'u
166 Weol. There is one exception, the va'u Tjepang. These folk came in before from Boleng, in North Manggarai. They settled in kampong Weol, but when things became crowded, they went below to kampong Tjantjar. The latter alone has many people who are not of the va'u Weol, except for real newcomers, such as the Ruteng folk in Ndung, who came to work in the gardens (evidently as coolies) and settled down. There are many outsiders in the mixed and new kampong Tjantjar.

614 The original ancestors of the va'u Weol came
773 out of a bamboo at a spot near the present spring
824 below Weol. There are bamboo trees there de-
784 scended from the original one. The original ancestors were a pair: Vako Dangka and Ine Karas. Not only is the bamboo taboo but also the lusa (red beans). For example, if a child eats these unwittingly, a fowl must be killed. They do not "cut off" the tongue symbolically with a leaf as is done in some other areas.

614 Women from other clans marrying into Weol
784 must take on the taboo of their husbands. A
562 Weol woman marrying into another clan may eat
783 lusa, but only after performing the rite called ela penteng pitak, which means "to clean off the mud." She must take on the totem taboos of her husband's clan. The woman marrying into Weol gives up her own taboos, but must also do the ela penteng pitak. This ceremony involves a pig sacrifice. Thus every woman marrying into another clan must do this rite to give up her own totems. The name of the totem taboo is tjek'ki.

565 There is a nobility which applies to the
632 radjas, dalu, and gelarang. The gelarang are
624 the tuan tanah (and kepala kampong) of the cen-
622 tral kampongs of the gelarang districts, for
[634] example, Weol. Thus Weol has two gelarang, and Ndung has only one, because the kepala kampong

565 632 624 622 of Meler, the main kepala kampong of the Ndung complex, lives in Meler. The dalu came in about 1870. They were put in by Bima, and the tuan tanah said that they were of Bima origin. (Does this mean that no native chiefs were made dalu? Evidently.)

622 624 592 There is no native term for the kepala kampong. The tuan tanah is the tu'a tenu. In each house there is a house chief, the tu'a mbaru. The latter word means house. He is chosen by the men of the house.

623 592 693 The kampong council, which must be called together for each case, includes the tuan tanah, the kepala kampong, and the tu'a mbaru of their own houses. If the case involves adat, the tuan tanah is the chairman. An example of this would be a case concerned with land. If the case is concerned with administration, for example, with theft, the kepala kampong acts as chairman. In all cases, however, all of the members of the council are present.

614 624 The clans are divided into subclans called panga. Each of these has a chief, the tu'a panga. In Weol there are three panga and three tu'a panga. Two of these are also the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong. There are two panga and two tu'a panga in Ndung. The tuan tanah there is also tu'a panga of his panga and tu'a mbaru of his house.

614 173 I asked about the origin of the panga. The original ancestors, Vako Dangka and Ine Karas, had two sons: Lando Kakor and Naloholles. They married wives of another va'u and between them had seven sons (their daughters were forgotten, a reversal of the Ngada story, where the daughters of Djawa are remembered and the sons forgotten). Each of these became an ancestor of a panga, and in the course of time their descendants split into many more panga. New panga may be formed at any time, even now, as the old ones

We

776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 554 Kraeng here is the original title for high nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

796 614 782 231 At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is done by families or pangas. Each man in the group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunt-
[887] ing.) Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 535 574 555 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say here) is done at many feasts. Each house has some costumes, and the men may use them. They say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 527 526 533 In the afternoon we went to see some fine dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part of the week long independence festival. The lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and sing-
[276] ing. Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertain-
[887] ment was complicated and good. Most drummers
200 and gong players seem to be old women. These

We
614 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and
778 broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive. It is located a little to the side of the path and in a rather inconspicuous place.

[773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about this: it is a woman turned to stone with her child because she bathed naked) is located four kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong Bangkavelo.

231 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,[1]
241 they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the
782 garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connec-
114 tion with agricultural rites. They do this in the kampong. In the garden itself they kill only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent, Coolhaas is right.

●565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The term kraeng is used for all three levels of nobles.

114 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 336,[1]
632 the people here still give tribute to the dalu
651 when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls,
466 etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now
624 wants a new house he may no longer expect free
476 labor. Now he must pay for such service. If, however, there is need of a new tuan tanah house, labor is given without pay. And if there is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps, although other kampongs may assist in some way or other.

567 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi).
Their descendants are still known. It is also
565 true that new slaves were put in stocks (lam-
114 pang) until it was certain that they would not run away. It is also correct that slaves who had been in a family for a long time might even marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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Wa

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ema father, father's brother, mother's sister's husband.
nde mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.
amang mother's brother, father's sister's husband.
inang father's sister, mother's brother's wife.
empo grandparent.
weta sister, father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter.
kae older brother; ase--younger brother. Also father's brother's son, mother's sister's son.
kesah father's sister's son, mother's brother's son.
wina mother's brother's daughter, wife.
rona father's sister's son, husband.

114 Coolhaas[1] is all right on cross-cousin mar-
582 riage, too. Only one of a set of brothers mar-
583 ries a mother's brother's daughter. Other
565 brothers may not do so. In this event it can
614 be any of the brothers, not only the eldest.
597 But it is essential that one must and the others must not. However, if another brother wants to after one brother has, he must pay a horse in addition to the usual bride price. This is probably for a common man, and the extra price may be expected to be higher for a noble. This is done only if the father of the boy is unwilling to let him be adopted by another. The latter is another means to the same end. Thus, if the second brother wants to marry a mother's brother's daughter too, the father can let him be adopted by another man. However, the latter must be of another panga. Then the bride price is kept at the usual size.

114 Note an error in Coolhaas on page 348! Two
582

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

582 rule. There is also a taboo on father's sister's daughter marriage.

(Lalong kampong is not far to the northeast from Weol.)

582 There may be a system here, but they are
583 sure that it is not a mere three move thing like what we found in Larantuka. In fact, I asked about this, and they said that it was impossible (that is, for example, Weol women to Tjepang, Tjepang women to Lalong, and Lalong women back to Weol; this is impossible, i.e. the last move). In fact, there does seem to be a system, as he said even four moves is not possible, but five moves may be. Also, when I described the Larantuka figuring on how to get around the bride price by arranging a series of marriages, he said this type of talk is done here but that the price must always be delivered even though the books might balance in the long run. In Larantuka they can wait, but here they must make actual payment (though theoretically the same horses and buffaloes might some day come back to the original giver).

583 It is true that the bride price must be in horses, buffaloes, and money. The return gift is in women's ware, that is, pigs, cloth, and ornaments. In value, the women's ware return gifts are far less than the former. Coolhaas[1]
[114] was wrong to assume that perhaps fowls were included in the return gift.

562 The assistant saw the point of a male-female
181 dualism in the whole society, but he is not sure that it is entirely so. He agreed that it is a good hunch.

231 At the marriage feast they kill animals.
585 Usually about ten pigs are killed and the normal custom does not include other animals.

114 The wedding rites described by Coolhaas
585 (page 351)[1] are all right, but the amounts quoted
565 are for the upper classes. The lowers have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

114 Wa
[585] exactly the same rites and all moves are the
[565] same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas'
[784] word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate
[614] ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).[1]
[286] In addition to the technical totem taboos given by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 I note on the map that place names recur
614 often all over Manggarai, especially not far away. These are clan names, which are given to kampongs founded by split offs from the mother kampong. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 The mandur said there is criticism of the
578 Radja today because he is not "one hundred per
632 cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of
648 Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, al-
186 though somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud of this Minangkabau story while at the same time it may harm them in light of Manggarai nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes[1] says that when the Dutch were trying to select a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not a contented area and that the people there wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may see a possible chance of paying off old scores. This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where self-governing setups led to exploitation of lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may try to raise themselves up to a parity level and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask questions, and they will reply without first going through a translator. However, the reply

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 1B--Analyst]

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
614 living on the level of the road and the other
621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they
are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo.
At the road border of the kampong a bit in from
[211] the road, standing against the skyline, is a
row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars
looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe
heads. They are thin and tall. They are set
on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
[417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical
of all kampongs in this region, so that the
kampong itself is located down in a stone wall
enclosure.

Below the first row of stone pillars there
346 is another with just as many stones. It is also
769 set on a mound. Just below this stands the
531 umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on
one side there is a living tree with Y-branches
at the fork. Stones are heaped around the
ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet
high, and consists of a single pillar with
thatched cap. The pillar is made of hebuh wood
and is carved in fancy designs which are hard
to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a
mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were
made of white shell). Looking under the cap I
could see that the pillar forks were in the
shape of a U, and so it is really about the
same as the Nagch peo, but less clearly Y-shaped
and covered with a cap.

To either side of the plaza, which was of
342 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small
361 and had rather low roofs. These houses are set
on piles. On one side was the house of the
624 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
769 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
346 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
565 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
554 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in
574

624
●565 order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase
554 his fame. However, a common man cannot do this.
769 Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions.
346 Also, buffalo sacrifices are needed for putting
574 a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger"
[782] mori ndaru who lives on the other side of the plaza. This has some relation to the elder and younger brother stuff mentioned in the manuscript report on Soa by a priest. Mommersteeg[1]
342 has lent me this report. The mori ndaru house
624 has a wood post in front, on either side be-
532 side the steps. They are rather thin and low and are carved in a human form. This is known as the ata deo, or rather these are the ata deo.

342 Also, beside the door of the house and on the
531 porch are two richly carved wooden rectangles measuring about 3x2 feet. This looks like the
[171] Balinese stuff and consists mainly of scrolls so far as I could see.

237 Not only on the houses of the mori ndaru
342 but also on others, we noted many lower jaws of
531 pigs, wild pigs with tusks, deer horns, and buffalo horns. These are partly ranged along a rack under the roof eaves and partly, especially true of the buffalo horns, stuck in beside the wall of the porch. We later found out that the ata deo may be used by others than the mori ndaru, but evidently the carved wood slabs are only for him. I saw some especially elaborate lower jaw carvings on a barn in Brova.

346 In the lower kampong, Lodo, which has a low
231 stone wall between it and Naru, there is the
[624] house of the mori ndaru (thus each suku, voi, has a mori ndaru, and there may be more than one per kampong) and the rest of the things just mentioned. The ndaru there, however, has a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had been no renewal they said that they would do so, but they would have to get the buffalo first.

[1] [pastor at Soa --Analyst]

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 237 224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him 776 784 about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh 124 tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must 824 have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read 769 that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo [789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

582 firm in stating that one had to marry within the
●565 same class, of which there are three: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata hoö, but I forget the terms for the others.
[587] They say that a lower man may never marry up,
[567] but that a higher man may marry down for a second wife. They are more open here about slavery than I have found elsewhere.

142 The people are quite handsome and many of
144 them are of the proto-Malay type. There are relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay element predominates, and the East Flores Negroid types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars. There is also a great difference in the color of the skin, many people being quite light-skinned
[515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here
[197] say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not the Soa folk.

291 The clothes of the local people are shabby and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are
304 universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears.
[276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments
[301] in their ears today. Only the holes are noted. We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most men have their names or initials as well as figures tattooed on their forearms. This name
[177] tattoo is quite general.) (Perhaps this is the secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy tattoo.")

764 The burials here, I think, and certainly in
565 Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners, but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

632 The districts here are called kepala mereschappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan. This one is evidently Naru.

R

614 like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now. Woro
361 came from Ndungga (Lio). It is unknown at present where Soa, Songo, and Mboti came from. Fongi came from Wolotope (Lio). Sue came from Tombe (Rabu; Rewarangga). Waï came from Wolotolo (Lio). Mbonggi came from Volofeo (Rewarangga). Pare came from Mbomba (Berai). Lenalaba came from Dile (Lio). Watu came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Gusi came from Watusipi (Berai). Wadja came from Potu (Nggobe).

622 Then we got onto the matter of who may be-
565 come kepala kampong. They said that he must be of the bangsawan class or the people will not follow him. Thus he must be of a mosa laki family. There are three possibilities in the rank of the kampongs:

(1) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are the same man.

(2) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are brothers.

(3) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are of the same family.

Thus Roworeke has a kepala kampong of the mosa laki family. The same situation is true in Worowai and Manunggo'o. Worowaku has a kepala kampong and mosa laki mere in the same person. In Arereke they are in the same family, and so on.

632 The offices in the gemeente are: kapitan, the Big Four, the oppas (oppa), djurutulis (djurutuli), and mandur (oro kuni).

624 The officers of the kampong are: kepala kampong, the Little Four, mandur (oro kuni).

875 The two school teachers live in Waturoga. The head teacher is from Maumere, the other from Ndona. The religious teacher lives in Roworeke.

484 Everyone here in Roworeke has at least gone to Ende. They have seen little else, however. When they go to Ende they usually go for a single

R

622 the Bapa ketjil. I might never have found this
693 out if I hadn't seen him dressed in adat cos-
624 tume coming into an adat meeting for a case
hearing. His younger brother is the admini-
●[565] strative kepala kampong. (The kapitan says
[212] that if the kepala kampong did not come from
nobility the people would not follow him, and
so I can see that they choose a man of the
adat kepala kampong or ata nggaëh nua family
for the administrative kepala kampong and in
addition one who can read and write. Then
they can keep the old man in the adat post.)
Maybe there are cases of one man being both.
624 Thus in the kampong there are really five adat
622 officers: the ata nggaëh nua, the mosa laki
632 mere, the giri tumba, the ndeto au, and the
693 sikesani. The administrative ones are the
kepala kampong and the oro kuni. The same
pattern holds for the district. The kapitan
is the administrative man, and then the mosa
laki mere besar acts as adat chief. This
might be the same man, I suppose. Then they
have the other big mosa laki.

The adat case came up at noon, and coming
to it were the Big Four (here the Kampong Four
too), the kepala kampong, the ata nggaëh nua,
and the kapitan. The chairman and judge, the
mosa laki mere, as well as others (e.g., the
kapitan), could ask questions and keep things
in line. The kepala kampong must be present
too (evidently both kinds of kepala kampong).
This case was one concerned with marriage. I
must ask later what it was.

Kattenburg got some material on administra-
tion. Theoretically, the adat chiefs are
supposed to be used for administrative posts
by the government. But they are rarely so
used evidently, and this causes the dual sys-
tem: adat and administration. They may coin-
cide at any point. Generally, I think that

R Generally, I think that
632 the government has not put adat chiefs (for
622 example, ata nggaëh nua) into administrative
624 posts. This also holds for the mosa laki. I
693 can think of the following possible reasons:
631 (1) adat chiefs are largely illiterate and cannot do administrative work therefore; (2) adat chiefs are largely pagan, and the mission, therefore, probably does not like them (indeed, one of the main ends of the mission is to do away with that devil, the tuan tanah; they usually say they want to do this because he stands in the way of progress and land reform, but this is a rationalization; it is like killing the Toradja death feasts because of immorality, when the real reason is that they constitute the main bulwark of pagan survival); (3) adat chiefs formerly and potentially even today are probably the centers of possible revolt against alien laws and government, and thus it is better not to let them have too much power. So they let them handle harmless adat cases. This is indirect rule on the adat level, taking all important functions away from them. Nevertheless, I note that the ad-
•[565] ministrative appointees (who may be "elected" in a way) are always or nearly always of the adat chiefly families. Thus, here the kepala kampong is the younger brother of the ata nggaëh nua, and the kapitan is a noble of the adat lineage. They are literate and Christian (or Mohammedan) nobles of the old adat nobility.

Ngada and Nageh: The Ngada Y- or rather
231 U-topped upright, is used to run a buffalo rope
417 through. One end of the rope is attached to the neck of the buffalo and then passed through the U, and the other end is fastened to the stone post. Thus it is held taut when the buffalo is killed.

764 Ngada "resting places" along the road are
211 rectangular stone heap mounds, flat on top,

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124 has also adopted the term kekuatan adjaib, and loves it.

582 The rules are as follows:
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Wailolong man	marries	Leloba woman
I		II-2, III
II		II-2, III
III		I-2, I-3a, IV
IV		I-1, II-1
V		I-1a

Thus no man of Wailolong marries a Lewodoreng woman of Leloba.

Leloba man	marries	Wailolong woman
I-1a		V
I-1b		III
I-2		I
I-3a		?
I-3b		I
II-1		III
II-2		IV
III-1		IV, V
III-2		IV, V
III-3		IV, V
IV-1a		I-c
IV-1b		I-c
V-1		I, II
V-2		I, II

614 This brought out certain problems with the
● 565 material recorded earlier. The subsibs in each suku are ranked according to first, second, and in some cases third. The terms are waru'i, waktukang, and tuhowutung. These mean, approximately, first, middle and last. Now we see that certain suku, subsuku, and sub-subsuku names are of one kind and some of another, and some have two names showing different meanings. These

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614 meanings are:
565 (1) Personal name of ancestral founder.
(2) Rank of the ancestral founder (pangkat).
(3) Power ranking of the group (1, 2, 3).
(4) Original kampong of the ancestors (for example, lewo).

And, I suppose, in the case of Kottang, etc., the rituals function as (5).

And then, perhaps, ones which have a mere name and no purpose; thus (6).

We didn't analyze all the names, but what
614 we did goes as follows:
565 Leloba
551 I. Ama Kottang (function) (Kottang means "head").
1. Belepe Lolong (meaning: "upper terrace").
Buto Talu (ancestor personal name).
(note: making means merely "descendant of")
Lango' Bele' and Lango' Kene' (big and little house).
This subsib is No. 1, or Ama Waru'ing, in the suku Kottang.
2. Waktukang. (meaning "middle"). No ancestor name.
3. Ama Marang (function) (Marang means "pray").
Dong Laung (side of a sleeping bench which faces the sea).
Dong Raeng (the side of the sleeping bench facing the land).
This is the Tuhowutung or last subsib of the suku Kottang.
II. Ama Keleng (function) (Keleng means "feet").
1. Tuakerura (just a name, no significance) (this is No. 1 or Waru'ing subsib of suku Keleng).
2. Ama Belemang (a ritual function) (rank of ancestor).
This is the last ranking subsib of the suku Tuhowutung.
III. Ama Hurint (function) (Hurint means "cut").
1. Ama Waru'ing (No. 1); may also be called

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Ama Wadjundiri, the ancestor's personal name.

2. Eramolik (ancestor personal name). This is No. 2 subsib, or Waktukang.
3. Ola Demong (ancestor personal name). This is No. 3 subsib, or Tuhowutung. Lango' Bele' and Lango' Kene' are big and little house.

IV. Lewodoreng (original kampong name).
1. Lewamaking (personal name of ancestor). This is the No. 1 or Waru'ing subsib. Nipatale' (meaning?). They are slave descendants.
2. Ekimaking (ancestor's personal name). This is the last ranking subsib, or Tuhowutung.

V. Lewonuhah (original kampong name).
1. Ama Kottang (the waru'i subsib).
2. Ama Keleng (the tuhowutung subsib).

Wailolong

I. Ama Datong (function of Kottang, but Datong is the name of rank).
a. Ama Radja (personal ancestor name). This has the last subsib rank, Tuhowutung.
b. Ama Belolong (has the rank of No. 1, or waru'ing, and Belolong means "high").
c. Ama Rere (Rere means "low"). This subsib is notable. I have some important corrections about it.
There are two subdivisions:
(1) Ama Rere. These, as told above, are descendants of war captives from Maumere eighteen generations ago. They own no land, have no ritual function, and have no duties.
(2) Ama Rere Ama Tobi. (Tobi is a personal name). They are descendants of members of Ama Radja and Ama Belolong, who seven generations ago ran away from

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Wailolong to Bama because of troubles over marriage, bride prices, and perhaps others. They came back to Wailolong three generations ago, but although they were allowed into the kampong, they have lost their land and ritual standing. They marry like Ama Rere. It is remarkable to think that when the old people thinking what to do with these returned refugees decided to equate them with war captives!

II. Leworita (original kampong name) (function of Kelen).
   a. Suba (meaning? rank?; evidently a personal name).
   b. Harut (meaning? rank?; evidently a personal name).
   c. Tapopukang (meaning? rank?; evidently a personal name).

III. Ama Hurint
   a. Hadumboleng (personal name), Baka (personal name). (middle rank, Waktukang).
   b. Mari (personal name; rank No. 1, Waru'i).
   c. Mela (personal name; rank No. 3, Tuhowutung).

IV. Lewato (kampong name).
   a. Ama Waru'ing, also Ama Radja (the latter is the personal name of an ancestor).
   b. Ama Waktukang (just means middle; not a personal name).
   c. Tuhowutung (just means No. 3; not a personal name).

V. Lewodoreng (original kampong name).
   a. Ama Waru'ing (just No. 1 rank; not a personal name).
   b. Enga (a personal name; last rank, Tuhowutung).

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On the records there is a case of a man of

War

173 which was inhabited after the Lenurat days.
621 This was Bluhur, near Watuwiti. The place is
565 still there, and whenever a kampong has a new korke feast, they must go there too and sacrifice an animal. While the five brothers were still living in Bluhur, there was a war against the Padji aborigines in Adonara. The Demon folk there called on the Ili Djadi to help, and the five brothers went. The first brother, Belawaburak, was killed there in battle. The other four asked the Demon folk for an indemnity, and they paid this in gold (lots of it). This money was to replace the lost one. The four brothers were still together, and had only one korke. Nowadays no one lives there, but if a new korke feast is held, they must go there and sacrifice an animal. This was eighteen generations ago. Thus it was perhaps five to six hundred years ago, or perhaps a bit less.

Then came a war against the Padji, who lived all over the present territory around Ili Mandiri. They tried to drive them out. There was some fuss over a deceitful trick played by the Padji, in which the Ili folk gave their gold in good faith to the Padji, but the latter cheated. They decided they could stand these folk no longer, and so they went to war. Keweluk, the second brother, stayed in Bluhur, handling administrative things, and the other three brothers went to war. There were ten Padji kampongs. The Ili folk won, and killed one of the women at once, and brought the head back to Bluhur. But evidently, after some further grievances, they went to war against the Padji again. This time they captured the two main war leaders of the Padji, and afterwards, as usual, they killed one and brought the other back to Bluhur. This time, Bampowa had remained behind to do the administrative work. Instead of killing the

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173 war leader of Padji, they stripped the skin off
62) his face and body and arms, and rubbed salt and
565 pepper into his raw flesh, and then instructed
him to go to all the ten Padji kampongs in turn
and destroy their korke one by one. Under a
magic spell, he did as he was told, and as he
knocked over the last korke, he fell dead.
The Padji, afraid of the magic power of the
Ili folk, decided to sail away. Some were
still left, however. I think these were on
the beach on the way to Larantuka town. Then
the four brothers set fire to the grass and
bamboo thickets, and the latter burst with loud
booms all the way from Larantuka to Konga.
(Perhaps this is a rationalization for the
agricultural burning off of fields which has
evidently denuded the area here. Although I
thought perhaps they might have thought that
the Padji hunters would have lost their hunting
lands by this kind of burning off of the forest
cover and this would be why they would have to
get out, they said that the Padji were already
good agricultural folk and in fact that the
Ili people had first learned agricultural tech-
niques from the Padji. Hence this theory looks
bad.)

Anyway, the last remaining Padji, scared
stiff, went off. There are no Padji left here.
Then a fight started between the second and
third brothers, Keweluk and Kewaka. (The "enemy-
brother" theme.) The former wanted to marry the
widow of the deceased eldest brother, Belawa-
burak, but the latter became angry because he
wanted her for himself. The latter won the
fight and married the widow, Ninidadja. Keweluk
ran off to a place near Wailolong (in Wailolong
territory, but far away) named Lewokeda', and
there founded a kampong. This was the start of
[171] the bertjerebre, or separation (note the simi-
larity with the watu mpoga'a, or stone of separa-
tion of the seven siblings ancestors of Toradja).

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173 tion, of the seven siblings ancestors of Toradja).
621 Then Bampowa went away and founded Mudakaputu
●565 (after some previous moves); and Mado, the youngest brother, after a number of moves, went and founded Watuwiti. Kewaka, already in power in Tiwa, moved his kampong to Lewohala. Thus occurred the arrangement whereby Keweluk was the founder of Wailolong, Kewaka the founder of Lewohala (from which Lewoneda later branched off), Bampowa was the founder of Mudakaputu, and Mado the founder of Watuwiti. I am not clear as to how Belawaburak is linked with Leloba, but evidently his descendants went there and founded it.

Somewhere in all of this material is a kind of local glorification for all of the kampongs and perhaps a kind of ranking. The latter, however, is very unclear and it would seem that the fame of the brothers and their "functions" in the legend were something like this:

Belawaburak was a war hero and his death brought a great store of gold to the Bai Pitu.

Keweluk was a war leader, and at one phase was an administrative leader too. The latter was during the second Padji war.

Kewaka was a war leader and also won the fight with Keweluk. He also married the widow of Belawaburak.

Bampowa was first a war leader, but stayed home in the last Padji war and did administrative work. This gave him a real privileged hold on administration, and his kampong, Mudakaputu, was for a long time the holder of the kakang post here. Recently other kampongs have had the post. Today Leloba has it.

Mado, founder of Watuwiti, seems to have the least claim to fame, and he was the youngest brother. Something is said, however, about how
[789] Watuwiti folk are famous for making "medicine" which can make men mad, or rather silly. This

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173 can be used in war, as magic, and thus perhaps
621 Mado was the war sorcerer who perhaps did the
565 magic stuff which in the last analysis scared
789 the damned Padji away. This kind of medicine is called breni.

173 I asked if all the children and other people here know this story, and he said yes. It is evidently the main legend. He said that they do not know it perfectly, but the main facts and events are clear and everyone knows the story.

443 There is a market place at Okka crossroads every Wednesday. There used to be another on the beach on the way to Larantuka (where the Padji once lived) at Delang, but it is no longer there. It was held on Friday. There is a market place in Larantuka town, and the market is held there every day. However, there is no market week system. He knows of one in Adonara. He says it is no use to hold elaborate markets because they have no surpluses to sell.

583 The only exchange here is that connected
614 with marriage. The woman-giving suku gives fish to the woman-receiving suku, and the latter gives fowl to the former. If these suku are in different kampongs, there is the exchange, but it is a matter of suku and not kampongs. And again it shows how marriage is the basis of the whole organization.

829 As a result of the last World War the horizons in terms of the world at large were some-
[178] what extended. For the first time, the people here heard of Japan, the United States and other countries. This was much the same thing that took place all over Indonesia. Fifty years ago no one here knew about such countries. As for other places in Indonesia, all they knew fifty years ago was Sina Djawa, to the west. Since the war they have learned at least the names of a few other islands. This is really epochal on

346 This costs money, at least. With cleverness,
797 Pastor Krol told how the scheme is working to get the folk to sell their tusks in order to get money to contribute to the new church. This works on the grounds that the people were careless with their fire in the fields when there was a high wind, and this caused the burning of the church. It is all a wily game, and the pagans are lost.

797 This whole religious matter is endless. It
182 is the most powerful acculturation thing here,
769 and the whole weight of Catholicism is on the last few pagans. The guru is full of the propaganda of rationalization. For example, he says, how do we know where the ancestors are? If they led good lives they are in heaven; and if not, they are in the sea (hell). And if they were good they must be in heaven, even though they were not Catholic, because they knew nothing of the Word when they lived.

632 The next day we started by clearing up a point
614 about the radja tuan. He may come from another ama than the No. 1 or waru'ing ama. Thus in Ama Datong suku the present Radja tuan is the kelake of Ama Radja, which is the No. 3 ama.

789 Roy said that not only officials have magic
565 power, but that also all members of the noble
171 families have some, though not so much as the
865 chiefs. They definitely have more than common folk. This is why one must show respect to the uppers. It is like Bone in Celebes, but less so perhaps. For example, they are very much afraid of hitting a noble child.

756 A sorcerer (molang) receives respect too,
754 even though his post is not hereditary. Some
[462] sorcerers, however, are noble. Sorcerers may be male or female, and indeed Roy thinks most of them are women. I asked how one got to be a molang, and he said that in general they get a call while dreaming. It is a matter of getting

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783 The people here must confess at least once a year.

666 632 565 634 622 [646] There are only two elected representatives here and also in Wailolong. The only election in the area is for the parliament. There is also a kind of election for the kakang. The choosers are the twenty-four kepala kampong of the eight kampongs. In the old days, although they got together, and went through the form of accepting the oldest son of the deceased or ejected kakang, it had to be the eldest son. Now they actually choose from candidates. The candidates must be of the proper nobility, so there aren't very many. Thus, when the previous kakang went out (he was ejected in 1938 because of a misdemeanor), there were three candidates: Roy, a man from Lewohala, and the present kakang. Roy says they were the only ones who were both noble and qualified. By the latter term he means that they were clever enough for the job. They had to be of the direct descending family of the radja tuan or kelake. The Radja of Larantuka is chairman of the electoral committee. Roy said that he does not force a choice, but lets everybody talk freely.

632 634 622 [178] Then it came out that there have actually been three phases in the kakang business: (1) pre-1915: he merely represented the succession; (2) 1915--1938: a period of tyranny, when the radja simply chose whom he pleased. This was the period when the Dutch and the radja worked together, the dark years; and (3) 1938--present: election within limits. Roy knows the word "candidaat."

Nowadays the radja must accept the will of the kepala kampong. The last imposed kakang, of the Larantuka Radja family, was deposed in 1938. He had been chosen by the radja three years before.

[661] In 1924 Roy had been elected by the kepala kampong, but the radja would not accept him (in 1938 Roy was a candidate but was not elected). This is an example of radja tyranny.

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797 and the price the outsiders ask is giving up
177 the old religion.

The people know nothing about other lands
829 and certainly nothing about their governments.
565 However, they know the names of other countries and a bit about the roles they play in world events. I asked if they knew about demokrasi, and he said that the word is used all over here now, although it is brand new. They don't know what it means. He says that they tend to think that it means a kind of anarchy where anyone can take anything, with no respect for rank. I wonder if maybe in this thoroughly ordered and stratified place, where inherited rank and inequality prevails (rank, class, ritual, respect, etc.), and indeed exists in the very heart of the society, whether when they first heard that democracy meant that all people were equal, this did not sound like anarchy, as they could not imagine an ordered world where there was no rank.

They know nothing about the actual facts of
829 the United Nations, but they have heard plenty
648 about the "Kumpulan Medja Bundar". [Round Table Conference]. This all came out when they saw the red and white flag and asked what all of this was about. They got the story that there was the Round Table Conference, and that at it Indonesia became free and this was the new flag. The flag was the symbol that produced the story. They also have heard a lot about the United States and that it helped in obtaining Indonesian freedom (perhaps we managed to salvage some touted good will in Indonesia). Beyond this, however, they know nothing of world politics. They did know about the Allies (Bangsa Serikat; Kattenburg says "Pemerintah Serikat"), as they were partly involved in the war. They think that this union, and especially the United States, beat the Japanese. When asked if the Dutch helped, Roy said that they have no thought on this matter, as

794 Catholic, has two wives, but he was adamant.
665 As for Mohammedanism, he says that they are dormant politically, or at least they have been until recently. Now that Dr. Sutomo is here he is becoming a kind of Mohammedan leader. However, the Mohammedans are few and they are important only in Kampong Baru. There was a
798 rumor here on the Japanese entrance that the
203 Japanese were Mohammedans. It went further to the effect that all Christians and pagans were to be killed. The theme was that you had better get your songko boys. There was a new version, when the red and white flag went up. It went that this was really the flag of Islam and that the Christians and pagans would have no voice in the government. He thinks that perhaps this rumor was started by the Mohammedans. It was here that he joyfully parroted several times my word desas-desus [whispering, rumors]. He learns new words fast.

178 The situation here is the reverse of the
797 usual thing. The Catholics are the radicals,
●565 in the sense that they are against the old
177 things which are pagan, and the pagans are the
769 conservatives in the sense that they want to keep the old ways. This will change later, surely.

This led to a long talk about the entry of Catholicism here. Roy admits that he may be the most powerful factor in the fast and one hundred per cent conversion here. He said that the main reason was that he gave good lessons (ketranggan [interpretation, clarification, proof]) and the second reason was that he happens to be a real noble. The latter meant not only that he had a good name and respected rank, but that he was in close touch with and had real privileges in the pagan ancestral stuff. Indeed, his own rank depends on the ancestor cult. If he was willing to take a chance with the new

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178 religion, when he knew so much about the old
797 ways and his ancestors were so important in
●565 it, then this new religion must be all right.
177 (Here we see the old theme of converting the
769 chiefs first. And all the magic aspect is clear too.) He admitted that if the nobles had been against Catholicism it would have been much more difficult (impossible? Note India, where the handicap of missions has been that most of the people converted have been untouchables; and the joy of the missions has been whenever they could snare a Brahmin.)

797 Roy says that they received Catholicism at
175 first gladly and were interested and liked the medicine. Then there came trouble, however, when they saw that the Catholics were determined to wipe out the old things. Then came resignation. The trouble started when the Catholics began to win. Thus there were three phases, starting with the conversion of the first man, Guru Bala, in 1885:

(1) 1885--1912: period of amicable relations.

(2) 1912--1920: the pagan fight, and real conflict.

(3) 1920 to the present: the surrender and acceptance of the inevitable.

[614] Bala was of the suku Lewonuhah.

565 Even now, the asli, the men of real noble
177 descent, have the power and prestige. It is very hard, indeed impossible, for a commoner, no matter how clever he may be, to bring in alien things. If a commoner tried he would be killed. If he is a noble, he will find things easier, but he too had better be careful, for if he is a "trouble maker" he too might be thrown out (killed?).

797 In Wailolong the first Christian was Pulo,
177 converted by Bala in 1890. Conversions were
798 slower here than in Leloba, and paganism still
184 holds on. Because it was slower there, Roy says
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581 all it is a matter of proper behavior and secondly one of good work. There are no taboos
• [565] on interclass marriages. Note that slave descendants are placed in the system. Above all they do not want a lazy mate. The rank is the same for both sexes: behavior, work, and personal appearance. As the guru said, "How in hell could we have clothes if the wives were not always weaving? We can buy shirts and pants only rarely, as money is dear. Therefore, they must weave sarongs, etc." It is a simple necessity. I said, "Well then, as long as a girl is a good worker and is well behaved, you would like to marry her even if her face is like that of an animal." This literally raised the roof, and all of them laughed, including the flat-faced but attractive daughter. "Oh well," they said, "if she really has a face like a monkey, that's a different thing." They are absolutely adamant, however, that mere prettiness is not enough. If a girl is very attractive, but is bad on other points, no one wants her as a mate. They might like it, but they just can't afford it.

836 Roy said that nearly all women here are virgins at the time of their marriage (except the pairs who had sexual relations before, but these marry anyway). This goes for the men as well as the women. I asked what would happen if a man found that his wife was not a virgin. He said that he wouldn't make a fuss about it, but that the "marriage would probably not be happy." These little indications show me that there must be a lot of fooling around to give him any chance to answer at all.

585 The only marriage ceremonies here are those
177 of the church, and they are of recent origin. There is no native marriage ceremony here. This must be very unusual in Indonesia. There is not even a ceremonial meal.

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302 178 (Note: One thing he mentioned as brand new is the matter of haircuts. In the old days they shaved the heads of the young, and some children still have these shaved heads. But the older people had their hair done in a long bob.)

624 All of the adat posts are the same today as they were before, and Migo said that indeed the most important man is the mosa laki mere, even now (aside from the kapitan, perhaps). The only post which is no longer kept up is the non-hereditary panglima perang, or atambani.

634 565 614 632 First there is the Radja of Ende. Then come the families or lineages of the mosa laki, which are strictly hereditary, in an eldest son succession. Thus the eldest of the eldest of the eldest, etc. This forms a kind of hereditary nobility, although it is not considered such. Aside from this, the suku have certain prerogatives now, and even before this was probably the case. And this leads to an important correction: It is true that any male member of the suku Odja or Rewarangga, and of these only, can become kapitan. He is chosen for cleverness (1). The Reandona suku has been trying to get a man into the kapitan's post for a long time, but unless Odja and Rewarangga agree, this is impossible. It is their business. This is why he originally wrote that every member of the Odja suku is "bangsawan." He thinks this is true in the other districts, but he is not sure. Certain suku have the pre-eminence in each district.

622 614 The kepala kampong post also must be within the suku Odja, and the best man gets it. He thinks this is the same for other kampongs. Thus in Worowai, the kepala kampong must be from the Rewarangga suku, etc. Thus even the elective offices must be within a suku which

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582 or father's father's father's sister's daughter's
835 daughter's son). However, the priests will give dispensation only with a certain amount of fuss here (unlike in Manggarai, where it is evidently easier because the Catholics are newer there and maybe they want to go slower at first).

583 A bride price must be paid for a good marriage, but the very poor folk may omit it, although they try to pay a little, and merely go and live together. The price is variana. Formerly it included tusks, money, animals (buffaloes, horses, cattle). They try to give these things now, but it is degenerating into money alone. The return gift is called tau laguana. The girl's family gives it. It usually includes properly a pair of gold earrings, gold beads, and formerly slaves. The price also formerly might have included slaves, I think. In addition, the girl's family gives a kind of "household outfitting" to the couple, including baskets, gear, food, and formerly slaves. This is like a dowry. Evidently it is also called laguana.

They say that if they did not give a return gift it would be like selling a slave.

[797] The church enforced a shift to more distant mother's brother's daughter type marriages.
[178] The price is much lower now, and this constitutes a big change in the last fifty years or
●[565] so. In the old days, for a noble girl one might pay one hundred tusks, ten gold units, two slaves, etc. This depended on her rank.

582 Another change is the removal of the former
178 taboo on slave-noble marriages. In the old days,
565 an upper man might take as a concubine a slave
567 girl, but they seem pretty sure that he would
684 not ordinarily marry her, although he might do so. In the old days, however, if a slave man tried anything with a noble girl, it would mean that both of them would be put to death. This

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582 has long since been tabooed by the government.
178 Nevertheless, I wonder if there is not a re-
565 luctance to marry a slave descendant. They
684 say that there used to be plenty of slaves
567 here and that they were obtained mainly by war.

583 They say that the Mohammedans have just
184 about given up the bride price here, but that the Christians keep it up firmly. This is another example of the greater conservatism in some ways which the Christians demonstrate.

I wonder also if what a priest says may not be true: that the Catholic church has decided that the bride price is a good idea, as it solidifies the marriage bond, and why drive it out?

585 As for changes in the wedding procedure,
583 Migo gave me first the way a pagan marries today and the way everyone married formerly:

First the intermediaries sound out the girl's parents. If all is O.K., the parents get together and decide on the price. The wedding starts with the boy, with his best man, going to the house of the bride, and there her family kills a pig. The girl and her bridesmaid and the boy and his best man eat the pig or part of it that evening, and then the couple have their first sex relations in the girl's house. The next morning the boy goes home taking what is left of the pig and gives it to his family. That day he returns to the girl's house with his best man, leading a goat. This is presented to the girl's family and they eat it. That evening, the girl's family again kills a pig, and the four eat part of it and then the couple sleep together again. The next morning the boy goes home taking the remains of the pig to his family. He then returns with another goat and gives it to the girl's family. That evening a third pig is killed and the four eat of it and the pair sleep together. The next morning the

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581 behavior. Looks are a mere by-matter. The same holds for women. They like good workers for husbands (men must keep at the gardens); and as far as I could see, that is about all. I wonder if men should be decent (I doubt that looks are thought of much if at all), as long as they work. These people are way beneath any aesthetic stuff in love (but it may be there in its own way!).

836 They insist that there is not one case of
[848] a bastard in their memory. However, yesterday I got the impression that boys have a chance with, for example, widows sometimes. But evidently the girls just stay virgin. They hammer on this; it is and always was a one hundred per cent rule, and that a girl would try to fool on
177 this is considered a terrific thought.

797 In the family the Catholics have tried to
595 stop: (1) polygny (but this goes on), (2)
587 levirate and sororate (but this goes on), (3)
582 mother's brother's daughter marriage (they do this with more distant relatives in order to keep up the form). This is interesting.

789 In regard to the nobility, I can get no re-
753 action on ideas of magic power, and they say
[565] that even the Radja of Ende does not have any. They say that he is new anyway. He is just a big man from the Djari Djawa suku (but the radja must come from this, but I got the idea that Nggobe might get in too). I asked if maybe the mosa laki had any, and they said no. If they do not obey they just become angry, and it is better to stay on their good side as they control the land and they are the big men anyway. There is no magic punishment. Thus they are different even from Larantuka. The only things which have magic power are taboo places, for example, the rumah pemali, the grave-bone shrines, and the old ancestor places. Breaking such taboos can cause illness, and the

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789 unfulfillment of ancestral duties can cause ill-
753 ness too (note the illness fear theme; this is just right for these folk who are ill a good deal of the time). But there is no real kekuatan adjaib here.

567 There were many slaves here before, and this
582 applies even to twenty years ago (this is
178 probably a bit too late, I think). The regular
● 565 thing was for the father of a girl to include
[583] in the return gift at marriage, two slaves (like the "and two persons" still used in the formula for the bride price among the Buginese). There are slaves in the kampong now, but he thinks that only about two to three per cent of the population are so categorized. They are, and were, taken into the suku, but formerly there was little intermarriage with them, and then it was only between a higher man and
[684] a slave girl. If the reverse took place, the death punishment could be meted out. The marriage taboo is still in, but it is lessening, and even a boy of slave descent (if he is an excellent man and a good worker) may marry a higher girl. However, they are well known, and in general are still to be classed underneath. For example, they have to do certain duties (the guru said they are like "servants"; he used the Dutch word "jongens"). They live in houses with regular people, or perhaps in their own houses. Everyone knows who they are, but no mention is made of this because they reportedly get furious. This is a thing worth investigating further: exactly what are the duties, and exactly how are they thought of and what do they think of themselves, etc.? (Remember that in the United States no one really thinks of taunting Negroes with an open charge of being descended from slaves.)

565 There are few possibilities for class mo-
555 bility. There are some meager beginnings at

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565 the present time. Thus the guru and the assis-
555 tant had illiterate, pagan, farmer fathers.

554 The only time one can see status marks is
614 at feasts, when the ornaments of rank are worn.
422 These are made of gold and are now largely
565 lost. Some still remain. They are suku property, and not all suku have them. Odja and Gusa have some (this may be why the kapitan and others are mad for gold: they want to get it in order to have ornaments made for feasts and for ceremonial objects). If they sell these objects, they will become sick. On ordinary days, one cannot tell upper class folk (for example, members of the Odja suku) from ordinary people. They are really unclear about this. Then I asked who wore no gold and who had no such marks of status, if all of Odja and all of Gusa and all the members of some other suku had them. They said vaguely that those who did not wear them were the "ordinary folk." I asked who, the slaves? And they eagerly said yes. I get the idea that there are not many of these ceremonial objects left and perhaps only enough so that the mosa laki or kapitan, etc., can wear those of the suku at certain feasts. They strut about wearing the suku's wealth. And these things are suku property and do not belong to the families.

614 The social order of the individual, family,
565 etc., here has not changed very much. The
624 most direct thing is that only certain folk of
[178] the right suku have land rights in the kampong.
[423] Within the suku, however, the mosa laki or other office holder is probably a bit higher. They say, however, that the mosa laki gets no more of a bride price for his daughter than an ordinary man gets for his. I can't get very far in class investigation here, that's quite clear. And now I see why he was so puzzled at first when I asked him to indicate class distinc-

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614 tions. He put down just about everyone as
565 bangsawan, with the only exception being the
624 slave descendants and the absolute newcomers to the kampong. That is, everyone with suku membership who had a land privilege was included in the category "nobles." This means that there is no nobility properly speaking. Thus the mosa laki offices are really only the eldest branch of the eldest branch, etc., of a lineage.

565 This reminds me that when I asked whether
624 the kapitan of Nggobe (whose ancestor Ambu
634 Nggobe of the legends and who was the first
789 tuan tanah here) might not really be a bigger
173 man than the Radja, they said that he could well be that. Indeed, the tuan tanah of Nggobe is legendarily the biggest man here, according to the folk tales. And Rodja is big too. But then so is the Djawi descendant, the radja. Anyway, they are clear that the tuan tanah here are really the old ranks, and the radja is simply elevated to his present post only in recent history. This is probably why the radjas' hold is so weak here. They have no magic power and never were really higher than the tuan tanah. Thus the people here dare to rise against them at any time. What they fear is the government which stands behind the radjas, as well as a certain amount of respect and whatever the radjas have of ancestral claims according to the old adat scheme. When I mentioned the magic practices of Bone and the heaven-descent sanction of radja power in South Celebes, they seemed astonished. I am convinced. If there has developed any real royalty feeling here, it is rudimentary.

614 I asked whether perhaps there is a main man
624 of each suku. They said that the big man of Odja is the giri tumba, and of Rewarangga the mosa laki mere. In other kampongs and suku

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I note also that

554 there is a kind of mark of "upperness" in the
[177] wearing of European shirts by the men! This
[291] probably holds for the European dress worn by
some women too.

Roy says that in Larantuka town there is a
195 high and a low language, but I wonder if this
may not mean that there is merely a polite
idiom. Here in this area they all speak the
same language, but use fancier language in the
[554] ceremonies. The only titles are those of the
listed posts. One must be respectful to the
uppers.

614 The whole rank system depends on genealogi-
● 565 cal descent. There are no rules in regard to
interclass marriage, and everything depends
upon the suku system.

634 The Radja of Larantuka is a descendant of
565 the Ili, just as the other folk are. He is a
bit mixed up with Timor, via Pategolo. And
the Radja kedua is from Kroko Putang. However,
the entire upper "nobility" is really inte-
grated with the commoners. That is, there is
no heaven descent. They are just like the
other people, except genealogically they are
ranked a bit higher. All power also depends
on descent.

In 1905 the first guru of Leloba, Bala,
793 started his religious work. He had been con-
verted before this at the school in Larantuka.
At that time there were priests in Larantuka.

In 1912 a church was built at the kampong
361 lama of Riang Kamiß (this is another example of
how much and how recently these kampongs have
been moved from place to place). In fact,
only in these years, all kampongs except Lewo-
neda were still in the hills. Wailolong was
moved from the hills to the beach in 1913. At
that time a guru was sent to Wailolong, and in
1922 or 1923 Wailolong moved to the present lo-
cation.

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000 much of a waste of animals.

796 I finally found out which kampongs do the
614 main ritual functions when they have a general
346 Belakang Gunung feast at which all kampongs are represented. This is when they have a new korke (or church). The order is as follows:

1. Kottang is Mudakaputu (descendants of Bampowa).

2. Keleng is Lewohala (descendants of Kewaka).

3. Hurint is Leloba (descendants of Belawaburak).

4. Marang is Wailolong (descendants of Keweluk).

5. The passer of food and drink and betel ingredients is Waturiti (descendant of Mado). Thus they are the five brothers.

Hence we have the "sistim" which he himself
624 is so impressed by. There are priests in the
614 sense that the radja tuan and the kelake are
793 really suku and ama priests. They are admin-
565 istrative and ritual officers. In addition,
789 there are priests and gurus of the new religion.
756 And there are the molang or medicine seers. These have more power and influence if they are of bangsawan descent. Thus again the magic power of proper descent comes to the fore and we see that blood and rank affect even the influence of medicine men. Then there are the dukun, who are doctors but with magical aspects.

798 They are extremely liberal toward all religions. The only sign of any animosity I ever saw was toward Mohammedanism, and it was not even here except in Kampong Baru. The pagan resistance was more pronounced formerly. Today the two cults work together without much, if any, friction.

871 The schools are government schools, but the
797 mission runs them and evidently provides, but
658 does not pay, the teachers. The schools were

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764 were put in a box and placed in the "attics" of the tombs. All except one of these tombs are gone, and this one is the Odja shrine. Now I understand why the bones are placed above in this shrine. This is like all the [656] big men in the old days. Today, they can't use trees because the government forbids this on hygienic grounds (why worry? the place is so dirty and disease-ridden that it seems foolish). Today the big men are buried in especially elaborate tombs of stone, in which many bodies are put (as in Sumba). Formerly, ordinary folk were just buried, or if they had money enough they were placed in tombs.

764 554 ●565 Thus one can say that only big men, that is, the kepala suku, were put in the attics of the pondok before. Other nobles were placed in stone tombs if they could pay the expenses. Evidently both of these kinds of nobles were first placed in a tree. An ordinary noble who did not have enough money, however, was simply buried, as there would be no use putting him in a tree if there was not to be a second funeral and a stone tomb.

764 Today bodies must be buried within twenty-four hours. They are buried or put in tombs. The only "memory feast" aside from the second burial disposal was held when it was desired to ask for rain by calling directly on the dead (evidently).

[184] Only the pagans still put the body in knee-chest position at burial. The Christians and Mohammedans bury their dead in an extended posture.

At the old tombs, when they have a funeral of one to be put therein, the Catholic priest, (and I presume the Mohammedan leader too) prays.

At the funeral feast, pagans, Catholics and Mohammedans all kill animals.

517 All amusement is local, except for rare and

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124 kampong, Tjantjar, and there the guru and the other person and a pastor from Maumere were found. The guru had received no letter from van Bekkum, and was afraid to start work until he had it. Also, there was an inspection of schools today. I got angry, and threatened to leave the place. Then we decided to go to Ruteng to van Bekkum, and when there it turned out that the latter had sent the leave papers to Pau, the guru's kampong, one-half kilometer from the mission, but it never reached there, or something happened. Anyway, we finally got things straightened out and we began work at the pasanggrahan. Tomorrow I will be at Weol.

We started by inspecting the records, which, though they have been filled out, have many holes. His map is good, but needs touching up. I don't know yet how his answers are. As for the questionnaire, I got as far as the end of the Weol names, but not onto the Ndung names. The following are some of the holes:

592 1. In exactly which houses do the various
582 households live? There are only six houses in
595 Weol (nine houses in Ndung). Incidentally, I note much polygamy. The kepala kampong has six wives. There are plenty of extra-kampong marriages, as there must be if there is kampong exogamy. But there are some endogamous va'u marriages. So far there are no endogamous panga marriages. Each house has a tu'a mbaru, and if in a house there is a tu'a panga he is also the tu'a mbaru. But there is one house, that of tu'a tenu, which has the latter for the tu'a mbaru, but there is another tu'a panga therein. There are tu'a mbaru who are not tu'a panga.

2. Religion is not noted.

565 3. The assistant did not note the class and clan and totem of those who married into the kampong, who were mostly women, but some were

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565 men. He will fill these in. So far as I can see, all the "locals" of Weol are noted as "bangsawan." I must discuss this. The same thing happened in Roworeke. Evidently there is no real nobility in these places, only the eldest-son lineage, which takes the high of-
[114] fice. Maybe Linton is right in his hunch regarding the basis of Malayo-Polynesian social organization, that is, primogeniture. This checks with all the talk about the kuasa tinggi [high power] of the older branch, the kaka and
614 adi stuff, etc. As for totems, the key for
784 Weol (he uses the local totem names) is:

rutung	porcupine
kenti	a leafy vegetable
kula	a kind of big mouse
atju	dog
lusa	red bean
giro	a kind of firewood (no burning totem).

All of these are merely the main totems, but there are others. Thus Weol clan has the lusa, but also the thin bamboo taboo.

591 4. I must ask whether the men who have come
583 to live matrilocally did so because they didn't pay the bride price. He says that this is mostly the case, but not always. He says that he will have to ask this carefully, as he can't ask men directly because they are ashamed if they have not paid the bride price. He must ask others, "Why does so and so live here with his wife?" Then the dirt will come out. These men are Nos. 40, 110, 116, 122, 123, 127, and 132. All of this led to a discussion of the situation.

217 The pagans do not have any registry of marriages. The Catholics do not have to register marriages with the government (thus no marriage

[See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

567 said that this was true in Ruteng town especially. I get the definite impression that there is a lot hidden under this slave secrecy, the kind of evidence that seeps out when I ask about the dalu and kraeng. These folk have had a hard time, and were not liberated from Bima, which ruled with a hard hand, until relatively late. They are still, I think, under the dalu and the kraeng a lot.

567 621 ●565 He said that there are kampongs where all the inhabitants, though originally commoners (and note the difference between the "gelarang kampongs" and the "leke kampongs" below), were made into virtual slaves by the sultan and the dalu. These were the ata lampang, and their kampongs were called the "lampang kampongs." In Rahong they were Adjang, Limpong, Teras, Pokka, Kina, Ketok, and Lenteng. Here the people are all of this background, except for a few newcomers, and they are not ashamed to tell it. And nowadays they marry with other commoners and even with gelarang (although the assistant later grimaced when he said that he wouldn't want his family to marry certain people). The main areas for this kind of kampong were and are Todo, Pongkor, and here in Rahong.

Then there are kampongs nearly all of whose population is descended from commoners who were sekontu, i.e., virtual slaves of the kraeng of Todo and Pongkor. In Rahong these kampongs are Tengka, Levur, and Levat. And there has not been much mixture yet. The folk there are not ashamed to tell about it, as everyone knows, and everyone in the kampong is in the same boat. They too now intermarry quite a bit.

The mangko' pitu kampongs were under direct rule of Todo and Pongkor until about fifteen years ago, and these, although not exactly slaves, were like servants of the kraeng and had to render supplies to them when they came

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621 there. They remember their descent vividly.
567 These include, in Rahong: Tjera, Lerong,
●565 Se'ing, Ngadjok, and three others.

Thus it turns out that the "slave class" people were located largely in separate kampongs. But there were other slaves too. The lampang-sekontu type were commoners who were enslaved en masse, but there were the mendi too, who were either bought or captured in war. These were located in many kampongs, and were owned by nobles, gelarang, and even rich commoners. These were the ones who had to be paid (some of them) as a form of tax to Bima. These are probably the ones who would be most sensitive today, or rather their descendants would be. But the chances are that the lampang who no longer live in the separate kampongs are also sensitive. Thus I note that there are people from Teras, Tjera, etc. living in Veol or Ndung now, either married in or by some other means. They probably would get angry if this matter were brought up. He imitated the reaction that one might expect to such an insult. He looked very fierce. This shows that the fear is quite real. I suppose they might even kill him if he asked too much.

Cornelius[1] says many slaves were made so by the dalu or kraeng on one pretext or another. Thus a man might ride past a noble's house with bells on his horse. The noble would say that he was insulting him and hence enslave him and his family. If this really happened, and he gave it as a circumstantial kind of case, this was a land of real oppression until recently.

178 He says that up until twenty or even fifteen
567 years ago there were heavy duties on the lampang,
565 and this was long after the Dutch came in. Only fifteen years ago everyone was open about the slave stuff. This is thus a place where there has been very rapid change: the covering up of

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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567 178 ●565 slave descent and the removal of slave or slave-like services.

The kraeng of Todo and Pongkor, who were all over this area, were evidently the worst, because they were more numerous and more omnipresent. Bima was rather far off, and asked only peace and taxes, including slaves.

[578] 565 614 567 In regard to Todo and Pongkor, I got plenty of undercurrents of resentment here. Cornelius says the people here regard them as aliens (as indeed they are in this area, especially considering the localism of "nationalism" here). [173] And they themselves say that they are from Minangkabau via Makassar. I wonder if there is a tie-up with the Datu ri Bandar who brought Mohammedanism to Makassar from Minangkabau about three hundred years ago? I would like to see the treasure chest of the Pongkor kraeng, as perhaps I could decide whence their ancestors came. I then asked why all the people of the kampong were noted as gelarang. And here I ran into the same thing as in Ende. Indeed, all the members of certain clans are a kind of nobles, like Odja there. This goes for the va'u Veol. It also goes for the va'u Pau, to which the assistant belongs. I tried every way to plumb this matter, and first got this information about the kampongs:

565 567 621 614 (1) There are kampongs in which all the "locals" are of the gelarang class, for example, kampongs Veol and Ndung. But there may be included among these, descendants of slaves who were admitted into the va'u after long residence, or who now claim membership, and although no one gainsays this, all know that they were from lower depths before. Still, I wonder if possibly some of the many men from the outside va'u, who are especially common in Ndung and who are married to outside women too, may have been here a long time and may have been slaves before.

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565 For example, they may have been bought or cap-
567 tured in war. In regard to the latter possi-
621 bility, a kraeng who came from Pongkor and who
[614] now lives in Tjantjar and who was standing by
during all this with his father, said that
there were plenty of wars between the kampongs
here formerly, and the kraeng and dalu had to
control this. Bima put in the dalu, he says,
[171] for this end.

(2) There are kampongs which are nearly one hundren per cent descended from commoners (leke) who were made lampang en masse by the kraeng. That is, they are kampongs which were made up of commoners before, and which were depressed to the lampang status. In these, very few of the people are from the outside.

(3) There are kampongs which are nearly one hundred per cent descended from sekontu. These were originally commoners (leke) but were made into slaves en masse by the kraeng. Evidently the lampang and the sekontu, as well as the mangko' pitu, might have been made thus by the sultan, dalu, or kraeng. Indeed, the three seemed to work together, and the dalu are called kraeng too.

(4) There are kampongs which are just about one hundred per cent kraeng, for example Puruk here, and Pongkor and Todo. These are still in the gelarang Rahong here, that is, under the direct control of the dalu. There are eight of them, including Puruk. The assistant says the kraeng prefer to get out of these, as in them they are nobles among nobles, but in other kampongs they can play on their status and the folk have to give them respect. Formerly they gave them more evidently. He says that up to the present time they still receive various forms of respect. Indeed, the kraeng who was here said so too.

The mangko' pitu were directly under Todo and

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621 Pongkor until perhaps fifteen years ago, and
●565 the kraeng kampongs are still directly under
567 the dalu. It seems that the ata lampang kampongs were under the dalu formerly too, but maybe they were merely slave kampongs under local rulers. The sekontu were indeed directly under Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps the picture was: under the dalu, the kraeng and the lampang kampongs; under Todo and Pongkor, the sekontu and mangko' pitu kampongs.

(5) There are kampongs which are about one hundred per cent of the dalu class. These are evidently the "capitals" of the dalu, for example, Rahong kampong.

567 Cornelius[1] says again that in his time, at
565 the most twenty years ago, there were still
624 plenty of slaves, and the Dutch hit this system
423 hard in order to get them out. Evidently the
[177] real mendi, the bought or captured ones, were merged first (as the slave trade and war were forced out), but the lampang type persisted until very recently. He later told me how much the lampang had to give in tribute to the kraeng. This links with what the kraeng (who was from Pongkor and a very soft spoken lad) who is now in Tjantjar said. He said that the kraeng had and have the right to settle and get land in any kampong. He has gotten land here. But they have to ask the consent of the tuan tanah first and have to pay the regular tribute to the tuan tanah. But the permission is not refused. I asked if they could take a lot of land, and he said no, that they had to be reasonable.

621 He said, the Todo and the Pongkor rulers (and
565 the dalu too, evidently) also placed kraeng in
661 the kampongs to keep order (as so many wars were held that the folk would let them judge the cases, although they were not really administrative men, but rather prestigeful men) and to act as spies of the Todo and Pongkor rulers

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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621 and of the dalu. (Later the assistant said that
●565 they were spies all right; they checked to see
661 that the lampang didn't chisel on tribute and paid the proper share of produce to Todo, Pongkor, and the dalu. The assistant said they had to pay plenty.

567 Thus there has been a very rapid change here,
178 in the disappearance of the slaves as a class. And the recency may explain some of the sensitivity. These folk are just trying to make their way into full freedom and won't be held back.

565 When I first started on this, the kraeng, whose identity I didn't know as he was just dressed in shorts and was very unimpressive, said that all men were equal now! Then he went on to say that the kampong folk gave respect to the kraeng.

621 Possibly three hundred years ago there were
565 only two sorts of kampongs (see Coolhaas;[1] had the dalu in the eighteenth century). The dalu were not in yet then. The two sorts were: the ones where most of the population was gelarang (for example, Veol), and the ones where most of the population were commoners (for example, Adjang, which later became lampang). I asked whether any of the gelarang kampongs were made lampang, and the assistant said that he thought not, as the kraeng had to keep the native nobles in in order to keep things going (indirect rule!).

Cornelius[2] says that he does not know whence came the dalu or what the situation was before they came in. Evidently the Todo and Pongkor kraeng were conquerors and rulers here before the dalu came in (see Coolhaas).[1] It looks as
[177] though the dalu were put in by the Bima administration.

567 In regard to the recency of slavery here, note that the Sarasins[3] in 1902 or thereabouts

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst] [2] [i.e., the assistant -- Analyst] [3] [See 2:Kennedy, OB1 Indonesia, cat. 116, p. 242 -- Analyst]

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567 saw hundreds of Toradjas being brought into Palopo as slaves by the Buginese.

177 565 621 174 [614] If it is so that the dalu were put in by the Bima administration, perhaps originally there might have been only the gelarang, the tuan tanah that is, and the commoners. Maybe the latter were aborigines, and the first conquest brought in the gelarang class. But this seems unlikely, as the gelarang tuan tanah class looks very ancient here. (For example, the Veol clan ancestors came out of bamboo right at the Veol spring.) Anyway, some clans seemed to be higher and others lower, perhaps as in Lio, where some are of the tuan tanah rank and others are not, or like the situation in Ende, where some have mosa laki and others do not. Long ago, and the assistant says perhaps three hundred years, the kraeng came in from Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps they were Minangkabau who came in through Makassar. They say so. But they have no matrilineal system so far as I know, and they have the va'u system like all the people in Manggarai. And the language is the same. However, I asked the assistant if I was right in that the kraeng had a different accent, and he said yes, but this may be a mere local difference.

The assistant says that he knows the legends say that the dalu came from outside somewhere. But their names are Manggarai, and they have the va'u system too. Question: are they Todo-Pongkor kraeng who were elevated, some of them, to the dalu status by Bima. Are they Bimanese in origin? Are they gelarang who were elevated by Bima? It is certain that Bima put them in. I would favor the first explanation, but am bothered by the fact that some kampongs were under dalu and others under Todo and Pongkor kraeng. It looks as though they had a double rule here above the gelarang level, which was

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565 the old adat:
621 (1) The dalu rule, centering on Bima.
174 (2) The kraeng rule, centering on Todo and
177 Pongkor.
177 Thus the locals may have been merely under a
565 double rule, and the actual supremacy of Todo-
621 Pongkor or Bima was never really resolved. It
634 may be that it was like the Madjapahit situa-
[174] tion in outlying areas: the local princes were partly to a largely degree independent and oppressed the locals (the Todo-Pongkor ones here), and the proconsuls of the central government got what they could for the sultan (the dalu). The question remains, whence the dalu? And I must find out whether the dalu family trees are the same as those of the kraeng. Note, incidentally, that the radja is of the Todo kraeng.

It may be that there is a strange unassimilation of rule here. There is the radja, whose supporters would be the kraeng scattered all over (and I heard the first day that "there are a few kraeng of the radja's family now in Tjantjar; they have gotten land there." I wrote at the time: "Any story here?" There seems to be one. Now comes the question whether the dalu
[578] work with the radja, or are still a bit independent, as sort of survivals of the Bima days (and the Dutch days that replaced Bima)? And what of the gelarang? Are they more for the radja or for the dalu? Or are there no tensions at all?

578 I remember that the Radja when he was a bit
634 drunk during the feast told us that he would
565 advise us and tell us of possible dangers, etc. My guess is that all is not peaceful and happy here. Why? There seems to be no real exploitation any more, but perhaps there is a remembered resentment against the kraeng. And the mandur said that the Radja was not really Manggarai,

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565 but a Minangkabau. He belongs to a soccer
634 team called ATOM (Anak Tanah Orang Manggarai).
578 Is there any "nationalistic" resurgence under the merdeka stuff here? Who would lead? There are only the gelarang. I can see a good chance for elective democracy here, because (1) the old adat system lives, and its class levels are minimal (as the assistant says, the gelarang are "middle"), (2) the dalu may represent Bima rule (and the assistant insists that they are of alien origin), (3) the radja represents the oppression of the kraeng of Todo and Pongkor. Thus the old shakiness of the Flores radjas is even more remarkable here, and the radja is very new anyway.

[124] But the assistant is not ready to talk. I tried to stir up things by saying that perhaps in twenty years there would be no more radjas in Flores. But I think the lesson of oppression has been too recent. It will take a little time for the revolution, if any, to get going in Flores.

565 The kraeng said, when I asked if there was
614 any difference in looks between the classes,
[576] that it was a matter of manners (he said it was a matter of with whom one associates) and money. But he said that you can tell by the manners. I get a definite impression that the kraeng are proud, and perhaps a bit snobbish. I then tried to get at the class business via the clans. I got this, which jibes with the kampongs, as the kampongs are largely clan units, although there is some mixture:

(1) There are one hundred per cent gelarang va'u, e.g., Veol.

(2) There are one hundred per cent leke va'u, e.g., Adjang and the other formerly lampang kampongs, Levat, and the other formerly sekontu va'u, and Lerong, and the other formerly mangko' pitu va'u.

565 614 (3) There are one hundred per cent kraeng va'u, e.g., Puruk.

(4) There are one hundred per cent dalu va'u, e.g., Rahong.

(5) There is a radja va'u, of kraeng rang, i.e., Todo.

174 The history may be something like this:

621 565 634 (1) Originally, and until about three hundred years ago: the gelarang tuan tanah district chiefs were in, with kampong ramifications.

648 (2) About three hundred years ago until 1900: the period of Todo-Pongkor kraeng conquest, with also some Makassarese rule from the north (Goa) and Bima rule also.

(3) 1909--1929: Dutch rule without radja.

(4) 1929--1941: Dutch rule with radja.

(5) 1941--1949: Japanese, and later Dutch influence, the latter putting in the East Indonesian negara.

(6) 1949-- : The new Indonesia, with the Dutch gone, but the radja still here, as well as the dalu and the kraeng.

The only real power still alien in this area is that of the Todo-Pongkor kraeng (radja). What will happen?

582 614 I checked over the marriages in Veol and Ndung, but the assistant will get the va'u of the inmarrying women. However, it looks as though there is no pattern. Looking only at the kampongs whence the inmarriers came, I can find just about no system; the twenty-seven women who married men of Veol came from twenty different kampongs (highest frequency was three). The four men who married women of Veol and came here to live are from three kampongs (highest frequency two).

The twenty-nine women who married men of Ndung came from twenty kampongs (highest frequency four: Tjumbi; another three: Tjara).

The nine men who married women of Ndung and

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166 no bride price or come for some other cause; and those who have come to "work in the gardens" and have settled in the kampong.

166 425 624 This last category accounts for the many outside couples. Thus I discovered that they can sell land to people from outside, with the consent of the tuan tanah, who, so far as the assistant knows, never makes any trouble over this. The person merely informs the tuan tanah that from now on the tribute from his field such and such will be paid by so and so. There are families which have sold all of their land, but this is rare. They usually sell a part of the lands. What happens is that once a new garden is laid out (and most of the gardens here are in the star shaped pattern) and the tuan tanah has divided the wedges among the families, the assigned section belongs to the family until or unless it is abandoned, whereupon the claim lapses and it is given to another family. The family can sell its garden land (so assigned) to anyone, with notification given to the tuan tanah. The outside people are those who have bought land here, and have come to live here. Thus the assistant, whose family land is in Pau, has bought land in Tjantjar and has moved there.

425 624 This led to a discussion of the division of land. Only when a new garden is laid out is the lodok pole set up. The tuan tanah stands here when he divides the wedges. Each family must get a slice, or perhaps if there are too many families and thus the wedges would be too small, some families await their turn when a new garden is laid out. Once the lodok is used, it stands until it falls. Then a stone is placed at the navel, and there each year the rites of the garden are held.

[565] [634] [661] Then came the "low-down" about the radja. I asked how then do the kraeng get land? Do they

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425 stand with the families and get a share, like
624 any ordinary person? This led to the usual
● 565 wild look and obvious reluctance. Then he
634 came through. The truth is that the kraeng
661 don't get their land directly, but rather, when a new garden is laid out, the radja just says, I'll take this part. It may be a quarter or even half of the pie. And he pays nothing. Then he gives pieces of the land so requisitioned to members of "his family," of whom there are hundreds, and more swarm out of Todo and Pongkor all the time. They pay nothing. Now I see why the kraeng yesterday said that a privilege of the kraeng is to get land anywhere in Manggarai. This seems to be a real burden, and is at least a racket. I can see where, if there is enough open land, a kraeng or anyone else might be given pieces; but the chiseling evidently comes from the fact that they get cleared and nicely laid out land after a lot of hard work has been done on it.

And now I can see perhaps why the priest in Larantuka said that the tuan tanah and the Radja work together (though this seems to be a strange combination, it might take place in Larantuka because the Radja is a kind of big tuan tanah himself and is part of the whole native tuan tanah system; i.e., he is the Kottang of the state), and as soon as the poor folk have cleared the land, the radja steps in and says, "I'll have this piece," and takes the best part. Perhaps the priest linked the tuan
[578] tanah in here because he naturally hates the tuan tanah, who are anchors of whatever paganism is left. This is why I'd like to know here whether the tuan tanah likes the kraeng and the radja and dalu (but the latter is a "different breed") or whether he grudgingly gives what he must.

We In regard to the Radja and the land matter,
425 I finally got it straight. The radja and kraeng
565 used to take what they wanted, worked or un-
634 worked. Also, they used to make the lampang
661 work the unworked fields and gardens. Starting
466 about two years ago there has been no more free
178 labor, but the radja and the kraeng must pay wages. If anyone resisted before, he and the whole family could be enslaved instantly. Even now, they can generally get undeveloped land for the asking when a new field is laid out, but they must work it themselves or pay laborers wages. They do not need to pay for undeveloped fields, any more than the local folk have to pay for them. But other aliens, like the assistant here, must buy such land. If the radja or kraeng wants to obtain developed land today, he must pay for the labor done on it. Even the last remaining privilege, to ask and get a piece of undeveloped land, is in danger. A year ago, in Dalong, the folk took back from the radja a piece of land that had been given him and that he had worked. Thus the old privileges die under merdeka.

565 All of the above information about the dalu
624 being here only since 1880 is wrong. Coolhaas 1
167 has reported that dalu were in Manggarai in
174 the eighteenth century. Their origin is unknown. The assistant says that they all came from overseas. The gelarang were merely tuan tanah. The kraeng were among the dalu. They were originally the dalu of the Todo-Pongkor area. Thus the dalu have been here for a long time. They were evidently pro-consuls of Bima and Makassar (which fought long over Manggarai). The pastor says that he thinks some of them were originally locals who were elevated, and others came from the outside. The assistant insists that their family trees are different from those of the gelarang. Maybe they represent a partly elevated gelarang and partly kraeng from Todo-

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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565 Pongkor. The whole thing is in the dark. I
624 must check Coolhaas at length. The names of
167 the dalu are all Manggarai, and simple. The
174 Radja merely has a Manggarai name.

The newcomers in the kampongs here are no
166 cause for worry, because the original kampong
621 dwellers keep control, no matter how many new-
614 comers there are and how few of them are left. There is a kampong where there are only three old households left, and there are about forty outside households. The three keep control.

Those who have come into the kampongs here comprise both unmarried and married folk. The
[567] former all marry in. Some of the present folk who are named as of va'u Veol may well be of slave origin. Slaves were taken into the va'u of their owners. Everyone in the kampong knows which families in the va'u are of slave origin, but they will not tell outsiders. It is certain that the slaves are among the va'u Veol folk, if any.

Usually newcomers have relatives within the kampong, and this is the way so many Tjumbi entered. These relatives form an opening wedge, and others follow. This is like immigration in the United States.

Very few come into the kampong and then leave. The only case is the Tjepang clan. It entered long ago and left about twenty years ago for Tjantjar, en masse. This happens often. A clan enters and increases so much, while the original clan also increases in size, that in the end the original clan says that the immi-
[624] grant clan must move. Then the other clan is given a gong-gendang, one of them becomes the tuan tanah of the branch kampong, and off they go. This is what happened in the case of Tjantjar.

624 The man who becomes the branch tuan tanah is
[614] the tuan panga of the clan. He gets the gong-

648 other types of slaves, and a few other things.
634 They also put in the radja. Otherwise they did
[681] not make much change in the traditional administration. Bima was out, and this may be why there is not so much feeling against the Dutch here.

565 As far as nobility is concerned, there are
789 the radja, dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, but
756 they have no magic power. The kraeng says, however, that Todo and Pongkor sengadji used to have magic power (another sign of Makassar or Bima influence?). The mbako has magic power. The more I hear, the more I see that the mbako is really an important man.

622 The succession of radjas goes from eldest son
624 to eldest son or brother. The same holds for
632 the dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, and tuan panga.
634 However, the dalu wakil is chosen by the dalu, always from his family, I suppose. The kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu after sounding out the feelings of the kampong. Many of these are commoners. Some are also tuan tanah. The tuan mbaru is merely the old man of the house with influence. He is usually the oldest. This position is non-hereditary and is evidently a matter of age.

Thus we see that all of these are hereditary, with the only exceptions those of the new kepala kampong and the unimportant tuan mbaru and the obvious dalu wakil.

666 A recent innovation has been the election
646 of members of the Flores daerah parliament,
635 the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Flores.

There are five members from Manggarai, elected at large, but by electoral districts. There are five districts named according to the place where the electors meet:

(1) Ruteng (South Central Manggarai)
(2) Rekas (West Manggarai)
(3) Tjantjar (Central Manggarai)

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124 will tell them. He says that the pastors do
[797] not like it if a guru gets too zealous. They
want him to respect the old ways and go slowly.
This is indeed crafty.

771 Among the thirty-nine dalu, about twenty of
●565 them are Christian, says the kraeng. About
796 thirty per cent of the gelarang are Christian,
189 says the kraeng, but the assistant says that
this is true only of their heirs apparent.
The trouble in regard to the rites which the
gelarang must lead is still to come. For example, the heir apparent of the Veol gelarang is Serai, who is about twenty-five years old and a Catholic. What will happen? The assistant says that he must lead the rites, but they will have troubles reconciling the old with the new Catholic ways. But so far everyone, including the Catholics, must go through the ceremonies, because they are so closely related to their livelihood. Agriculture, on which everything depends, is unthinkable without the rites!

601 Larantuka: I met Oudehand, "controleur" at
[115] Waingapu in Sumba, and had a talk with him.
He worked in Leloba and is writing an article for "Indonesia" about the adat there. We got onto the subject of kinship terms, and he had this to say. He says that opu is the term for affinal relationships. This goes for both sides. Thus, with the qualifier belake (my term for mother's brother) opu belake means all the relatives with whom a man is related by marriage, that is, his wife's (mother's brother's daughter) group. And on the other side, he says opu wai(ng) means all the relatives-in-law on the father's sister's side, i.e., the man's sister's relatives-in-law. The general term opu, he says, he got for mother's brother, mother's brother's son, and father's sister (all man speaking), and perhaps also father's sister's son (man speaking).

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864 very sure about this. Nothing is a mystery.

There have been no changes in the last fifty
178 years in regard to social classes here, except
565 that the kraengs have lost their power, and
634 that Bima is no longer in. Also, the radja is
621 now superimposed. But the regular classes are
567 the same, and even the kraeng still get a bit of respect, although this has suffered a marked decline. Note that the Radja is a Todo kraeng, and I can see that he tries to do the best he can for his enormous "family" by getting land for them, etc.

Cornelius lists in his notes:

tu'a kilo	household head
tu'a mbaru	house head
tu'a panga	lineage chief
tu'a tenu	va'u or kampong chief
tu'a beo	elders of the kampong, collectively
gelarang	who is also a tu'a tenu
dalu	district ruler
radja	new Manggarai ruler
ata leke	commoner
ata mendi	slaves who were bought or captured
ata lampang, ata sekontu, ata mangko' pitu	other slaves

The general term for "population" is ro'eng.

651 In the old days a tax was paid to Bima in
567 slaves (taki). It is remembered that three
661 men from Veol were taken off in this fashion,
178 but it is not known where they were taken. Others were taken as slaves because they didn't behave correctly toward the Bima dignitaries.
[689] Enslavement was evidently a great form of punishment here for any infringement in showing the proper respect to authority. Today there are no more "slaves"

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567 are no more "slaves."

The dalu of Reo, who is the grandson of the last radja naib, or proconsul, of Bima in Reo (and thus he is sore that he is not the radja of Manggarai) when I asked him if he knew about the Do Donggo, said that they were actually descendants of Manggarai slaves who had escaped or who were let loose into the mountains of Sumbawa. I asked if they spoke the Manggarai language, and he said no, they had forgotten it. I suspect this, but it is interesting and might bear further looking into.

555 There is little chance for one to move within the social system here. The only chance I see is by becoming a guru, but so far no one from Veol or Ndung has become a guru. I note that there are a couple of policemen from here who have gone to Kupang and Ende. And the boy who went to Makassar they said had worked here for a Chinese. Then he just went along with him to Makassar. They agreed that he might make his way ahead there in the big world.

565 291 177 554 There are pusaka kris, and costumes, but they appear mainly at feasts. One can see them then. Otherwise, there is just about no difference in clothing between one class and another, and I get the impression that even formerly there was not much in this regard. However, I note that nowadays, for everyday appearances, here and everywhere I go, the new mark of the new middle class is a European shirt or dress, perhaps shoes, pants, etc. And of course most significant is a fountain pen and brief case. I can see this even when an old type lad has higher rank and his assistant is, for example, a Minahasa government worker. The latter, because of his education, patronizes the former, although he observes the proper respect indulgently. The dress marks the difference. Where the chief is also European

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565 291 177 554 dressed, e.g. the kapitan of Roworeke, he is not dominated by an "assistant." However, he dominates (cautiously as yet) the adat dressed mosa laki. This is interesting.

565 576 The Pongkor kraeng said that manners differ by class, and he may be right. However, I met a rough kraeng in Anam. And I think that he was from Todo too. Todo ones have a reputation of being more refined than those from Pongkor. All this probably does not mean very much.

[195] 576 178 Special words are used as part of the language of ceremonies and rites. However, this is merely a matter of occasion. In the old days real respect was shown for the Bima dignitaries, the kraengs, etc. When one approached a kampong where there was a kraeng, one had to dismount from one's horse and remove one's shoulder cloth down to the hips, where it was wound around, leaving the torso bare.

[689] If one did not show the proper respect formerly, a whole kampong might be made lampang. Thus, enslavement was the great mass punishment. Even today there is still a bit of feeling in regard to the rank of the kraeng, although it is nothing like what it was before.

554 621 614 There are grades of pride on the kampong level, and thus Veol feels a bit higher than its branch kampong Tjantjar. Also, Veol va'u feels a bit better than the incoming va'u Tjepang. But this is not a real formulization.

565, 582 There are no approved marriages with mendi. This is still very bad. It is possible to marry with other kinds of "slaves" (e.g., lampang). There are a number of such cases now in Veol. Everyone, up to the radja, may marry everyone else except the mendi. There are plenty of such mixed marriages, and even the radja has a commoner for a wife. Here again one can see the ordinary quality of the radjas

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565 of Flores, so unlike the radjas of Celebes.
582 This is a correction of some of the previous notes, because he had said that radjas, dalu and gelarang intermarried only among each other. The truth seems to be that all except the mendi are intermarriageable.

There is still great feeling against marrying a descendant of a mendi. For example, in Pau, where there are about ten persons descended from mendi, there have been a few marriages of these families with commoners, but never with gelarang families (e.g., the assistant's). The assistant says that he would never want his daughter to marry a mendi descendant. I pressed hard on this, and asked him if he would not be willing to have his daughter marry a mendi descendant if, for example, he became a great man in Indonesia, along with the new democracy. He said absolutely not. This is a Catholic, young and educated fellow. Then I asked about his son, should he want to marry a mendi girl. He said there would be much less resistance in this case.

Among the uppers there is a great deal of inter-district marriage, for example, at the radja, dalu, gelarang and kraeng levels. There is also some inter-district marriage among the commoners.

789 The only magic power known is in the hands
756 of the mbako. They can give magical strength
565 to individuals. Thus again I see how important and powerful are these secret persons. The nobles, however, have no kekuatan adjaib.

797 The only major change in the local religion has been the introduction of Catholicism, and it has been epochal.

771 About fifty per cent of the local people are
788 Catholic. Just about every family has at least
183 one Catholic in it. If a Catholic wants to attend community rites, this is all right, but he

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782 Drums, etc. are set up.
231 (5) A new ordinary house. There is a small
[342] feast, and pigs are killed.

[731] (6) If there is an epidemic, a big feast is
[783] held, like the tjutji kampong of Ambon. The
[756] mbako decides when it is needed. It is called kaba erba golo, which means "buffalo (kaba) makes young or renews (erba) the kampong (golo)." Thus the word for young seems to have the sense of making young or cleaning or renewing. There is a buffalo sacrificed, I suppose at the tjompang.

[697] (7) When a man returns from jail. A buffalo is sacrificed.

[585] (8) A wedding. For such rites only pigs are sacrificed. Buffaloes which are killed at this time are for food only, not for ritual use.

[764] (9) Funerals. If such a rite is for an up-
[565] per, a buffalo is sacrificed; if a funeral is for a lower, only a pig is sacrificed.

[844] (10) Birth. A bigger ceremony is held for a first child, and all the kampong folk attend. Later children are given smaller rites, and only the family attend. Pigs or fowls are sacrificed. Such ceremonies are held five to ten days after birth. There is no special touching the ground rite. However, at this time the baby's hair is cut and a name is given.

844 This led to a discussion of birth. In each
[756] kampong the mbako are also midwives, i.e., at least some of them. A male mbako may be a midwife, and Cornelius says that some are very clever at this. Evidently all mbako are medicine givers and sorcerers and soothsayers, etc., but not all of them are midwives.

843 There are no food taboos for pregnant women, but there are restrictions. If a pregnant woman goes out at night, she must carry a knife (like Ambon). An expectant father may not make bamboo water holders. Neither parent may work at the graves or go to funerals

F 114 C 634 han, which had no mandur or kitchen or bed. I set up a camp bed with the help of the Radja of Kolaka (who was waiting[1] for a Makassar ship with his family after six months banishment in Ruteng by the Dutch) and his assistant. I then went to the dalu's house where Degens worked for awhile. Then I had lunch with the dalu, a sullen young man, whose still living grandfather is the last radja naib of Reo.

F 634 565 632 578 The dalu was bitter about the Radja of Manggarai. He says that he should be radja, but that the mission put in a Catholic. He says that next to him the proper royal house is Tjibal, which is descended from Daeng Tamema of Reo. The proper royal house is not Todo, because Todo was under Bima only, and the Radja is only a dalu subordinate. He also said that his territory was very small, because the Catholics do not like Mohammedans, nor did the Dutch. Only he, the dalu of Pota, and the dalu of a couple of other coastal places are Mohammedan here. He told me a long story about the past, and why his line is the right one. He also said that the Do Donggo are descendants of Manggarai slaves in Sumbawa. He said that Reo, being Mohammedan, was not favored by the schools. In general, he is quite sore.

C 634 565 648 The Radja is a good man, and fed me. He told me a lot about the Celebes radjas returning now to Celebes after exile by the Dutch. He doesn't want to go back to Kolaka, because he said one would get "bodo" if one stayed there. He is traveling on government expense. He will seek an office job in Makassar. Kolaka and Kendari (Laiwui) are under Luwu.

F 505 On the last morning, part of the plaster wall fell down, and I am glad to be getting away. After watching the loading of animals all day at the beach, I got onto a float with the jeep (first loading of a car ever to take place in

[1] [i.e., in Reo --Analyst]

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162 614 IIIa. Ama Hurint Hadumboleng		69
IIIa1. Ama Hurint Hadumboleng	56	
IIIa2. Ama Hurint Hadumboleng Nipatale	13	
IIIb. Ama Hurint Marimaking		58
IIIc. Ama Hurint Melamaking		80
Total III. Ama Hurint		207
IVa. Lewato Ama Waru'ing		25
IVa1. Lewato Ama Waru'ing	21	
IVa2. Lewato Ama Waru'ing Nipatale	4	
IVb. Lewato Waktukang		21
IVc. Lewato Tuhowutung		31
Total IV. Lewato		77
Va. Lewodoreng Ama Waru'ing		7
Vb. Lewodoreng Engamaking		43
Total V. Lewodoreng		50

Thus the clan members of Wailolong total 647. There are 14 others from Leloba, and 27 from other places. The final total is 688.

[565] The "slaves" (Nipatale groups) total 17.
The "captives" (Ama Rere) total 62.
The "returned emigres" (Ama Rere Ama Tobi) total 10.

The marriages are as follows:

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582 Ia: IIIb; IIIc; Leloba Keleng Belolong (2); All OK.
Ib: IIIa1, IIIb (3); Leloba Keleng Belolong; Ib; IIa. The last two are taboo. Letter to him.
Ic1: IIIb (5) IIIc (2); Leloba Keleng Belolong; IIIa1. The last is taboo. Letter to him.
Ic2: IIIa1. This is taboo. Letter to him.
IIa: Ia; Ib (3); Ic2; IVa1; outside (3); IIIa1;

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162	Odja--Gusa	3--3	Djawa--Gusa	2--0
614	Odja--Reandona	2--0	Wadja--Odja	3--0
582	Odja--Woro	2--1	Reandona--Ndoru	2--0
	Gusa--Wanda	3--0	Penawuri--Baoru	2--0
	Gusa--Soa	2--0		

Thus, of the 15 frequencies, 11 are not reversed; 4 are. This might look a bit like mother's brother's daughter marriage. Note that Wanda never marries into any of the Big 5; but perhaps this does occur in Watu Rota (?).

To get anywhere in this area on the subject of marriages, one would have to collect this sort of data for all cases or from many kampongs. My guess is, whatever the original system was, that there are no marriage classes. However, there probably is a lot of mother's brother's daughter marriage.

595 162 Polygyny cases: (numbers refer to ages)

(1) 38: 30, 20 (sisters); Odja-Meo; pagan; illiterate; No. 5.
(2) 30: 25, 20; Odja-Ndoru, Meo; Christian, Christian, pagan; illiterate, 3, illiterate; No. 8.
(3) 50: 50, 50; Odja-Reandona, Wanda; pagan; illiterate; No. 24.
(4) 40: 30, 20; Ndosi-Wanda, Odja; Christian, pagan, pagan; illiterate; No. 54.
(5) 45: 45, 45, 45; Odja-?, Wanda, ?; pagan; illiterate; No. 62 (giri tumba)
(6) 50: 50, 35; Wadja-Odja; pagan; illiterate; No. 313.
(7) 30: 20, 18; ?-Rewarangga; Christian; 3, 3, illiterate; No. 426.
(8) 40: 30, 40; Bangova-Wanda, ?; Mohammedan; 3, illiterate, illiterate; No. 554.

565 There is not much to say about classes and

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●565 ranks. There is really no nobility here, only persons who are in line for posts. As for slaves, the assistant gives only the following: No. 183, male, 40, a Gusa, and a pagan. Something is probably queer here.

624 614 771 871 The only offices the assistant gives are:

1. Ata nggaeh mua: No. 1, 60, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
2. Giri tumba: No. 62, 45, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
3. Guru agama: No. 81, 25, Odja, Christian, 4 grades.
4. Kepala kampong: No. 135, 40, Odja, Christian, illiterate.
5. Kapitan: No. 350, 30, Odja, Christian, 3 grades.
6. Djurutulis: No. 509, 40, Odja, Christian, 5 grades.
7. Mandur djalan: No. 532, 40, Ndoru, Christian, 5 grades.
8. Hadji: No. 554, 40, Bangova (Nggobe), Mohammedan, 3 grades.

Odja has the most posts. The pagans seem to keep the adat posts.

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VEOL--NDUNG

162 621 592

	Male	Female	Total	Houses	Households	Children	Children under 15
Veol	70	70	140	6	25	82	69
Ndung	89	117	206	9	44	111	105
Total	159	187	346	15	69	193	174

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	Pagan	Christian	% Pagan	% Christian
Veol	74	66	53	47
Ndung	72	134	35	65
Total	146	200	42	58

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	Schooled	Illiterate	% Schooled	Males Schooled	Females Schooled
Veol	20	120	14	13	7
Ndung	22	184	11	14	8
Total	42	304	12	27	15

[771] (all Christian)

Ages of Those Schooled

	Under 10	10--19	20--29	30--39	40--49	50--59	Over 60
Veol	-	14	3	3	-	-	-
Ndung	9	6	2	5	-	-	-
Total	9	20	5	8	-	-	-

Above 3 grades

Veol: 1 (16 years old, male, 6 grades)
Ndung: 1 (15 years old, male, 4 grades)

CLASS

162
● 565

	Dalu	Gelarang	Leke	Mangko Pitu	Sekontu	Lempang
Veol	21	109	0	5	1	4
Ndung	20	177	3	1	0	5
Total	41	286	3	6	1	9
(Women	14					

(All these married in)

621 (b) Lewamaki(ng) Nipatale' (slaves before)
614 2. Ekimaki(ng)
V. Lewonuhah
1. Lewonuhah Ama Kottang
2. Lewonuhah Ama Keleng

[567] Note the slave group which is worth later investigation. Note also the Ama Marang inside the Ama Kottang. Usually this is separate, but here it is assimilated to the Kottang. Note that the Ama Kottang and the Ama Keleng subdivisions of Lewonuhah are listed. The latter was once a separate kampong and the two subdivisions were suku in it. Lewo means kampong.

614 The people here refer to the "sixteen kelake" and there are sixteen groupings. Thus there are sixteen kepala ama. But actually there are only twelve kelake or kepala ama, in addition to the five suku chiefs. Some of the latter are double positions as is the kepala ama also, and they may even be kepala kampong at the same time. Anyway, the kelake are as follows:

I. 1. (a and b). Belepe Lolong
2. Waktuka
3. (a and b). Ama Marang
II. 1. Tuakerura
2. Ama Belemang
III. 1. Ama Waru'i(ng)
2. Eramolik
3. (a and b). Ola Demo(ng) Maki(ng)
(he also is the kepala suku Hurint, that is, guru Roy)
IV. 1. (a and b). Lewamaki(ng)
(he is also the kepala suku)
2. Ekimaki(ng)
V. 1. Ama Kottang
(he is also the kepala suku)
2. Ama Keleng

Thus of the five suku chiefs, three are also

Wa

622 624 614 796 574 231

Ama Hurint	Head:	Man called from Ia or Ib.
	Feet:	Man called from IIa or IIb.
	Cut:	Man from Hurint, except Nipatale.
Lewato	Head:	Man from IVa.
	Feet:	Man from IVb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.
Lewodoreng	Head:	Man from Va.
	Feet:	Man from Vb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

If a kampong feast is held for all of the people, the setup is as follows:

Head:	Man from Ama Radja (Ia).
Feet:	Man from Subamaki(ng) (IIa).
Cut:	Man from III, except Nipatale.

614 567 423 582 [796]

The Nipatale groups--in Wailolong they are IIIa2 and IVa2; in Leloba IV-1b--are former slaves, bought respectively by the Ama Hadumbole(ng) Waru'i(ng), and Lewamaki(ng) amas. They have no ritual standing and they may never hold or cut. They just look on. Also, they have no land of their own, but use the land of their masters (i.e., the ama who bought their ancestors). They [753] must give the first fruits of their gardens to these masters, and if they do not they get sick. He says that they were bought from Adonara not long ago, perhaps about four generations. They are not really free yet. They must obey the orders of their masters. In ordinary life, however, this is a matter of adat and respect (hormat), and they are not ashamed. It is really a matter of (a) owning no land of their own; (b)

Wa

614 giving the first fruits to the masters; (c) owing
● 567 certain duties to the masters; (d) respect shown
423 to the masters; and (e) not being in a good
582 place at feasts. They may intermarry, however, and the bride price for them is the same, etc. He said that even in the beginning they intermarried; in fact as soon as they got into the area they integrated into the marriage system. So strong is the need for these marriage rules that even slaves must be put into the system.

The Ama Rere is a peculiar case too. They
[727] are descendants of war captives brought back from the Maumeri area eighteen generations ago. They too have no ritual standing, as can be seen above in their lack of chance to do any of the duties of the Datong suku. They do not have their own land either. They have to work for
[796] Ia and Ib. That is, they have no ritual standing, no land, and they must do certain duties. In the marriage system, however, they are equal.

614 Also peculiar in the Wailolong setup is the
554 Ama Hurint. They do not have a full position
423 in the kampong, because their ancestors came in from Leloba. They have no land of their own in Wailolong. Each year they receive land for their use during the next year.

721 Then we got onto the schedule and learned a number of incidental things. For instance, right now the Leloba folk are scared to walk along the road near Waibalun because there is a state of war. Thus this is a real war and not play, and there is real danger of death. The "big houses,"
778 i.e., the houses of the radja tuan and the kelake,
789 have holy stones before them. It is not proper
171 to call them nubanara but rather saoniwa(ng). The nubanara proper are the holy stones of the kampong in front of the korke. The saoniwa(ng) hold the magical power of the radja tuan and the kelake. The power of these stones invigorates the respective chiefs, and this is why the folk

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243 agricultural rite, they must make a sacrifice
782 at the very center. The main post is the place
778 for house and kampong offerings, and it is called pusat. I think the center of the circular rice field complex is also called the pusat.

115 The assistant's name is Cornelius Lawang.
624 He is from the va'u Pau, which is also the name of a kampong about one kilometer outside the town. His father is the tuan tanah there, and there he will spend tonight. He is his father's successor. Will he take the post? He said just about all tuan tanah (tua' tano') are pagan. But evidently they could be Christian, although a bit of trouble may rise when it comes to the ceremony.

582 I forgot to say that the mandur said it is possible to marry with one's mother's brother's daughter, but not with the other cousins, including father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and father's brother's daughter. If so, this is interesting. He said that
[184] the Catholics forbid mother's brother's daughter marriages now. I must check on this.

567 We got onto the census matter with the assistant. This led to some new points. He said that they do have slaves here and said that he would indicate them in the census, but I must never tell, as this is never mentioned although
842 everyone knows about it. He said that they like
583 to have many children here, and if they have many they give a feast of thanks. (Evidently the more daughters the richer the family may become because of the bride prices. If the family consists of all boys, there is considerable trouble in getting enough goods for the bride prices. These bride prices are reckoned in terms of animals mostly. The mandur said there is trouble often in getting the price and that men who can't marry on this account are not

Weo
614 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and
778 broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive. It is located a little to the side of the path and in a rather inconspicuous place.

[773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about this: it is a woman turned to stone with her child because she bathed naked) is located four kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong Bangkavelo.

231 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,[1]
241 they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the
782 garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connec-
114 tion with agricultural rites. They do this in the kampong. In the garden itself they kill only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent, Coolhaas is right.

565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The term kraeng is used for all three levels of nobles.

114 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 336,[1]
632 the people here still give tribute to the dalu
651 when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls,
466 etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now
624 wants a new house he may no longer expect free
476 labor. Now he must pay for such service. If, however, there is need of a new tuan tanah house, labor is given without pay. And if there is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps, although other kampongs may assist in some way or other.

567 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi).
Their descendants are still known. It is also
565 true that new slaves were put in stocks (lam-
114 pang) until it was certain that they would not run away. It is also correct that slaves who had been in a family for a long time might even marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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567 a stage where they were taken into the clan of
565 the master. The slaves who were paid as a tax
114 (taki) to Bima in Reo were not longtime ones,
[651] but newly bought ones. This is because long standing slaves were used to the house and would not run away. If they were sold and then had to be replaced, this would mean breaking in new slaves. Most slaves were owned by nobles, but some rich commoners had them too.

567 The ata lampang, slaves of the sultan or
565 dalu who used to live in separate kampongs,
621 are now living in mixed kampongs, although there
114 is not much mixture. That is, other people have moved into their kampongs, and they also have moved into other kampongs. It is remembered, however, that they are descendants of slaves. In regard to what Coolhaas[1] says on page 346, he is right about the kind of slaves called sekontu. They were directly under the kraengs of Todo and Pongkor, and had special duties. Their descendants are still numerous in their kampongs: Tengka, Levur, and Levat (i.e., these are the Rahong ones). There has not been much mixture.

567 The mangko' pitu are so called because they
565 are located in seven kampongs. The name means
651 seven cups or dishes. Their duties are to see
621 that rice, etc., are delivered if the kraeng of
114 Todo or Pongkor are on a trip, and also they must provide supplies for law cases on tour. Their kampongs are Tjera, Lerong, Se'ing, Ngadjok, and three others. These are now mixed. These kampongs are not under either the dalu or gelarang, but are under the direct rule of Todo and Pongkor (until fifteen years ago). They are now assimilated just about to commoners, but they still remember their descent.

114 Coolhaas[1] is all right on page 348.
601 Coolhaas's[1] kin terms are O.K.:

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

582 firm in stating that one had ~~to marry~~ within the
565 same class, of which there are three: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata hoö, but I forget the terms for the others.
[587] They say that a lower man may never marry up, but that a higher man may marry down for a
[567] second wife. They are more open here about slavery than I have found elsewhere.

142 The people are quite handsome and many of
144 them are of the proto-Malay type. There are relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay element predominates, and the East Flores Negroid types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars. There is also a great difference in the color of the skin, many people being quite light-skinned
[515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here
[197] say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not the Soa folk.

291 The clothes of the local people are shabby and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are
304 universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears.
[276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments
[301] in their ears today. Only the holes are noted. We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most men have their names or initials as well as figures tattooed on their forearms. This name
[177] tattoo is quite general.) (Perhaps this is the secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy tattoo.")

764 The burials here, I think, and certainly in
565 Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners, but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

632 The districts here are called kepala mereschappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan. This one is evidently Naru.

R

582 or father's father's father's sister's daughter's
835 daughter's son). However, the priests will give dispensation only with a certain amount of fuss here (unlike in Manggarai, where it is evidently easier because the Catholics are newer there and maybe they want to go slower at first).

583 A bride price must be paid for a good marriage, but the very poor folk may omit it, although they try to pay a little, and merely go and live together. The price is variana. Formerly it included tusks, money, animals (buffaloes, horses, cattle). They try to give these things now, but it is degenerating into money alone. The return gift is called tau laguana. The girl's family gives it. It usually includes properly a pair of gold earrings, gold beads, and formerly slaves. The price also formerly might have included slaves, I think. In addition, the girl's family gives a kind of "household outfitting" to the couple, including baskets, gear, food, and formerly slaves. This is like a dowry. Evidently it is also called laguana.

They say that if they did not give a return gift it would be like selling a slave.

[797] The church enforced a shift to more distant mother's brother's daughter type marriages.
[178] The price is much lower now, and this constitutes a big change in the last fifty years or
[565] so. In the old days, for a noble girl one might pay one hundred tusks, ten gold units, two slaves, etc. This depended on her rank.

582 Another change is the removal of the former
178 taboo on slave-noble marriages. In the old days,
565 an upper man might take as a concubine a slave
567 girl, but they seem pretty sure that he would
684 not ordinarily marry her, although he might do so. In the old days, however, if a slave man tried anything with a noble girl, it would mean that both of them would be put to death. This

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582 has long since been tabooed by the government.
178 Nevertheless, I wonder if there is not a re-
565 luctance to marry a slave descendant. They
684 say that there used to be plenty of slaves
●567 here and that they were obtained mainly by war.

583 They say that the Mohammedans have just
about given up the bride price here, but that the
184 Christians keep it up firmly. This is another
example of the greater conservatism in some
ways which the Christians demonstrate.

I wonder also if what a priest says may not
be true: that the Catholic church has decided
that the bride price is a good idea, as it
solidifies the marriage bond, and why drive it
out?

585 As for changes in the wedding procedure,
583 Migo gave me first the way a pagan marries to-
day and the way everyone married formerly:

First the intermediaries sound out the girl's
parents. If all is O.K., the parents get to-
gether and decide on the price. The wedding
starts with the boy, with his best man, going
to the house of the bride, and there her family
kills a pig. The girl and her bridesmaid and
the boy and his best man eat the pig or part
of it that evening, and then the couple have
their first sex relations in the girl's house.
The next morning the boy goes home taking what
is left of the pig and gives it to his family.
That day he returns to the girl's house with
his best man, leading a goat. This is presented
to the girl's family and they eat it. That
evening, the girl's family again kills a pig,
and the four eat part of it and then the couple
sleep together again. The next morning the boy
goes home taking the remains of the pig to his
family. He then returns with another goat and
gives it to the girl's family. That evening a
third pig is killed and the four eat of it and
the pair sleep together. The next morning the

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789 unfulfillment of ancestral duties can cause ill-
753 ness too (note the illness fear theme; this is just right for these folk who are ill a good deal of the time). But there is no real kekuatan adjaib here.

567 There were many slaves here before, and this
582 applies even to twenty years ago (this is
178 probably a bit too late, I think). The regular
565 thing was for the father of a girl to include
[583] in the return gift at marriage, two slaves (like the "and two persons" still used in the formula for the bride price among the Buginese). There are slaves in the kampong now, but he thinks that only about two to three per cent of the population are so categorized. They are, and were, taken into the suku, but formerly there was little intermarriage with them, and then it was only between a higher man and
[684] a slave girl. If the reverse took place, the death punishment could be meted out. The marriage taboo is still in, but it is lessening, and even a boy of slave descent (if he is an excellent man and a good worker) may marry a higher girl. However, they are well known, and in general are still to be classed underneath. For example, they have to do certain duties (the guru said they are like "servants"; he used the Dutch word "jongens"). They live in houses with regular people, or perhaps in their own houses. Everyone knows who they are, but no mention is made of this because they reportedly get furious. This is a thing worth investigating further: exactly what are the duties, and exactly how are they thought of and what do they think of themselves, etc.? (Remember that in the United States no one really thinks of taunting Negroes with an open charge of being descended from slaves.)

565 There are few possibilities for class mo-
555 bility. There are some meager beginnings at

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555 bility. There are some meager beginnings at

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423 by the radja tuan), suku, ama, and family. Houses are categorized in the same fashion.

Houses, however, are strictly speaking owned by the family or lineage. The eldest [428] son inherits the house, and other sons build their own houses or may live in with the eld- [591] est son and his family. The women have no houses, as residence is patrilocal except in unusual cases.

462 The only specialization here is by sex.

426 He says there is no lending of money. They may borrow food, and the interest on such accrued during the following year is from fifty to one hundred per cent.

465 The only wage earners are the gurus. There are no other paid jobs. (How about the three kepala kampongs? I suppose they get eight per cent of the taxes as usual?) There is not one commercial enterprise here.

622 The chiefs, says Roy, are regarded as fathers. 789 The genealogical organization is strong here. Indeed, their posts depend on hereditary descent entirely. The people here obey them because they are in the place of their fathers. The curse of a father is a terrible thing, and this goes for the chiefs too. It should be remembered also that the chiefs have magic power, derived from the sanction of the ancestors and visibly shown by the stone fetishes in front of the chiefly houses.

•567 The nipatale intermarry with other people, although they originally were slaves. Thus there is a slave class, but it is integrated with the others, and it has only a few marks.

[555] The only ones who have risen are the gurus. And those in Wailolong are from some other area. 554 There are no visible signs of status except that of living in a chiefly house, belonging to a "big house" suku, and having the stones of status in front of the house. I note also that

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583 who may not have paid the bride price, and that
591 is why they are living matrilocally (260, 285, 291, 296, 304, 347, and 352).

567 Then came the trouble. I saw that there
124 were no slaves on the list, yet Coolhaas[1] said there are many slaves here, especially in Rahong, this dalu. He said that this may be true, but that the people just will not tell him who might be descended from slaves. This is the trouble I get into by using a lad who is not from the kampong himself. But this brought up something else. He is very afraid of everything. Yesterday he wouldn't start work until he had permission from van Bekkum[2] in writing. Also, he worries today lest the inspector find anything wrong with his school work. And he is very much afraid of my asking embarrassing questions. I tried to get him to guess how many slaves there were in the kampong, but he would not. He wouldn't even say how many he thought there are in his own kampong. Maybe this is one of the sorest points here. Maybe it is because they themselves were so often enslaved by the kraeng and others and had to pay taxes in slaves to Bima. I tried to shame him into trying harder to give me some information on this by saying that I thought I would have to write that maybe Manggarai had few or no slaves because they were slaves themselves. This shook him, and he even admitted it in a way.

567 As far as I could get it, the system is something like this. In the kampongs Veol and Ndung there probably never were very many slaves, because these people were pretty poor before, and indeed they had to pay quite a bit in tribute to the alien rulers. It was even hard for them to keep slaves, perhaps, because they had to pay a tax in slaves (but this may not have been very much). Anyway, Cornelius[3] says there were plenty of slaves in some other places, and he

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e., pastor at Ruteng -- Analyst]
[3] [i.e., the assistant]

567 said that this was true in Ruteng town especially. I get the definite impression that there is a lot hidden under this slave secrecy, the kind of evidence that seeps out when I ask about the dalu and kraeng. These folk have had a hard time, and were not liberated from Bima, which ruled with a hard hand, until relatively late. They are still, I think, under the dalu and the kraeng a lot.

567 621 565 He said that there are kampongs where all the inhabitants, though originally commoners (and note the difference between the "gelarang kampongs" and the "leke kampongs" below), were made into virtual slaves by the sultan and the dalu. These were the ata lampang, and their kampongs were called the "lampang kampongs." In Rahong they were Adjang, Limpong, Teras, Pokka, Kina, Ketok, and Lenteng. Here the people are all of this background, except for a few newcomers, and they are not ashamed to tell it. And nowadays they marry with other commoners and even with gelarang (although the assistant later grimaced when he said that he wouldn't want his family to marry certain people). The main areas for this kind of kampong were and are Todo, Pongkor, and here in Rahong.

Then there are kampongs nearly all of whose population is descended from commoners who were sekontu, i.e., virtual slaves of the kraeng of Todo and Pongkor. In Rahong these kampongs are Tengka, Levur, and Levat. And there has not been much mixture yet. The folk there are not ashamed to tell about it, as everyone knows, and everyone in the kampong is in the same boat. They too now intermarry quite a bit.

The mangko' pitu kampongs were under direct rule of Todo and Pongkor until about fifteen years ago, and these, although not exactly slaves, were like servants of the kraeng and had to render supplies to them when they came

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621 there. They remember their descent vividly.
●567 These include, in Rahong: Tjera, Lerong,
565 Se'ing, Ngadjok, and three others.

Thus it turns out that the "slave class" people were located largely in separate kampongs. But there were other slaves too. The lampang-sekontu type were commoners who were enslaved en masse, but there were the mendi too, who were either bought or captured in war. These were located in many kampongs, and were owned by nobles, gelarang, and even rich commoners. These were the ones who had to be paid (some of them) as a form of tax to Bima. These are probably the ones who would be most sensitive today, or rather their descendants would be. But the chances are that the lampang who no longer live in the separate kampongs are also sensitive. Thus I note that there are people from Teras, Tjera, etc. living in Veol or Ndung now, either married in or by some other means. They probably would get angry if this matter were brought up. He imitated the reaction that one might expect to such an insult. He looked very fierce. This shows that the fear is quite real. I suppose they might even kill him if he asked too much.

Cornelius[1] says many slaves were made so by the dalu or kraeng on one pretext or another. Thus a man might ride past a noble's house with bells on his horse. The noble would say that he was insulting him and hence enslave him and his family. If this really happened, and he gave it as a circumstantial kind of case, this was a land of real oppression until recently.

178 He says that up until twenty or even fifteen
567 years ago there were heavy duties on the lampang,
565 and this was long after the Dutch came in. Only fifteen years ago everyone was open about the slave stuff. This is thus a place where there has been very rapid change: the covering up of

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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567 178 565 slave descent and the removal of slave or slave-like services.

The kraeng of Todo and Pongkor, who were all over this area, were evidently the worst, because they were more numerous and more omnipresent. Bima was rather far off, and asked only peace and taxes, including slaves.

[578] 565 614 567 In regard to Todo and Pongkor, I got plenty of undercurrents of resentment here. Cornelius says the people here regard them as aliens (as indeed they are in this area, especially considering the localism of "nationalism" here).

[173] And they themselves say that they are from Minangkabau via Makassar. I wonder if there is a tie-up with the Datu ri Bandar who brought Mohammedanism to Makassar from Minangkabau about three hundred years ago? I would like to see the treasure chest of the Pongkor kraeng, as perhaps I could decide whence their ancestors came. I then asked why all the people of the kampong were noted as gelarang. And here I ran into the same thing as in Ende. Indeed, all the members of certain clans are a kind of nobles, like Odja there. This goes for the va'u Veol. It also goes for the va'u Pau, to which the assistant belongs. I tried every way to plumb this matter, and first got this information about the kampongs:

565 567 621 614 (1) There are kampongs in which all the "locals" are of the gelarang class, for example, kampongs Veol and Ndung. But there may be included among these, descendants of slaves who were admitted into the va'u after long residence, or who now claim membership, and although no one gainsays this, all know that they were from lower depths before. Still, I wonder if possibly some of the many men from the outside va'u, who are especially common in Ndung and who are married to outside women too, may have been here a long time and may have been slaves before.

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565 For example, they may have been bought or cap-
●567 tured in war. In regard to the latter possi-
621 bility, a kraeng who came from Pongkor and who
[614] now lives in Tjantjar and who was standing by
during all this with his father, said that
there were plenty of wars between the kampongs
here formerly, and the kraeng and dalu had to
control this. Bima put in the dalu, he says,
[177] for this end.

(2) There are kampongs which are nearly one hundren per cent descended from commoners (leke) who were made lampang en masse by the kraeng. That is, they are kampongs which were made up of commoners before, and which were depressed to the lampang status. In these, very few of the people are from the outside.

(3) There are kampongs which are nearly one hundred per cent descended from sekontu. These were originally commoners (leke) but were made into slaves en masse by the kraeng. Evidently the lampang and the sekontu, as well as the mangko' pitu, might have been made thus by the sultan, dalu, or kraeng. Indeed, the three seemed to work together, and the dalu are called kraeng too.

(4) There are kampongs which are just about one hundred per cent kraeng, for example Puruk here, and Pongkor and Todo. These are still in the gelarang Rahong here, that is, under the direct control of the dalu. There are eight of them, including Puruk. The assistant says the kraeng prefer to get out of these, as in them they are nobles among nobles, but in other kampongs they can play on their status and the folk have to give them respect. Formerly they gave them more evidently. He says that up to the present time they still receive various forms of respect. Indeed, the kraeng who was here said so too.

The mangko' pitu were directly under Todo and

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621 Pongkor until perhaps fifteen years ago, and
565 the kraeng kampongs are still directly under
567 the dalu. It seems that the ata lampang kampongs were under the dalu formerly too, but maybe they were merely slave kampongs under local rulers. The sekontu were indeed directly under Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps the picture was: under the dalu, the kraeng and the lampang kampongs; under Todo and Pongkor, the sekontu and mangko' pitu kampongs.

(5) There are kampongs which are about one hundred per cent of the dalu class. These are evidently the "capitals" of the dalu, for example, Rahong kampong.

567 Cornelius[1] says again that in his time, at
565 the most twenty years ago, there were still
624 plenty of slaves, and the Dutch hit this system
423 hard in order to get them out. Evidently the
[177] real mendi, the bought or captured ones, were merged first (as the slave trade and war were forced out), but the lampang type persisted until very recently. He later told me how much the lampang had to give in tribute to the kraeng. This links with what the kraeng (who was from Pongkor and a very soft spoken lad) who is now in Tjantjar said. He said that the kraeng had and have the right to settle and get land in any kampong. He has gotten land here. But they have to ask the consent of the tuan tanah first and have to pay the regular tribute to the tuan tanah. But the permission is not refused. I asked if they could take a lot of land, and he said no, that they had to be reasonable.

621 He said, the Todo and the Pongkor rulers (and
565 the dalu too, evidently) also placed kraeng in
661 the kampongs to keep order (as so many wars were held that the folk would let them judge the cases, although they were not really administrative men, but rather prestigeful men) and to act as spies of the Todo and Pongkor rulers

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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621 and of the dalu. (Later the assistant said that
565 they were spies all right; they checked to see
661 that the lampang didn't chisel on tribute and paid the proper share of produce to Todo, Pongkor, and the dalu. The assistant said they had to pay plenty.

567 Thus there has been a very rapid change here,
178 in the disappearance of the slaves as a class. And the recency may explain some of the sensitivity. These folk are just trying to make their way into full freedom and won't be held back.

565 When I first started on this, the kraeng, whose identity I didn't know as he was just dressed in shorts and was very unimpressive, said that all men were equal now! Then he went on to say that the kampong folk gave respect to the kraeng.

621 Possibly three hundred years ago there were
565 only two sorts of kampongs (see Coolhaas;[1] had the dalu in the eighteenth century). The dalu were not in yet then. The two sorts were: the ones where most of the population was gelarang (for example, Veol), and the ones where most of the population were commoners (for example, Adjang, which later became lampang). I asked whether any of the gelarang kampongs were made lampang, and the assistant said that he thought not, as the kraeng had to keep the native nobles in in order to keep things going (indirect rule!).

Cornelius[2] says that he does not know whence came the dalu or what the situation was before they came in. Evidently the Todo and Pongkor kraeng were conquerors and rulers here before the dalu came in (see Coolhaas)? It looks as
[177] though the dalu were put in by the Bima administration.

567 In regard to the recency of slavery here, note that the Sarasins[3] in 1902 or thereabouts

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst] [2] [i.e., the assistant -- Analyst] [3] [See 2: Kennedy, OB1 Indonesia, cat. 116, p. 242 -- Analyst]

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●567 saw hundreds of Toradjas being brought into Palopo as slaves by the Buginese.

177 565 621 174 [614] If it is so that the dalu were put in by the Bima administration, perhaps originally there might have been only the gelarang, the tuan tanah that is, and the commoners. Maybe the latter were aborigines, and the first conquest brought in the gelarang class. But this seems unlikely, as the gelarang tuan tanah class looks very ancient here. (For example, the Veol clan ancestors came out of bamboo right at the Veol spring.) Anyway, some clans seemed to be higher and others lower, perhaps as in Lio, where some are of the tuan tanah rank and others are not, or like the situation in Ende, where some have mosa laki and others do not. Long ago, and the assistant says perhaps three hundred years, the kraeng came in from Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps they were Minangkabau who came in through Makassar. They say so. But they have no matrilineal system so far as I know, and they have the va'u system like all the people in Manggarai. And the language is the same. However, I asked the assistant if I was right in that the kraeng had a different accent, and he said yes, but this may be a mere local difference.

The assistant says that he knows the legends say that the dalu came from outside somewhere. But their names are Manggarai, and they have the va'u system too. Question: are they Todo-Pongkor kraeng who were elevated, some of them, to the dalu status by Bima. Are they Bimanese in origin? Are they gelarang who were elevated by Bima? It is certain that Bima put them in. I would favor the first explanation, but am bothered by the fact that some kampongs were under dalu and others under Todo and Pongkor kraeng. It looks as though they had a double rule here above the gelarang level, which was

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565 624 167 174 Pongkor. The whole thing is in the dark. I must check Coolhaas at length. The names of the dalu are all Manggarai, and simple. The Radja merely has a Manggarai name.

166 621 614 The newcomers in the kampongs here are no cause for worry, because the original kampong dwellers keep control, no matter how many newcomers there are and how few of them are left. There is a kampong where there are only three old households left, and there are about forty outside households. The three keep control.

Those who have come into the kampongs here comprise both unmarried and married folk. The [567] former all marry in. Some of the present folk who are named as of va'u Veol may well be of slave origin. Slaves were taken into the va'u of their owners. Everyone in the kampong knows which families in the va'u are of slave origin, but they will not tell outsiders. It is certain that the slaves are among the va'u Veol folk, if any.

Usually newcomers have relatives within the kampong, and this is the way so many Tjumbi entered. These relatives form an opening wedge, and others follow. This is like immigration in the United States.

Very few come into the kampong and then leave. The only case is the Tjepang clan. It entered long ago and left about twenty years ago for Tjantjar, en masse. This happens often. A clan enters and increases so much, while the original clan also increases in size, that in the end the original clan says that the immi- [624] grant clan must move. Then the other clan is given a gong-gendang, one of them becomes the tuan tanah of the branch kampong, and off they go. This is what happened in the case of Tjantjar.

624 [614] The man who becomes the branch tuan tanah is the tuan panga of the clan. He gets the gong-

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000 that is all.

166 609 567 614 769 There are no rites for ordinary folk who just enter the kampong. In the old days, however, when new slaves came in they had to have rites in order to tell the ancestors that they were new members of the clan. This pretty well clinches the slave entering va'u matter. They just do. This is why the former slaves are members of the clans. Only those on the inside know who is who. The longer the time gets from slavery days the more it is not brought up.

563 443 793 The only Europeans here are the pastors. The traders are Chinese and Arabs and natives. The business of the occasional Chinese pedlar with his coolie is quite usual here. They stay usually for only a few hours.

The pastors tell stories to the local people about Europe, etc. The Chinese who are regular [203] pedlars have been in Manggarai for a long time, and they spread some news.

484 In these local kampongs everyone has been to another kampong. The women go outside their own kampong less often and do not go so far [438] away as the men. Men go out to trade horses, buy tobacco, etc. During the Japanese occupation they ranged far in order to buy cloth, etc. However, all of this was within Manggarai. All have been to Ruteng.

All have been outside Rahong, as they have been to Ruteng. At least fifty per cent of the local population have never seen the sea. One person has gone to Ende, and two have gone to Kupang as soldiers. One went to Makassar to [167] work. The Japanese took several to Riung to work, but most of the people have never left Manggarai. No one from here has ever left Indonesia. In all Manggarai, the assistant thinks only one person has ever left Flores. He is a pastor, I think.

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864 very sure about this. Nothing is a mystery.

178 There have been no changes in the last fifty
565 years in regard to social classes here, except
634 that the kraengs have lost their power, and
621 that Bima is no longer in. Also, the radja is
567 now superimposed. But the regular classes are the same, and even the kraeng still get a bit of respect, although this has suffered a marked decline. Note that the Radja is a Todo kraeng, and I can see that he tries to do the best he can for his enormous "family" by getting land for them, etc.

Cornelius lists in his notes:

tu'a kilo	household head
tu'a mbaru	house head
tu'a panga	lineage chief
tu'a tenu	va'u or kampong chief
tu'a beo	elders of the kampong, collectively
gelarang	who is also a tu'a tenu
dalu	district ruler
radja	new Manggarai ruler
ata leke	commoner
ata mendi	slaves who were bought or captured
ata lampang, ata sekontu, ata mangko' pitu	other slaves

The general term for "population" is ro'eng.

651 In the old days a tax was paid to Bima in
567 slaves (taki). It is remembered that three
661 men from Veol were taken off in this fashion,
178 but it is not known where they were taken. Others were taken as slaves because they didn't behave correctly toward the Bima dignitaries.
[689] Enslavement was evidently a great form of punishment here for any infringement in showing the proper respect to authority. Today there are no more "slaves"

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567 are no more "slaves."

The dalu of Reo, who is the grandson of the last radja naib, or proconsul, of Bima in Reo (and thus he is sore that he is not the radja of Manggarai) when I asked him if he knew about the Do Donggo, said that they were actually descendants of Manggarai slaves who had escaped or who were let loose into the mountains of Sunbawa. I asked if they spoke the Manggarai language, and he said no, they had forgotten it. I suspect this, but it is interesting and might bear further looking into.

555 There is little chance for one to move within the social system here. The only chance I see is by becoming a guru, but so far no one from Veol or Ndung has become a guru. I note that there are a couple of policemen from here who have gone to Kupang and Ende. And the boy who went to Makassar they said had worked here for a Chinese. Then he just went along with him to Makassar. They agreed that he might make his way ahead there in the big world.

565 There are pusaka kris, and costumes, but
291 they appear mainly at feasts. One can see them
177 then. Otherwise, there is just about no dif-
554 ference in clothing between one class and another, and I get the impression that even formerly there was not much in this regard. However, I note that nowadays, for everyday appearances, here and everywhere I go, the new mark of the new middle class is a European shirt or dress, perhaps shoes, pants, etc. And of course most significant is a fountain pen and brief case. I can see this even when an old type lad has higher rank and his assistant is, for example, a Minahasa government worker. The latter, because of his education, patronizes the former, although he observes the proper respect indulgently. The dress marks the difference. Where the chief is also European

342 this area which are round, because the rectan-
574 gular ones last longer and the people like
123 them on this account, because all of them
must pay for a new one). They gave me roasted
bits of pork (tough and with plenty of fat),
and the palm beer, which was milky and strong.
I took photographs of them and they were
amazed.

342 This is a new kampong, and is merely named
[108] six (Anam). There are plenty of round houses,
but all of them with partly wooden walls. The
assistant says that there are still a fair
number of the real old style round houses with
no walls, especially in Tjibal.

574 In the afternoon I went to the mandur's house,
592 where he served a fine dish of ear corn, fresh
from the garden, and also some corn cooked by
steam in the leaves. We also had rice, etc.
He is a real host, and his old father talked
some. I took photographs of the family, includ-
ing his handsome wife. She is from Pongkor.
Plenty of her sisters seemed to be about, and
he said something about how this is quite usual
for a wife's sisters to live with her.

114 Finally we pulled out of Ruteng in the morn-
ing on January 31, expecting to ship out of Reo
that day. I stayed in Reo waiting two days.

[487] Going down the mountains I noticed that the
● 567 land was largely empty. The road led through
the dalu Tjibal. Down this road used to come
the slaves for shipping to Bima from Reo.
They were sold especially for firearms. Many
Manggarai descendants must be all over Indonesia,
because so many slaves were exported. Thus
there is a section "Manggarai" in Batavia. And
of course there are plenty in Bima.

114 In Reo, which is a poor place, I went to
Kedindi, the port, or rather the beach with
sheds of palm. There was no ship. Therefore
I went back to Reo and stayed at the pasanggra-

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621 are established or where the people have mar-
614 riage relations. The dalu area is quite
602 secondary, as it is not genealogical. There are, e.g., three Veol kampongs in the dalu Tjibal, and these are closer than the other non-Veol kampongs nearer in distance or others in the same dalu but of a different va'u. Even though a family has lived for a long time in another kampong and has few close acquaintances any more in the old kampong, the bond is still closer than with the neighbors in the kampong
[571] of residence. This shows that residence is less important here than blood. Still, as propinquity makes for marriages, there is a tendency for a family to establish new marriage relations in the place of residence. Thus it is either the consanguineal or the affinal group that counts, in order.

There are no relations at all with other tribes or places.

[648] The Dutch stopped the wars. They say that
721 if there were no police now they would have wars
614 again soon.

578 When a war comes all the va'u kampongs help. They could also call on the vina-rona families, i.e., the affinal relatives. These might refuse, however.

Once there was a war between two places (and usually wars were thus along va'u lines, except for the dalu wars), and everlasting enmity remained between these two places. Thus the wars were va'u against va'u and dalu against dalu, not kampong against kampong, although they might start that way. And in this area, most of the wars were dalu wars. Some wars were dalu or even a va'u against Bima, and there might be quite an alliance against Bima. Once in awhile Bima lost. On the border there were many wars against Ngada.

Some dalu here fought against Todo and Pong-

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778 They agreed that Ndoeria had rebuilt many rumah pemali. I must go there sometime.

●574 Back in Roworeke, the kapitan gave us sweet soft drinks and port wine (Chinese). Then he put
291 on his adat dress, including a batik headcloth
386 which was winged in front, and a fine ikat slen-
[287] dang, and a woven sarong. There seems to be no more tapa around here. The colors of the woven and ikat stuff are dark, including blue, black, and dull red. They are not very attractive, and the cloth is quite heavy. I saw women with baskets full of leafy stuff (small leaves) and I asked what was inside. They said tarum [indigo] and that it is used to make the blue and black dye. Thus they still use locally made dyes, but in Roworeke the red dye is bought in a store.

126 I took a picture of the kapitan and his wife and family including the fine type old mother.
621 We then started on a tour of the kampong. We went first across the road to Watu Roga. It is small and evidently most of the Wanda suku are.
342 There is one large house, but most of the others
178 are rather small. They are not of the high pitched roof type. I was told that before the war there were more of the old high roof type, but the Japanese leveled many of them to make the people move into the hills as they said the population was too dense near the town. I can't quite get the point, but new houses tend to be low, four sloped roofed, rather long and squat in type, but still look primitive because of the alang-alang thatched roof and many with the coconut leaf midrib walls. The walls, however, are usually low or invisible because they are under the low-hanging roof. Hence they are hooded.

349 In Watu Roga there is a high concrete struc-
769 ture looking something like a watchtower with
614 steps leading up. It has a four-sloped tin roof.
766 There is a low wall around a small rectangular space under the roof. The flooring is of tile,

304 was more common formerly. The tattooing occurs on the arms, face, and chest. In Tandjung Bunga there is a lot of tattooing. Sometimes this is done on the back of the calves too. The young people do it no longer. However, the guru's daughter has her name tattooed on her arm.

342 The houses have upright sticks at the ridge ends, but the guru says this is of no significance.

764 Stones called nubanara are all over the kampong, lying flat mainly. I wonder if maybe these could have been used for graves in this kampong before, because the nubanara are scattered like the graves in Ende.

346 178 535 368 At the top of the kampong is the korke of the kampong, and in front is a nama, or rectangular dance place. This consists of a platform built up of stones. Some of the stones should stand (four, one for each of the main suku; but the guru says there may be more than four standing). This appears in Vatter's[1] photo of another nama. These former uprights here have fallen down and he says the people do not bother to erect them again. This is a sign of the steady breakdown of paganism. On the dance place there is an old drum left standing. It is evidently no longer used. The korke is empty, and has merely a bale-bale under a roof. No walls are left. The roof has not been repaired, which again may show the breakdown. Near the korke is a large house of [614] the tuan tanah of the main suku, and near this is the korke of his suku. In addition to the kampong korke, there is one for each suku, but no nama in front of these. These korke are used by the kepala suku, who is also the tuan tanah of the suku, for suku rites regarding rain illness, etc. The main korke is used for kampong rites. [574] When a feast is thus given, the big men sit on the bale-bale in the korke, and the dancers per- [534] form in front to the music of a drum and gong.

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

chiefs and also clear up the exact differences between the kepala suku and the kepala kampong, if any.

The next day I got an explanation of the officers. The three kepala kampong (called Kottang, Kelen and Hurint) are the administrative officers. They are chosen by their respective suku. They have no ritual function as such, unless they happen also to be either kepala suku of their suku or the kelake of their ama. The radja tuan and the kelake are also chosen by their respective suku and ama, but from the noble lineage within the suku. They must come from the "big house" (Lango' Bele'). Each suku has one such big house, and so does each ama. I have seen them in Leloba. I found out, however, that the head and feet are not actually held by the kepala suku Kottang and Kelen, but rather by some man, evidently it matters not who, from their suku. Also, the kepala suku Hurint himself does not actually cut (though evidently he may do so if he wants to), but usually delegates the job to one of his fellow suku members.

It happens them, in Wailolong, that there are five radja tuan and three kepala kampong. Then there are the kelake.

If they hold a suku feast, i.e., a feast on the land of the suku itself and which concerns only the suku, it runs something like this in each of the suku:

Ama Datong	Head:	Man from Ama Radja.
	Feet:	Man from Ama Belolong.
	Cut:	Man called in from Ama Hurint, but may not be from Nipatale.
Leworita	Head:	Man from IIa.
	Feet:	Man from IIb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

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622 624 614 796 574 231

Ama Hurint	Head:	Man called from Ia or Ib.
	Feet:	Man called from IIa or IIb.
	Cut:	Man from Hurint, except Nipatale.
Lewato	Head:	Man from IVa.
	Feet:	Man from IVb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.
Lewodoreng	Head:	Man from Va.
	Feet:	Man from Vb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

If a kampong feast is held for all of the people, the setup is as follows:

Head:	Man from Ama Radja (Ia).
Feet:	Man from Subamaki(ng) (IIa).
Cut:	Man from III, except Nipatale.

614 567 423 582 [796] [753]

The Nipatale groups--in Wailolong they are IIIa2 and IVa2; in Leloba IV-1b--are former slaves, bought respectively by the Ama Hadumbole(ng Waru'i(ng), and Lewamaki(ng) amas. They have no ritual standing and they may never hold or cut. They just look on. Also, they have no land of their own, but use the land of their masters (i.e., the ama who bought their ancestors). They must give the first fruits of their gardens to these masters, and if they do not they get sick. He says that they were bought from Adonara not long ago, perhaps about four generations. They are not really free yet. They must obey the orders of their masters. In ordinary life, however, this is a matter of adat and respect (hormat), and they are not ashamed. It is really a matter of (a) owning no land of their own; (b)

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693 632 624 [622] tions. Murder, theft, etc., come to the kepala kampong or kapitan. Such cases are not within the adat sphere. These officials do not interfere with each other's spheres.

632 624 622 The situation in regard to the offices is as follows: The Big Four of the gemeente who are also the Little Four of Roworeke (combined with Worowai) are respectively from Rewarangga, Odja, Rewarangga, and Rewarangga. All except the giri tumba are from Worowai, and here there is a rumah berhala. Only an Odja or a Rewarangga man (and he must be a resident of Roworeke) may be elected kapitan or kepala kampong of Roworeke. In each of the other kampongs there are families in which the Little Fours are hereditary posts. This position is inherited from father to eldest son.

[796] There are no set ritual functions associated with these offices, but the mosa laki mere of the Big Four (I think) must always be there for a big ceremony, and he must receive the lower jaws of the animals slaughtered. I note that an alternative term for the four mosa laki is tuan tanah.

771 796 Some of the people here are Catholics, and I asked if they still did the ritual and prayed when they held a big ceremony. He say yes, and that Catholicism makes no difference in this matter. He was firm in stating that there are Catholic things and adat things. They are separate. 796 241 574 527 The two main feasts of the year are those held at planting and at harvest time, when the crops are brought in ritually to the kampong. At these feasts the mosa are the leaders and the big leader is the local mosa laki mere. There is animal slaughter, dancing, singing, and praying. They wear festive clothes. [614] [342] 000 And there is also a big suku feast when the bone house of a suku is rebuilt. Thousands attend. Smaller private rites are held for such

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784 There is definite totemism here though some
614 clans have no taboos or totem ancestors. But
611 it is the usual thing. Weol may not use one
769 kind of bamboo, because the ancestors were born
562 of this bamboo. Pau may not eat a certain kind of monkey, as the ancestors were linked (this is the assistant's va'u). Women marrying out of the va'u may eat the totem of their own clan but must go through a special rite. Men may never give up the totem taboos, even if they live in an ambil anak arrangement.

574 The next day we went to Weol and up to the
273 kampong with the assistant. We brought native
276 tobacco and gin which we had bought for fl. 2.00
123 in Ruteng. As we entered the kampong, on the right we noted the house of the kepala kampong. Next to it is that of the tuan tanah, where we sat on the front porch. Both of these houses are of the new style, but are sooty because there are no chimneys. The children carried two chairs up from Tjantjar for us and later brought a table from the school. However, the assistant and the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong sat on a mat on the floor. Others were in the background. On the rise in front was a great crowd. We gave gin and tobacco to the old people and
[262] were later served first coffee and then two hard boiled eggs. Others got no eggs. The eggs came by chain-passing from the next kampong, Ndung. Evidently eggs are something special. The old tuan tanah knows everything, and his brother the kepala kampong is old and smart too. The kepala of the third panga of Weol kampong sat in the rear. He too is old.

632 The daluschap Rahong is one of the thirty-
621 nine in Manggarai. The dalu are of Bima origin, or at least this is true of most of them. There are thirty-three kampongs in Rahong. The tuan tanah knows all of them, including the constellations. They are as follows:

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872 one-half years ago. Children of, for example,
[177] fifteen can't enter this school because they
are too old. This is a big reason why there is
less acculturation here than in Larantuka.
624 Also, Larantuka has lost the power of adat
622 chiefs to a greater degree, as has Ende. Here
177 they still are the most powerful leaders, and
even the kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah
family. This is clearly the area of least ac-
culturation, although in agriculture and tech-
nology they are just as advanced if not more so
than in the other areas. For example, witness
the wooden houses. But adat is stronger here,
and the mother's brother's daughter marriage
still stands. The priests still compromise
more with the old. There are many many feasts.
527
574 There are feasts at birth, death, marriage, if
796 there are many children, at planting, at har-
756 vest, when a new garden is made, when a new
755 house is erected, and on many other occasions.
Some of these are large and some are small.
Some are for the family, and some are celebrated
by larger units. Some are celebrated by the
entire kampong. The biggest is perhaps the
cleansing of the kampong ceremony. The medi-
cine man, mbako decided when one is needed.
Thus he says there is a lot of illness, etc.,
and it is time they had a "tjutji kampong."
756 There is at least one mbako in each kampong,
609 and some kampongs have more. He learns his
trade from his father, but there are cases where
such succession is not followed. There is one
in Weol. However, they will never tell an out-
sider who the mbako is. He is secret. They all
know who he is. However, even during a rite,
he keeps in the background so that he can be
kept hidden. Query: Is this because of the
fear of the mission or the government or what?
I couldn't get much about the latter, but I
will try later. This is amazing!

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776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 Kraeng here is the original title for high
554 nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

796 At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is
614 done by families or pangas. Each man in the
782 group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck
231 with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunt-
[887] ing.) Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say
535 here) is done at many feasts. Each house has
574 some costumes, and the men may use them. They
555 say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 In the afternoon we went to see some fine
527 dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part
526 of the week long independence festival. The
533 lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and sing-
[276] ing. Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertain-
[887] ment was complicated and good. Most drummers
200 and gong players seem to be old women. These

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
614 living on the level of the road and the other
621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they
are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo.
At the road border of the kampong a bit in from
[211] the road, standing against the skyline, is a
row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars
looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe
heads. They are thin and tall. They are set
on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
[417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical
of all kampongs in this region, so that the
kampong itself is located down in a stone wall
enclosure.

Below the first row of stone pillars there
346 is another with just as many stones. It is also
769 set on a mound. Just below this stands the
531 umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on
one side there is a living tree with Y-branches
at the fork. Stones are heaped around the
ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet
high, and consists of a single pillar with
thatched cap. The pillar is made of hebuh wood
and is carved in fancy designs which are hard
to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a
mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were
made of white shell). Looking under the cap I
could see that the pillar forks were in the
shape of a U, and so it is really about the
same as the Nagch peo, but less clearly Y-shaped
and covered with a cap.

To either side of the plaza, which was of
342 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small
361 and had rather low roofs. These houses are set
on piles. On one side was the house of the
624 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
769 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
346 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
565 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
554 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in
574

624
565 order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase
554 his fame. However, a common man cannot do this.
769 Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions.
346
●574 Also, buffalo sacrifices are needed for putting
[782] a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger"
mori ndaru who lives on the other side of the
plaza. This has some relation to the elder and
younger brother stuff mentioned in the manu-
script report on Soa by a priest. Mommersteeg[1]
342 has lent me this report. The mori ndaru house
624 has a wood post in front, on either side be-
532 side the steps. They are rather thin and low
and are carved in a human form. This is known
as the ata deó, or rather these are the ata
deo.

342 Also, beside the door of the house and on the
531 porch are two richly carved wooden rectangles
measuring about 3x2 feet. This looks like the
[171] Balinese stuff and consists mainly of scrolls
so far as I could see.

237 Not only on the houses of the mori ndaru
342 but also on others, we noted many lower jaws of
531 pigs, wild pigs with tusks, deer horns, and
buffalo horns. These are partly ranged along a
rack under the roof eaves and partly, especially
true of the buffalo horns, stuck in beside the
wall of the porch. We later found out that the
ata deo may be used by others than the mori
ndaru, but evidently the carved wood slabs are
only for him. I saw some especially elaborate
lower jaw carvings on a barn in Brova.

346 In the lower kampong, Lodo, which has a low
231 stone wall between it and Naru, there is the
[624] house of the mori ndaru (thus each suku, voi,
has a mori ndaru, and there may be more than
one per kampong) and the rest of the things
just mentioned. The ndaru there, however, has
a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had
been no renewal they said that they would do so,
but they would have to get the buffalo first.

[1] [pastor at Soa --Analyst]

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
361 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
515 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
514 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

574 He furnished us with fair food, rice and chicken, and coffee, and then fixed up the beds without mosquito nets in one room. The son of
872 the mandur of the pasanggrahan of Badjawa was with us, on his way to school in Ende, and he had a little packet of clothes, a canteen and a ukulele. The latter was in sad condition.
484 He slept on the floor on a mat. The next morning we just about made it across the river with our goods lifted by the men in order to lighten the jeep. This was a hard experience, and we decided to make the western run only once
132 more, at the end. This rainy season is too hard here and it is dangerous because there is always a risk of delay from floods or landslides. Ende seemed luxurious after this run to the west.

The assistant was in Ende for a tax meeting
124 of kapitan, and after noon I took him and the kapitan and the latter's servant to Roworeke. They had to work on taxation in the afternoon, so I decided to start in tomorrow morning. Roworeke, as usual, is always troublesome. The jeep was overcrowded with many riders. I took them out, and came back with a load.

Incidental notes on Flores: We saw the use
482 of a tumpline in Sikka. This is true also for Nageh and Ngada. They use this for carrying loads especially in Sikka and also for betel ingredients in Ngada. They use small plaited bags.

Girls in Ngada and Nageh have half-shaved
302 tonsures. This is not true of all, but certainly of many of the girls. There are variations in style, including topknots. I note the latter on boys too.

721 A Ngada man denied head-hunting at any time
346 and said that there is no head under the new
231 ndaru, but rather a red dog, a pig, and a cock, all buried alive. But ENI says that there was
[554] head-hunting and that Ngada heroes had goatskin bands under their knees formerly.

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614 unknown. Nioreko also has a rumah berhala, an
778 actual house, but it is merely temporary and
346 lasts only seven to eight years. Then it is
764 rebuilt. It has no ana deo. This is a kind of intermediate type of situation.

14. Manunggo'o has no shrine. Thus suku Reandona evidently has none.

15. Pu'umbindi has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

16. Mbago has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

17. Pemodjera has a shrine, but the suku is unknown. Also, like Nioreko, Pemodjera has a temporary rumah berhala house, which is rebuilt when it collapses.

18. Sokopedji does not even have a shrine. It is a new kampong.

614 This is interesting and goes to show that
178 the suku were localized before. I asked why
829 there were so many in the census for which the suku were unknown. They said that if their parents did not tell them, they never learned this information. It shows a breakdown in the system, but it is still very important. Real disintegration is just beginning. I scolded them to the effect that they as government men of Rewarangga did not even know the suku of the kampongs in their district. I said that the people in the United States would think that they were poor administrators. They said that this suku business was adat only and that they were concerned with government only. I pointed out that even the giri tumba besar seemed vague about all of this outside of his own kampong, and he is a leader of adat. They begged off saying that perhaps he didn't understand what I was after.

778 It is notable that only the four kampongs
769 with real rumah berhala (Volofeo, Bu'ubedi,
346 Ratebedi, and Vavoëü) have annual ancestor
574

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778 feasts. Thus it is like Barupu in Toradja.
769 (Ratebedi is one of the Rabu kampongs.
346 Vavoëü is another, and so is the non-shrine
574 kampong Kekamberu. The others which have merely the grave-bone shrines have a feast only when they need to fix up a shrine.

632 The next day we went to Roworeke again. Note an error in the preceding notes: The sikesani besar, who lives in Worowai, is of the suku Nggonggora'ba. Thus the Big Four are as follows: Mosa laki mere of Rewarangga, Giri tumba of Odja. Ndeto au of Rewarangga, and Sikesani of Nggonggora'ba. The names of these posts mean: mosa, male (animal); laki, male (human); mere, big; giri, around; tumba, spear (he walks around with a spear); ndetu, many colored; au, bamboo; sike, here; sani, there.

181 I am always impressed by the combination of
124 lack of courtesy and the cringing servility of
576 these Endenese. They constantly talk to each other when I am talking, pass remarks about me in Endenese, etc. At the same time they keep on "tuanning" and bowing. They are grasping too. For example, the kapitan looks steadily at my gold watch and band and asked me to sell him U.S. gold pieces. The assistant asked me to give him personally a ring-spiral notebook such as used for the work. He can't answer questions on the schedule, so I have to do it all. The kapitan is a bit better, and the guru is smarter, but I get the idea that these folk are a rather poor lot.

784 Again we got on to the subject of totemism.
262 The word for such taboos is pire. I doubt that
614 I got the whole story, but as far as I can see
562 there are three kinds of totem taboos and they apply to foods:

(1) Suku or pu'u taboo. This is called pire ngguäh, the latter term meaning "descen-

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721 guages and thus carry on negotiations) would
[634] request soldiers. Such wars were usually
against the coastal folk on the north, that
is, Lio and Ende there. In the old days, just
721 about every outside kampong was considered
484 dangerous and it was seldom that a trip was
578 made there unless a bond of friendship existed
178 between one's kampong and the area visited.
[608] Now all of these kampongs are friendly. Still
I note that they don't like to sleep all night
outside the kampong. This is especially true
of the old folks.

829 Note on ideas concerning the "place" of the
local kampong in the world: In just about
every kampong, when I ask about the ranking of
world countries in population, they do not
know what to say (although a young boy knew
that China was the largest), but at once the
assistant and others get paper and copy down
the exact ranking from me with figures. They
evidently want to spring the question on other
people and stick them. It does show a definite
curiosity about these things.

608 The people here have a sort of pela bond
574 between kampongs, or at least they did at one
578 time in the past. They do not drink the blood
178 of each other as in Ambon, but they hold a
feast and drink the blood and eat the hearts of
the animals killed. And they eat together.
They pledge that they will not war against each
other and that they will show a certain degree
of hospitality to each other. Thus Roworeke
has such a bond with Waturoga, Waturoga with
Ndona, etc. This was all in the past, and I
didn't find out if there are any survivals.
I think there are, because the guru from Ndona
said that it is easy for him to live in Watu-
roga as his kampong had a bond with it. In
addition, he married in.

721 War was tabooed by the Dutch in 1908, and
648 since then there have been no wars.
656

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000 since then there have been no wars.

614 The great suku feasts are a kind of re-
●574 fresher of the gemeente bond, as all the suku
632 of the area come and feast and pledge friend-
624 ship. Thus, if Odja has a suku feast for repairing the grave-bones shrine, the other five big suku (and also others who are invited) attend. (The five are Rewarangga, Nggonggora'ba, Reandona, Wanda, and Gusa-Tibo). Thus the suku feasts are gemeente affairs as well as of a genealogical group. The mosa laki mere must be present at all such feasts, even though it is not of his own suku. Incidentally, he is the same man as the kolu, mentioned by Suchtelen[1] as the "tuan tanah." This kolu word is evidently used especially in his function as an agricultural priest. Thus he is an adat judge and agricultural priest at the same time. The mosa laki mere involved is the mosa laki mere of the kampong involved; thus here he is the big one, as the kampong mosa laki mere of Worowai-Roworeke is also the mosa laki mere of the gemeente.

[237] He gets the lower jaws of all the sacrificed
[342] animals. Nowadays he throws them away after
[178] eating, but formerly all bones from such occasions were kept and were put on the houses. Thus there is a clear relation involved between the jaws on the Ngada houses of the tuan tanah there and such occasions (and distantly to the Mentawei and Punan animal jaws). Note that he gets the lower jaws.

538 As for legends and stories of the past, at
533 first they said that they have none, or rather
[124] that they had forgotten what they might have had. I prodded on and told them about the Balai Pustaka man getting stories of Indonesia for schools. They loosened up a bit, and it seems that they do have plenty. I instructed the assistant to get a few as samples. They said

[1] [See p.70 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 - Analyst]

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Little meat is
262 eaten, and this is done only during feasts. There are some eggs. They do not eat much fish, because they must purchase them. They do buy some food from the local store (never any canned food, because this is too expensive), for example, rice and salt. They do not grow
[249] any tobacco.

434 To get the small amount of money they need to buy in the toko, they sell coconuts and anything else they may have, which is usually quite little. Fl. 5.00 in cash is a lot of money for a man here.

264 The people here eat three times a day, a little in the morning, and equally heavy noon and evening meals.

262 They like dog meat and also horse meat, but
●574 these, like pig and goat, are only eaten at the time of a feast. They say that the main feasts are funeral ones. They also say that the people here have no decided preference and will gladly eat any kind of meat. They
[266] say they have no memory of cannibalism except for the eating of the hearts of enemies for
224 bravery in warfare. They rarely hunt. If they
262 do they use a bow and are lucky to get monkeys
624 or pigs. There are no deer here. There is a clear case for meat hunger here, and the only material gain of being a mosa laki is that you
[465] are always given a piece of meat when an animal
[171] is killed. This is like the Toradja pattern, and shows how much of a luxury meat really is. It is the "government man's salary."

436 Formerly there was no money and there were
178 no toko. Of course there may have been a few
443 gold pieces, but they were really sacred objects. Today they have little cash.

243 The irrigated rice fields started three
177 years ago and were instigated by Hadji Akbar
788 of Watu Roga. He went to Mecca and saw the many sawah in Bima, Java, and elsewhere. When

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166 578 affect mainly the younger branches of panga. The older ones are too important to leave.

[592] Most of the people who leave go as households, except for the men who marry out.

166 574 621 527 Those who leave never come back, as far as the assistant knows, but there have been returnees in other kampongs. They do come back, however, for the big feasts in the mother kampong. There are five kinds of festive returnees: (1) for kampongs in the gelarang Veol, all must come to Veol for the big feast, and so must Veol go to the tjabang kampong feasts. (2) for kampongs in the dalu Rahong, but in other gelarang, if there is a big feast, a delegation must be sent to the mother kampong, and vice versa. These kampongs have their own tuan tanah in the new Veol kampongs, whereas type (1) kampongs have only a tjabang tuan tanah. (3a) For kampongs outside the dalu Rahong, they may come if they want to, but they need not do so, and vice versa. They have their own tuan tanah. (3b) Isolated Veol families which live in kampongs among other va'u always come back, as otherwise there is no ritual life for them in relation to the ancestors, etc. (4) The Ndung and Veol folk, because they are nearby and of the same va'u, always come to each other's big feasts. (5) The Ndung area kampongs (Ndung gelarang) come to the Ndung feasts. Any of them may come to the Veol feasts too, and vice versa. The pattern in the gelarang Ndung is not so complex, as it is actually a branch of Veol.

527 574 756 The big feasts so treated are: (1) "New Year" which comes in November or December. It is not on any set day, but takes place when the gardens are all set and growing. The work is then over; (2) the building of a tuan tanah house; (3) a "buffalo feast," i.e., a cleansing of the kampong, a time decided by one of mbako, who decides that

527 We
574 troubles in the kampong are due to influences
756 which must be exorcised.

756 This led to a discussion of the mbako.
[887] There are two to three mbako per kampong. They may be men or women, although they are usually men. They are called to work, a job which is not hereditary. They are always old people. They dream, see spirits (e.g., naga), look at their paraphernalia (for example, glass pieces, wood pieces), etc. However, there is no shamanism.

This led to a discussion of the secrecy surrounding the identity of the mbako. He is rather vague and said something about how they don't want to appear "proud." But this doesn't ring true, so I asked the mandur and he said it is because several mbako were imprisoned here because of witchcraft murders (what kind?). Anyway, here is the pattern of secrecy and fear which I see all over here.

166 Of those who have gone away, none has re-
574 turned to Yeol, as far as the assistant knows.
783 But there have been returnees to other kampongs.

If a returnee is a man who was imprisoned (note how often the jail theme comes up here; indeed the Dutch ruled by jails!) a feast must be given and buffalo killed. It is called the buka tali, to remove the rope. It also cleanses the returnee of the bad influence of the jail. When the Controleur Bedbeder and Pastor van Bekkum came back from Japanese imprisonment, wherever they went there was a buffalo feast in order to set them finally free.

166 If a family left the area without an argument,
574 then no feast is required on their return, un-
769 less it is a long time afterwards and they have come from far away. For example, a policeman or a soldier who has been away for a long while would go through such a ceremony. Then there must be a feast given for two purposes: to tell

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166 the ancestors that they are back, and to offer
574 something to all the relatives who have died
769 since they went away. This applies to an individual who has been away for a long time and at some distance. If a family departed in anger and with hot words, they must give a feast on their return with the sacrifice of an animal "to clean off the dirty talk."

166 They like to see people return, because they always like to see their kampong and va'u increase in population.

When they move they take with them movables, cattle, etc. If they have relatives in the new kampong, they are received easily. It is notable that the assistant says the ones who leave are always the younger branches, and so they have no status to lose. As for land, the situation is not too clear. I suppose they lose it.

166 If they are merely moving to some nearby
578 kampong, for example, within the same dalu,
614 there is little opposition. If it is within
769 Manggarai, it is not so bad. But if there is a desire to move really far off, there is great trouble, and a youth would probably have to sneak away. The assistant helped a brother of his to sneak off to become a soldier (I think). They try every means to keep them home. All relatives try hard in this. If someone leaves anyway, they have a feast and there is much mourning. The bonds are very close and strong.

One of the main reasons for this family resistance to leavers is because they do not want to have the population of the family, panga, or va'u lessened. There is a great fear of depleting the strength of these units. No greater catastrophe can take place than to become extinct. And I found a beautiful ancestor cult reason on the part of the old. The assistant says that the father mournfully asks, "Who

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000 and such is used in war.

Correction: When there is a big feast in the
621 central kampong, all members of the tjabang
574 kampongs must attend. However, if a big feast
171 is held at a tjabang kampong, it is a matter of choice whether the other tjabang kampongs and the pusat kampong attend. However, each must send a delegation. (This is like the big feasts in the Ambon pela kampongs. The pela radja and saniri must go, and others may do so if they want to.)

It is true that the pusat kampong has more
621 power in a way than the others. Its drums,
622 gongs, tjompang, main pillar of the tuan tanah
346 house, main garden (lingko randang), and the
351 tuan tanah besar himself are all part of this
788 power. All others stem from these. However, the picture is not one of a clear hierarchy. Nevertheless, if a man is very sick, for example, they may decide that it is well to go to the tjompang of the pusat kampong and go through some ceremony. However, there is not a real vivid ranking or constellation of rank.

The assistant says that the round house and the round garden are definitely related. But here again he is unclear. The house is linked with the garden, and after the rites which are held in the garden, they come back to the main house. Also there is a saying: mbarun one uman peang, i.e., "house has link with garden." When a tuan tanah besar gives a drum and a gong to a new branch kampong, he also gives it a "big garden" (lingko randang). Here is where the biggest rites are held. (Lingko means only "round garden.") And when they have rites in the garden, they go directly from the lodok there to the main post in the tuan tanah house. Thus, there seems to be a definite link between
346 the main post of the big house and the main
351 garden's lodok. There is the same parading
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178 outsider can buy land in the kampong. Also, the
425 kraeng privileges have been cut sharply. In
[422] regard to property in houses, things have remained the same except for the new private houses (see below). There has been no change in the personal articles and ceremonial objects.

423 The land is family-owned, but there are some
428 individual pieces (for example, the assistant's).
562 The kampong has eminent domain, and it is a tuan tanah's. When an old man dies, the land is divided, but the eldest son gets his choice and the larger share. If there is only one garden, he gets it. But generally each son gets a share. Women get no land. Personal effects are divided. They work the land as a family unit until the old man dies.

423 Houses which are large are the property of
178 the inhabitants, who build them. Thus ownership is communal. But a great change has taken place since they have been building single houses, e.g., the assistant's. The eldest son gets this new kind, after all others have married off.

574 I note the remarkable ease of sleeping in houses here. There is no fuss to put someone up. Thus the assistant slept in the tuan tanah's house last night in Veol, and tonight the tuan tanah will sleep in his house at Pau (they are going to talk much more, and he promised the tuan tanah some palm wine for which I paid).

462 As far as specialization goes, the women make mats, do the cooking, wash clothes, fetch water, do the gardening, sew, and take care of the children. They also care for the fowls and pigs. There is not a single sewing machine here. The women also pound grain.

Men plait songko, work in the gardens, carry on trade, gather wood, and do heavy work around the house, and care for buffaloes and horses.

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769 more land here). However, the darat (tree spir-
778 its) who lived in the trees are still there on
776 the spot. When such a grove is cut (and most kampongs have a grove), elaborate rites must be given. It is evidently quite dangerous. Therefore, in addition to the darat in all groves, almost every kampong has its own private darat, who live in the kampong grove.

778 This is important: The assistant says that
769 whenever and wherever they have a ceremony they
273 must set a stone in the center of the place
782 where the rite is held. This stone has palm wine poured over it as a libation. The libation is indispensable, and therefore the stone is also indispensable. It evidently represents the ancestral ghosts, who must always get a drink at every rite. And they pour the drink carefully, as though they were pouring it into someone's mouth. Palm wine is hard to get here, but they will go great distances to get it for a ceremony, even though they may obtain only a little, as it is essential. I note the tremendous importance of alcohol all through here. They drink a lot, as I saw in Anam at the New Year feast (see later), and they like it. It seems to be a perfect case of giving the ancestors what they liked best in life.

I noticed another amazing thing, though it
[533] may be unconscious. When the singing teacher at the mission at the Sunday performance for me arranged the boys for a round singing dance (sanda), he put a stone in the center of the place! It was probably just a marker, but note how easily he set a stone there.

527 I do not know if I got information on all
241 the feasts, as the time was getting short, but
● 574 he gave them as follows:

(1) New Year. This usually comes in October or November or December. It may be later, but may not be held in the summer. It takes place when

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527 the gardens are all set and growing. The date
574 is uncertain. Each panga must contribute one
241 pig. At the New Year ceremony they dance,
sing, pray, etc. And from what I saw in Anam,
[273] they drink plenty. The main feast is held in
the central kampong of the va'u, but there is
no set order as to where the successive feasts
are held in order.

(2) There are many garden rites: for a new
lodok, for a new clearing, for planting, for
the first weeding, if there are many mice, and
for harvest. The last mentioned is the big-
gest. Note that the ceremony for the mice is
not the regular pantomime one described by
[114] Coolhaas.! This is not held here, but only in
East Manggarai.

There is no rice mother here.

231 For the garden rites they usually sacrifice
527 pigs and fowls. A buffalo is sacrificed at
782 the rite for the new lodok, but it is killed
241 in the kampong at the tjompang (the animal is
tied to the tree, and thus there is a clear re-
lation between this and the peo of Nageh and
the ngadu of Ngada; and note that both of these
are forked as though they were cut-off trees;
I saw this clearly in Anam, where a tjompang
tree had had branches cut and it looked like a
rudimentary peo! and note that the buffalo is
tied here at the tree as at the peo or at the
ngadu). Usually, only one buffalo is killed,
and the buffalo is only for a new, main, round
garden, i.e., a lingko randang.

242 This raised an interesting point that with
311 the need for rotation of gardens a new lingko
randang must be planted every two years, because
the soil becomes exhausted and must then lie
fallow. At this time beasts graze there and
fatten the land with manure. But here in Veol
land is now lacking, and they must use the lingko
randang and other lingko constantly, which is

! [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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764 they will encounter no big stones while digging, as this is a sign that more people will die. After the burial they return to the house and [888] pray. If the person who died was old or a big [554] man, they kill a buffalo. If the person was of lesser status, they kill only a pig or a fowl. Three days later, if the person who died was old or was a big man, they may kill two or three horses or buffaloes and eat them. At the same time, if the person was of lesser status, they will kill a pig or fowl.

[766] Clothes are placed on the grave of a person who dies a violent death. (See Coolhaas.)[1]

The local Catholics go through the same rites, except that they add on the church service.

[178] The big feasts for the dead dalu mentioned by Coolhaas[1] are no longer held. On such occasions they might wait quite a while. They killed up to perhaps ten buffaloes.

769 There is a very close relation between the ancestors and the death cult. The dead are always invited to feasts. There are no tombs, but the ancestor cult is strong.

[574] Note: The whip duels are held at all big 526 feasts: New Year, harvest, illness, exorcism, 524 wedding, but not at the funeral.

All local recreation is native: tjatjih (whip duelling), tug of war, rope jumping (!), children's games like tag and hide and seek (he says they are the "hunter and hunted"), the bam- [535] boo jumping dance (tekarulu). The dances are: sanda (round), sae (group and solo), danding (round). They play the rattan football (raga) and soccer.

526 The most loved of all is tjatjih. Cornelius says that to the best of his knowledge he has never known of any man being actually blinded, because the superorbitals protect the eyes. However, plenty of people get bad scars on their

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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124 sistant, Cornelius, was fine. I left him a stamped envelope and paper to get information on the bride price and mother's brother's daughter marriage frequency.

Van Bekkum[1] showed me a great volume typed
114 before the war by an assistant of his on
124 Manggarai marriage customs. It was only two-thirds done, and he needs another year to complete it. It is all planned out and indexed. It is monumental and should be translated and published. Van Bekkum says that only Cornelius could do the book. He also went on a several months field trip for the mission to Puluë Island, off the Maumere coast, where there was said to have been an aboriginal population. He has a manuscript on the buffalo sacrifice there.

He is a remarkable fellow and importuned me only a little for palm wine and tobacco for the old men.

574 The last day we went along to the near end
123 of the road, to kampong Anam, one of the dalu
[273] kampongs. Here there were plenty of kraeng with hangovers, and some still a bit drunk. This is a very large kampong, with perhaps a population of six hundred. There is a tjompang in it and several tuan tanah. At the tjompang, which had stones newly and nicely arranged, were sticks stuck with wood chips on them with rice and bits of other types of food, offered at the New Year feast. I was invited into the main tuan tanah house, and there I sat with lots of men in a circle, on mats and on mat cushions. Women played fine drum and gong music, and men sang fine sanda songs, with solos and choruses.
[782] Hanging on the rafter near the center was the main naga bamboo food shelf, and in each family section along the walls were similar ones. Food was placed on them. The house was rectan-
[342] gular (there are no more tuan tanah houses in

1 [pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

342 this area which are round, because the rectan-
●574 gular ones last longer and the people like
123 them on this account, (because all of them
must pay for a new one). They gave me roasted
bits of pork (tough and with plenty of fat),
and the palm beer, which was milky and strong.
I took photographs of them and they were
amazed.

342 This is a new kampong, and is merely named
[103] six (Anam). There are plenty of round houses,
but all of them with partly wooden walls. The
assistant says that there are still a fair
number of the real old style round houses with
no walls, especially in Tjibal.

574 In the afternoon I went to the mandur's house,
592 where he served a fine dish of ear corn, fresh
from the garden, and also some corn cooked by
steam in the leaves. We also had rice, etc.
He is a real host, and his old father talked
some. I took photographs of the family, includ-
ing his handsome wife. She is from Pongkor.
Plenty of her sisters seemed to be about, and
he said something about how this is quite usual
for a wife's sisters to live with her.

114 Finally we pulled out of Ruteng in the morn-
ing on January 31, expecting to ship out of Reo
that day. I stayed in Reo waiting two days.

[487] Going down the mountains I noticed that the
567 land was largely empty. The road led through
the dalu Tjibal. Down this road used to come
the slaves for shipping to Bima from Reo.
They were sold especially for firearms. Many
Manggarai descendants must be all over Indonesia,
because so many slaves were exported. Thus
there is a section "Manggarai" in Batavia. And
of course there are plenty in Bima.

114 In Reo, which is a poor place, I went to
Kedindi, the port, or rather the beach with
sheds of palm. There was no ship. Therefore
I went back to Reo and stayed at the pasanggra-

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614 There is no use of a head without feet. At
788 least this is the idea. They are the leg men
565 of the head. The Hurint cuts the head off, and they also cut or finish or decide cases. Thus the double entendre words which seem to prevail in this language come to light. Also the Hurint do the praying, and in the old days the priests were from this suku as well as were the judges. The Marang passed around and still pass around sirih, or perhaps coffee today, at the rites. The Marang also acts as general helper so that if any of the other three have trouble with the beast he rushes in to aid. The function is symbolized not quite so clearly as for the other three, but the social system is symbolized in ritual which in turn reflects a system of rank and function.

632 I heard another thing which should be inter-
614 esting to follow up. The kakang is a Leboba man
583 from one of the Kottang subsibs. His sib (one
●576 of the two Belepe Lolong, and must be Lango'
431 Bele' as he has much power) gives women to the guru's sib (Ama Hurint Ola Demo[ng] Lango' Bele') and must be given fowl by the latter. The latter gets women from the former, and gets fish from the former too. Thus fowl and fish form a gift exchange following the marriage exchange system. Evidently the sib that gets the women gives the fowl, and the one that gives the women also gives the fish. Could this be again the serpent and the dove? The kakang said that if he went to the guru's house and there happened to be some fowl cooking there, he must get some, or it would be a terrible breach of respect and much shame would be felt. I think this is correct, but I must check it later.

194 The peculiar nasal end sound indicated by
[114] the parentheses in my orthography is hard to get and Vatter[1] messes it up. The guru says it is hard even for a man from Larantuka town to say it.

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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191 is always in Manggarai. I have seen this before. "Mengerti sedikit, tidak bisa tjakap [I understand a little bit, but I can't speak it].

53 We saw a poor show at the pasar malam. It
177 was a sandiwara traveling troupe like the one
831 I saw on the ship. It consisted of torch singers and crooners. The gallery came down with a carioca in western dress. The contact was not close, but closer than they used to make it, and at the end the woman half fell into the man's arms. They shrieked. This very mild sex symbolism in dance was extreme for them. Their dances, as usual, are incredibly dull. The songs repeat themselves over and over again.
526 And they carry on their whip fighting day after day. They even abuse football, and play it from dawn to dusk. This is like the ten games
[171] of baseball a day in Micronesia. They overdo things.

201 As we were sitting in the assistant's house
● 576 with him and the other guru, a woman came in
123 and swiftly pushed her face into mine, holding
832 my head and rubbing noses. It seemed almost as though she were using her mouth a bit too, and I wondered if this were a combination of nose rub and sniff kiss. She then went quickly to Kattenburg and then to the two guru. Nothing would stop her, even embarrassed protests from the guru. The assistant asked who she was, and the other said she was Marcus's wife (who's that?). We were so embarrassed that we turned at once back to the questions, and we acted as though nothing had happened. We saw her later in the rear of the house, looking queer. Query: Was she crazy, or was she doing some bit of unthinking etiquette? But even if she were crazy, she must have been following a pattern here, or why do it in exactly that way? It would have been better if it had been the other guru's wife, who is a beauty.

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778 feasts. Thus it is like Barupu in Toradja.
769 (Ratebedi is one of the Rabu kampongs.
346 Vavoëü is another, and so is the non-shrine
574 kampong Kekamberu. The others which have merely the grave-bone shrines have a feast only when they need to fix up a shrine.

632 The next day we went to Roworeke again. Note an error in the preceding notes: The sikesani besar, who lives in Worowai, is of the suku Nggonggora'ba. Thus the Big Four are as follows: Mosa laki mere of Rewarangga, Giri tumba of Odja. Ndeto au of Rewarangga, and Sikesani of Nggonggora'ba. The names of these posts mean: mosa, male (animal); laki, male (human); mere, big; giri, around; tumba, spear (he walks around with a spear); ndetu, many colored; au, bamboo; sike, here; sani, there.

181 I am always impressed by the combination of
124 lack of courtesy and the cringing servility of
●576 these Endenese. They constantly talk to each other when I am talking, pass remarks about me in Endenese, etc. At the same time they keep on "tuanning" and bowing. They are grasping too. For example, the kapitan looks steadily at my gold watch and band and asked me to sell him U.S. gold pieces. The assistant asked me to give him personally a ring-spiral notebook such as used for the work. He can't answer questions on the schedule, so I have to do it all. The kapitan is a bit better, and the guru is smarter, but I get the idea that these folk are a rather poor lot.

784 Again we got on to the subject of totemism.
262 The word for such taboos is pire. I doubt that
614 I got the whole story, but as far as I can see
562 there are three kinds of totem taboos and they apply to foods:

(1) Suku or pu'u taboo. This is called pire ngguäh, the latter term meaning "descen-

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614 this is so too. Thus there is a kind of "kepala
624 suku" in the form of one of the mosa who is hereditary in the suku. This means, however, that there may be suku with no big man in them because there is no hereditary rank in them. Such would be the suku which had lost their privileges in the old kampong of origin and which had not obtained any office in any of the other kampongs to which they have moved.

576 A lower person must sit or squat in the
516 presence of the kapitan or mosa laki. This is respect. There are no honorific terms of address. They just call the officer by his title. Only the educated ones even know the use of the term "tuan."

789 I have been unable, even with the most extreme pressure, to get anything on magic power of individual persons here. The dukun and the bisa mari are just dreamers and clever ones with second sight and occult gifts. I can find nothing of the true magic power of office that clothes the radjas of Celebes.

611 Monday, January 16. Today I left Ende for
184 Larantuka. I stopped and asked a man in Tana Ai about the matrilineal rules and finally got it out. It happened that the place I asked about this was over the border of Larantuka, to the east of Tana Ai, and he said that here in West Larantuka the matrilineal adat of Tana Ai is also found. In fact, he spotted the border for me exactly, which represents a new find for the book. These towns are in the matrilineal part of Larantuka: Unu, Paluch Lewalalang, Sukutukang, Riangwulo (which is where he and his group were from), Kedang, Bawalatang, Duang, Tabana, and Watubuku. These represent the eastern border of Tana Ai matrilineal adat. To the east of them all is patrilineal, that is, Lewotobi (e.g., Riangbarang). This is excellent material.

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565 but a Minangkabau. He belongs to a soccer
634 team called ATOM (Anak Tanah Orang Manggarai).
578 Is there any "nationalistic" resurgence under the merdeka stuff here? Who would lead? There are only the gelarang. I can see a good chance for elective democracy here, because (1) the old adat system lives, and its class levels are minimal (as the assistant says, the gelarang are "middle"), (2) the dalu may represent Bima rule (and the assistant insists that they are of alien origin), (3) the radja represents the oppression of the kraeng of Todo and Pongkor. Thus the old shakiness of the Flores radjas is even more remarkable here, and the radja is very new anyway.

[124] But the assistant is not ready to talk. I tried to stir up things by saying that perhaps in twenty years there would be no more radjas in Flores. But I think the lesson of oppression has been too recent. It will take a little time for the revolution, if any, to get going in Flores.

565 The kraeng said, when I asked if there was
614 any difference in looks between the classes,
[576] that it was a matter of manners (he said it was a matter of with whom one associates) and money. But he said that you can tell by the manners. I get a definite impression that the kraeng are proud, and perhaps a bit snobbish. I then tried to get at the class business via the clans. I got this, which jibes with the kampongs, as the kampongs are largely clan units, although there is some mixture:

(1) There are one hundred per cent gelarang va'u, e.g., Veol.

(2) There are one hundred per cent leke va'u, e.g., Adjang and the other formerly lampang kampongs, Levat, and the other formerly sekontu va'u, and Lerong, and the other formerly mangko' pitu va'u.

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609 presence too. They are always apprehensive. They are afraid of new things, such as schools (at least when they first came in). They are an apprehensive lot, and their history offers a good explanation. I can see this even in the assistant. Also, as the Maumere pastor says, they are extremely respectful. They hold one hand to receive a cigarette, and the tuan tanah [576] and others, when they leave me, bend way over. Sikka, he says, is different.

576 171 These people remind me of the "oppressed" and noble-ridden Buginese and Makassarese, and indeed through their contact with Bima they came under the same system of respect and the like. The pastor says that fifteen years ago they crept before a superior. How different they are from the Ambonese, or even to some degree different from the Larantuka and Ende people, although the latter are more this way (but how much less!). The Toradja were much different too. They were not hit so hard by the Buginese slave raids evidently. And it must be remembered that Buginese administration never really penetrated Toradja land.

797 The church does not mix in politics here. The Catholics entered here about 1922. They went slow, and they are still not moving at a very fast rate. About fifty per cent of the population here now is Christian, says the assistant. In getting information for the records [595] the assistant found it difficult to get information on polygamy. 124 I note that there are several interesting cases. For example, the tuan tanah of Veol rode to Ruteng with me today, with his second wife, who is young. She is a Catholic, but they were not married in church. The kepala kampong has six wives, and number five is Catholic, but there was no church wedding in this case either. However, there are other troubles in getting information, and he

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565 dressed, e.g. the kapitan of Roworeke, he is not
291 dominated by an "assistant." However, he domi-
177 nates (cautiously as yet) the adat dressed mosa
554 laki. This is interesting.

565 The Pongkor kraeng said that manners differ
576 by class, and he may be right. However, I met a rough kraeng in Anam. And I think that he was from Todo too. Todo ones have a reputation of being more refined than those from Pongkor. All this probably does not mean very much.

[195] Special words are used as part of the lan-
576 guage of ceremonies and rites. However, this
178 is merely a matter of occasion. In the old days real respect was shown for the Bima dignitaries, the kraengs, etc. When one approached a kampong where there was a kraeng, one had to dismount from one's horse and remove one's shoulder cloth down to the hips, where it was wound around, leaving the torso bare.

[689] If one did not show the proper respect formerly, a whole kampong might be made lampang. Thus, enslavement was the great mass punishment. Even today there is still a bit of feeling in regard to the rank of the kraeng, although it is nothing like what it was before.

554 There are grades of pride on the kampong
621 level, and thus Veol feels a bit higher than
614 its branch kampong Tjantjar. Also, Veol va'u feels a bit better than the incoming va'u Tjepang. But this is not a real formulization.

565 There are no approved marriages with mendi.
582 This is still very bad. It is possible to marry with other kinds of "slaves" (e.g., lampang). There are a number of such cases now in Veol. Everyone, up to the radja, may marry everyone else except the mendi. There are plenty of such mixed marriages, and even the radja has a commoner for a wife. Here again one can see the ordinary quality of the radjas

634 Badjawa is the center of Ngada.
Boawai is the center of Nageh.

622 Kraeng Ngambut is the successor to the dead Radja of Mangegarai, but has not yet been installed.

631 In Flores there are many kapitanschappen, for example, there are two in the town of Ende. Other regions may be divided into kapitanschappen under kapitan, or into landschappen under more important rulers.

124 In general I did not get much information from him. I will see Pastor Raats, a member of parliament from Flores. Perhaps the radjas who are here now are going on the same ship to Ende. And Soumokil will send a cable to Papakai, a friend of his and possibly a member of parliament or something similar.

Flores: Before I left Makassar on December 12, three days late because of a ship strike and general irregularity of KPM, I went to see Pastor Raats, a member of the parliament from Flores. He is Dutch. He gave me some information about locations and general facts concerning Flores, but I did not learn anything very specific from him.

634 Following this we spent a wasted day and then on Monday, at 5 P.M., we sailed on a small ship "Kaimana". Most of the Flores radjas who had been in Makassar for a radja conference were on board this ship. The Sikka radja, Dom Tomas da Silva, appeared to be a spoiled and rather impolite person similar to the Arompone. He had a large mustache and looked like a Black Portuguese. I saw a photo of him in Levij's office and will receive a copy later. It shows him in a remarkable satin moujik blouse of black and with a Portuguese gold helmet. He is shown standing between two long upright elephant tusks.
634 He is decked out with gold stuff. He appears to
● 578 be vain and could be troublesome, but I heard

634 that Flores is a hard place to be any kind of
578 a ruler in because of the feuds between chiefs
[648] and radjas of all grades. The Dutch complicated matters by changing land borders, putting favorites in offices instead of proper candidates, and altering the borders of petty states. Thus at one time Sikka was a much larger territory, but then Ende was made independent and after that Lio split off from it, and Ndona made a further split. The same thing happened in Flores as in Ambon formerly: the weaker chiefs were raised up and the stronger ones were lowered. Later on, in Roworeke, I heard much about this and how often after a split or a revision of frontiers or putting in an improper man, the people would rebel either passively or actively, and the Dutch would come and tie ropes around the people's necks and take them off to jail. I was told that whole populations might be thus taken in. Thus, one man said, the people finally became very much afraid and did not dare to disobey the rules of the government. Hence there are plenty of old scores and sores here. Now I understand why Riekerk said I must not get mixed up in the feuds of the Flores chiefs.

634 Anyway, there was also a Radja of Adonara on
142 board. He looked rather Ambonese, dark with wavy and almost kinky hair and a bony Papuan face. He was rather short too. He spoke a little English and seemed more intelligent than the others. This was a surprise as I have regarded Adonara as a really primitive area. The Radja of Larantuka, who the Controleur Amiens later told me was next to Sikka in power and prestige, seemed to be shy and dopy and rather moody. He has rather light skin and is very dolichocephalic with his head running to a kind of long cone in the rear. He has kinky hair which grows down on either side brow. The Radja

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632 most extinct, with only about twenty members.
614 The kapitan is elected by the orang besar of the eighteen kampongs in the kapitanschap.
634 The Radja of Ende is also elected, in this case by the orang besar of the whole state. This means that he is elected evidently by the kapitan. I must inquire further about this matter.
632 The present kapitan is a nephew of the former
578 kapitan. He was chosen because the son of the former kapitan was not satisfactory. I noted that as I asked about this there seemed to be some embarrassment and I wonder if perhaps there was not a little fuss attached to the selection of a new kapitan even in the past. This seems to bear out the evidence for a feud pattern of which I see so much at first glance in Flores. Anyway, both the radja and the kapitan are elected with a tendency to heredity in the male line. They are elected by the officers of the sections of their domain. It is similar to the electors of Goa.
583 They say that the bride price is necessary
614 for marriage, and that the price is really high.
476 They say that some people go bankrupt in order to pay the bride price. Nevertheless, everyone
237 in the suku helps the man pay his bride price and in turn all helpers are later helped. This bride price is a clan affair. Formerly the price had to
[436] be paid in elephant tusks and in gold pieces called wea. Now most of the tusks are gone be-
[727] cause they have been sold or stolen (during the Japanese time). There are still quite a few of the gold pieces left, however. There were hundreds of thousands of tusks in Flores before. Sikka used only very long ones, but in this area they evidently used both long and short tusks. They are remarkable and I must learn more about them.
614 Marriage is exogamous as far as suku are con-
582 cerned and residence is patrilocal. They did
[591]

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

773 from van Suchtelen, but in general the same ele-
769 ments were present. However, he said, for example, that the girl was not really in the form of a lontar leaf but rather that she came wrapped in a leaf. He also said that Toni, one of the sisters, had no children; and Soru, the other, after having a child in Sikka who produced the ancestors of the radjas there, came to Ende and had children there who became the ancestors of the Ende radjas. Her Sikka husband was killed in Timor, and his name, Djau, was given to her Ende son. Thus from the start Ende and Sikka radjas have a common female ancestor. I can see that the myths here have many versions. The Java-Madjapahit stuff is definitely there. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja was quite enthusiastic in telling about these myths, and it always seemed that his ancestors figured largely.

778 I asked if they have a negri lama here, and
361 they at once pointed to the high hills behind both kampongs and said that they are located there. And on them, as in Ambon, are the batu pemali! The Dutch forced them to move to the lowlands as they did in Ambon. Evidently they go to these places from time to time, and I must find out if feasts are linked with them. They
● [578] said there is no real open conflict between the new and the old religions.

535 They said that there are still plenty of the old dances and old adat costumes here. They will put on this ceremonial dress for photographing later.

764 I asked about funerals and they said that the
565 nobles used to be cocooned on a tree branch (not on the trunk, as Körner[2] says for Rea Ndona) until
[231] they rotted. Then there was a great feast with the killing of many buffalo, and the bones and skulls of the deceased were taken and cleaned and put in a chest which was then put in the slab-
[177] covered cist tombs. The Dutch forbade the tree burial as unhygienic.

[2] See p. 21 of Körner & p. 189 of Elbert as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst

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778 I asked if there were no rumah pemali here. They then called it rumah berhala and said that there was none in either Watu Roga or Roworeke. They said there is one at kilometer 17, two kilometers up on a hill. It is the rumah berhala of Wolofea. They said that in it are many pictures painted by the ancestors and that it is big. The people who care for it live nearby. I would like to see this and may have the time to do so.

142 On this tour we saw plenty of good looking folk, especially the proto-Malay female type. Some were handsome. Many were bare to the waist.
736 Many were children. The kapitan said there are many orphans here, perhaps ten per cent of the children, because so many die. They are taken care of by others.

721 They said there used to be lots of wars here.

Then we went back to the kapitan's house and
342 thence took the secretary along the road to Ende, and along this road are Aibod and Aiutu. The latter is a magnificent place with high houses. They said that this is because the Japanese did not level them in this place. This is the best
634 house area. The secretary went to his section,
621 Wolomere, on the Watu Roga side of the road.
578 Just beside the kapitan's house is an upright stone. It is said to be the boundary marker between Watu Roga and Roworeke. However, it is in from the road on the Roworeke side. Evidently, from his statement, although the road is the boundary of Lio and Ende states, Watu Roga has a slice on the Roworeke side of the road in Ende territory. This shows again the senselessness of putting any of Watu Roga in Lio. He said that there were many disputes, and when he ascended to the kapitan post he would put a marker up and then put his house half in Watu Roga territory and half in Roworeke. Thus he is "neutral." This again
[181] seemed to show up rivalry and the disputatious nature of these people.

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578 nature of these people. He said there are many
632 boundary disputes and have been many in the past.
144 Now I see the truth of the racial mixture zone here. All types are represented.

614 I get the impression that the suku were originally localized largely if not entirely. This is still so. Thus one part will be all or nearly all Odja, another similarly Wanda, another Tibo, etc.

591 I met a lad in Roworeke proper who is from a kampong which is rather far off. They said he had married a woman of Roworeke, and I thought perhaps this might be a case of ambil anak. This is not the case, however, and he had merely come there for a day, because his wife has land here. They live in his kampong. Residence is patrilocal usually. Kattenburg remarked that in
178 material culture and in level of living the young
578 people are not much different from the old. They
561 do wear different clothes, however, and as he says, in general outlook, religion, knowledge of and adherence to old thoughts and ways and religion, they differ. There must be an intergenerational conflict here, especially as they are so disputatious anyway. I must check on this.

The next day we[1] set out early and got them to
344 let us work in the office. This is an amazing
217 place, with cocoanut stalk walls and a dirt floor.
124 In one room (they are all empty of furniture), scattered on the floor, are the "files" of the kapitanschap. Some of them are in paper boxes and others are just on the dirt. They call the kapitanschap the "gemeente." We sat on the front "porch" on chairs that almost collapsed and at a table that leaned loosely at an alarming angle and slowly leaned more and more until it seemed impossible that it would keep from collapsing.
124 With us was the giri tumba of Rewarangga and later the kepala kampong (ata nggaeh nua) of Woro-

[1] [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg --Analyst]

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000 the loss of time in such slow questioning.

632 578 634 614 624 There has been much fighting in the past over the election of a kapitan. In the case of a deadlock the radjas have stepped in and settled it, but this is dangerous because sometimes the people have refused to accept such an imposed choice. Again I see the troubles and feuds around here. The rivalry seems to be between suku. For example, they said that Reandona suku has always been trying to get into the kapitan position, but has never succeeded. I wonder if perhaps the mosa laki were not once actually suku chiefs. I asked the old giri tumba about this and he agreed but probably didn't understand me. And yet there seems to be a connection. Be-
[178] fore the Dutch came, they say that the mosa laki mere was the kapitan and the giri tumba the kepala kampong of Roworeke. Thus the mosa laki mere was the top man and the giri tumba was the kampong chief. As for the other two (ndeto au and sike sani) they said that there were these offices too in the old days.

773 173 614 Then I tried to get onto the subject of the old origin legends in Roworeke. They said that long ago before the Dutch came the mosa laki mere here was of the suku Rewarangga; the giri tumba was of the suku Odja; the ndeto au was of the suku Nggonggora'ba, and they did not know the suku of the sike sani. This mention of Nggonggora'ba led me to ask about the whole business.

The kapitan started the story. In the beginning there were five siblings who came from Java, four brothers and one sister. The four brothers were Rewarangga, Reandona, Nggonggora'ba, and Gasiradja. The sister was Djedjedjo. The last went to Nggobe. Gasiradja went to a mountain kampong in the gemeente of Nggobe. The kampong was named Woroapo. Rewarangga settled in Roworeke, and he was the eldest brother and the most powerful of the siblings. Reandona took over authority in

797 177 [533] sang a few, and they are quite good. He says the Gregorian chants are liked by the people here as they are similar to theirs. Perhaps both are primitive. Also they like marches. Then too, said the priest here, on Christmas they retell the old story, saying that the shepherds brought mangos, bananas, and other native fruits to the manger. I think he said he has them bring such fruits to the church manger. They interfere as little as possible with the old practices. An old pageant concerning cosmogony and the descent of man has been kept, but they put in Adam and Eve and Sem, etc., in place of the native figures. As Kattenburg rightly remarked, it is a question as to whether they are adjusting native religion to Catholicism or Catholicism to native religion.

797 177 578 [197] Later, in the Larantuka mission headquarters, the priest said there was much argument among the priests whether this is right. Krol, however, is on the native side. He says, for example, that if they had hymns in Malay the old folk would never come to church. On hearing their own language, however, they come in and sit in the rear. This is an interesting reversal of the methods employed by the Protestants in Ambon, and Krol could see this. Protestantism does not compromise. The hymns are in Malay and are simply Dutch. They will take nothing from the old religion and they refuse to compromise. The priest said that the Catholic method is a matter of tactics, and I thought, "Here is the Jesuit view of an end justifying the means." Anyway, here the old is intermeshed with the new, and is gradually weeded out. In Ambon the two are kept separate, and there is a conflict between the adat and the agama lama, and Protestantism. This is not to say that there is no conflict here, and I think there is more than meets the eye. But the difference in method is notable.

000 notable.
797 The church in Riangkamiö is built with refer-
177 ence to the four ritual sibs of Kottang, Hurin,
346 Keleng, and Marang. This is an example of the
[614] rule used: anything of a social nature is all right, but if it is of a religious nature and related to the old spirits or ghosts, etc., Catholicism won't take it. This is like the
[171] death feasts in the Toradja country, where the Protestants will let the Christians go to these social rites but not to the great exorcism rites. Thus the Catholics here are not allowed to go to the old rites on the nama in front of the korke, but as the priest admitted, it is hard for the folk here to see the difference, and they tend to regard these retained aspects of paganism as full paganism because they are symbols of the whole pagan system.

797 He told much that was interesting. There is
178 in paganism here a need for a girl to be the
243 rice maiden for the fertility rites (Vatter[1]
796 tells the story too), and the old adat chiefs insisted in one kampong that at least one girl should not be converted, as at least one is needed to be the rice maiden. This shows the desperate plight of paganism. They must beg to have something vital allowed to remain. "Give us one only," they ask. He said it is true that just about all of the young people are Catholic, but many of the old remain pagan.

[771] Later, in Wailolong the guru Roy said there are few, but very few young people who are pagan.
●578 He told us about a war in which a man was killed
411 yesterday. It was a border war between Leloba and Waibalun and the police had to stop it. They fight these wars all the time, with bow and spear and knife. I asked if maybe it were not
511 because they were hungry and need land. And
[578] hunger and misery cause aggression anyway. He denied this, but I think it is true, especially

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

797 stead they nearly always use the term Orang Katolik or Orang Serani. The usual pattern seems to be recurring, the Protestants not being accepted as of the same religion in any way.
797 The mission headquarters has a large building
346 for priests (there are always three here, but
874 others come to rest and get supplies), several
793 workshops (where boys who are dormitoried on the grounds learn woodworking, machine work, etc.), a lower and a following school of five grades with one thousand pupils in which boys and girls are kept separate (boys and girls from other islands sleep in dormitories), a household school, a laundry, a library, etc. It is really a great plant. There are four brothers of a "working" type here, who run the workshops and handle the technical education, including one Pole who was interned during the war. He speaks
[792] Dutch with an accent. There are many nuns here, and they also help in the small government hospital. Evidently all or nearly all the schools in this area are "government," but they are really run by the mission. I haven't found out exactly how the system works yet. The Mission is ingenious. There is an old tractor which is used for lathe power, an old Japanese machine used for electricity, etc. They have a very large coffee plantation on the road to Maumeri and it looks good.

797 It is remarkable that such a great number of priests and nuns are here in this miserable spot, which can never be any good. Maybe they regard it as a sure foothold in a Mohammedan area, a foothold which may later be expanded.

244 There are practically no vegetables except
262 tubers here, and fruit is rare. So is all other food.

582 The suku marriage custom is evidently still
614 in force, and I will work on it in detail.

578 It is notable that there are so many border
721

578 wars. There is no more head-hunting (but the
721 priest in the mission thinks it still goes on secretly, especially for the main post of a new korke).

53 The arts here are poor in all ways.

583 The bride price must be paid, but ambil anak
611 can occur. In the latter case a daughter or
237 daughters are given to the family in place of the
[556] price. This is especially true for the poor. Elephant tusks are needed for things such as the bride price, but this is evidently mainly for the uppers. And Krol said that nowadays, when the tusks have become rare, they often merely make the transfer in their heads, talking all night, and never actually transferring the real tusks from one family to another. It is a kind of clearing-house procedure. The tusks may be "transferred" up to twenty times in their heads, and they balance out in the end. Thus there is no real cost. It is a matter of delayed payment and really works out to a system of woman exchange between families. The tusk transfer is fictional. Thus A will "pay" tusks to B for a girl, and B will "pay" these to C for a girl, and C will "pay" them to A for a girl, and so on. The tusks, however, may even be non-existent in a particular case, and since they balance out in the end, no one really pays.

764 I was told that they used to put the bodies of
766 the war dead (I think) in trees before burial. Newborn children were buried in the kampong in front of the house. Cemeteries here were evidently placed outside the kampong.

124 We will return to Leloba tomorrow and try to
621 get the assistant matter straightened out. It
578 is notable that the guru said he is more comfortable working in an outside kampong. If the kakang gives the order the people must cooperate. This shows that the kampongs here are fiercely separatistic and only the upper government controls this atomism.

We. The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof,
are easier to keep clean and are better in
general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the
kampong, and even fewer move out of or into
the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration
from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas
beyond Larantuka.

20 The kakang has the only telephone here.
There is no telegraph. There is no mail ser-
vice. There is no postman. The priest has a
battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië.
Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not
Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to
change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few
people have much knowledge about the world.
This is really the lowest place I have been in
yet. Most of the people are strongly attached
to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is
very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong
is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they
had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at
war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an
enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

114 Wa
[585] exactly the same rites and all moves are the
[565] same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas'
[784] word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate
[614] ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).[1]
[286] In addition to the technical totem taboos given by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 I note on the map that place names recur
614 often all over Manggarai, especially not far away. These are clan names, which are given to kampongs founded by split offs from the mother kampong. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 The mandur said there is criticism of the
578 Radja today because he is not "one hundred per
632 cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of
648 Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, al-
186 though somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud of this Minangkabau story while at the same time it may harm them in light of Manggarai nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes[1] says that when the Dutch were trying to select a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not a contented area and that the people there wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may see a possible chance of paying off old scores. This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where self-governing setups led to exploitation of lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may try to raise themselves up to a parity level and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask questions, and they will reply without first going through a translator. However, the reply

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 1B--Analyst]

243 where around the earthen plaza there are Every-
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They
looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the
peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it
were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with shelleyes. It was set in cement.

From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
132 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However,
124 when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we had to stay overnight at the house of a former kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
●578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan. He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and his cronies are taking everything. There is only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And now they are asking the Christians to move up

634 166 361 into the hills with their Christian and pagan relatives and leave the lower lands for the Mohammedans.

632 634 771 578 I wonder if the kapitan of Nggobe, the fat and aggressive man, plus the kapitan of Rodja, who seem to be the right hand men of the Radja, may not form a triumvirate of Mohammedan rule here. The Christians rely on the priests to intervene (the Dutch are no longer here for appeal), and it will result in a funny situation if there is Mohammedan-Catholic trouble here. Note also that of the seven radjas here, only one (Ende) is Mohammedan; and one pagan (Ngada). The others are Christian (Manggarai, Nageh, Sikka, Lio, and Larantuka). This presents a curious pattern, especially when one considers [:71] that the RIS is mainly Mohammedan. This is similar to the Ambon situation. The Christian majority locally is in a difficult situation with the former local Mohammedan minority now in the majority group of all Indonesia. No wonder the Christians of Indonesia are frequently against independence.

632 829 The former kapitan is quite bitter, but he is clearly glad to see us and talked a lot to us about his troubles, with the obvious although vague idea that we might get the United States to help in some way. He was impressed by the United States elective system and especially gasped with pleasure when we told him that if a leader was not good to the majority of the folk he would not get reelected. He was also impressed with the fact that we told him there are no radjas. But I reminded him that his claim to office rested on inherited succession, and he began to think. They like succession when it is to their advantage, but see the useful points in the elective system when they can visualize that such a condition might ruin their rivals.

R
000 story.

829 People here all know the arrangement of the
186 kampong, and maybe thirty per cent know the general arrangement of the kampongs in Rewarangga. Perhaps only five per cent know the general arrangement of Flores. They have heard of the radjas, but they know little about where they come from. For example, it is not known where Sikka is or what kind of a place it is. Perhaps only one per cent know very much about the arrangement of Indonesia, geographically. These are the ones who went to the Ndona normal school. Practically nothing is known of world geography. They know at least the names of Japan, Holland (the assistant thought that Holland was the second or third largest country in the world!), the United States, Australia, China. India was a bit beyond their ken, and they knew nothing of other countries. Perhaps they know something about or have heard the name of Russia a bit. They have also heard of Rome and Jerusalem.

They have no ideas about the population of Indonesia. This includes the guru, the assistant, and the kapitan.

People here simply like their own kampong and their own district. They have developed no local chauvinism and it simply does not exist. However, they scorn the mountaineer population of Lio. They do look down on them a bit. They say that they have never seen the big town. They know practically nothing about other tribes in Flores anyway. They also have a bit of scorn
● [578] for the mountain people in Rewarangga. There seems to be no feeling of enmity toward any other place, tribe, or Indonesian folk of any kind. There is no dissatisfaction evident in the village.

829 No one could draw a good map of the kampong, even though they know the arrangement. The

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829 assistant said that he just did it, and that it was a revelation to him. They simply do not think in such diagrammatic terms.

769 186 The ancestor cult is strong here and there are many stories about it, but it is not used to glorify the place. In fact, there is no real pride as such. They are simply satisfied as they know nothing else. There is no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village.

178 There has been very little change here in regard to the expanding horizons of social and economic contact.

721 578 178 The old wars and head-hunting continued until recently. Wars seem to have been caused mostly over border disputes, so far as they can remember. Heads were taken as a sign of victory. But I got very little regarding a real head-hunting cult. They said that the heads were placed on the borders, evidently on the borders over which the war had been fought. [789] [246] They said voluntarily that they ate the hearts of enemies in order to increase their magic power. They are quite clear and vivid about this. The hearts were removed through an incision in the back under the shoulder blade. The main enemies were Nggobe and Rodja, but there is no hostility now. More seldom, war was waged against the Lio folk. Spears and [411] guns were used, and formerly bows. Bows were used especially by the Nggobe folk. Circular shields were made of buffalo hide and wood. There were alliances of mutual aid too. For example, Rewarangga (Worowai) and Odja (Roworeke) were in such an arrangement. Also, they [634] went to war for the Ende radja who paid wages for this.

721 634 The radja bitjara (a post no longer present in Ende; he was a kind of minister of foreign relations) (and he was able to talk all lan-

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721 guages and thus carry on negotiations) would
[634] request soldiers. Such wars were usually
against the coastal folk on the north, that
is, Lio and Ende there. In the old days, just
721 about every outside kampong was considered
484 dangerous and it was seldom that a trip was
578 made there unless a bond of friendship existed
178 between one's kampong and the area visited.
[608] Now all of these kampongs are friendly. Still
I note that they don't like to sleep all night
outside the kampong. This is especially true
of the old folks.

829 Note on ideas concerning the "place" of the
local kampong in the world: In just about
every kampong, when I ask about the ranking of
world countries in population, they do not
know what to say (although a young boy knew
that China was the largest), but at once the
assistant and others get paper and copy down
the exact ranking from me with figures. They
evidently want to spring the question on other
people and stick them. It does show a definite
curiosity about these things.

608 The people here have a sort of pela bond
574 between kampongs, or at least they did at one
578 time in the past. They do not drink the blood
178 of each other as in Ambon, but they hold a
feast and drink the blood and eat the hearts of
the animals killed. And they eat together.
They pledge that they will not war against each
other and that they will show a certain degree
of hospitality to each other. Thus Roworeke
has such a bond with Waturoga, Waturoga with
Ndona, etc. This was all in the past, and I
didn't find out if there are any survivals.
I think there are, because the guru from Ndona
said that it is easy for him to live in Watu-
roga as his kampong had a bond with it. In
addition, he married in.

721 War was tabooed by the Dutch in 1908, and
648 since then there have been no wars.
656

Wo
621 call the people from the Blakang Gunung region
173 "blake").

Lewoneda is now mixed, as people came in later from Sina Djawa. Riang Kanali is a branch of Lewohala. Riang Kamië is very mixed. It includes people of the original (that is, Lenurat descended suku) and others. However, it was evidently founded by people from Kroko Putang, the island which disappeared, and whose refugees are all over Larantuka. For example, this is true of the radja kedua here. These folk are called Tenemau (meaning "sailed here in a prau"). Riang Kamië is the largest of all the kampongs. Formerly there was plenty of war between it and Leloba.

578 Lewowitin is the term for a traditional
721 enemy kampong. Formerly heads were exchanged
346 for the korke. These heads were not buried but hung in the korke (like animal jaws today? I also thought as I saw a pig killed, how easy it would be to imagine a human sacrifice instead).

614 In Riang Kamië there are many suku. The as-
621 sistant cannot list all of them, but he remembers
173 Kottang, Marang, Molang 1, Molang 2, Belowen,
829 Lowalia, Lolamaki, Keleng, etc. There is no Hurint.

He says there are four kinds of people here, according to their origin:

1. Padji. They were here in plenty before, but they were all driven out by the Lenurat people, who are here called the Ili Djadi (Ili means emerged), the second group. The Padji were driven to Tandjung Bunda where they are still numerous, and also to the islands, for example to Adonara. They were evidently the aborigines, but he says there was no physical difference, even in the legends.

2. Demon or Ili Djadi. They drove the Padji out after emerging from the mountains, or rather after their father's emergence. The Demon or

The Demon or
614 Ili Djadi are the original people here because
173 the Padji are gone. They also are found else-
621 where, and where they and the Padji are found
829 together, as in Adonara, they still fight.
[578] The constant murders there are partly caused
by this endless feud. They never live in the
same kampong together.

3. Sina Djawa. These are descendants of people who came from the west. There are suku here which came from there. Thus the suku Lewonuhah (kampong, island) of Leloba is of Sina Djawa. So is the suku Lewato of Wailolong.

4. Tenemau. These people came from the submerged island Kroko Putang. There are suku here from these people. Thus, Lewarita suku
[769] of Wailolong is Tenemau. In the ceremony this morning the genealogy used to call the ancestors went back to the Tenemau. He says you can tell at once the origin of any suku by listening to the genealogies recited at the rites, because the ancestors are called.

582 Then we got onto the inter-kampong marriage
124 system, and this is not so complicated as the intra-kampong marriage system. I jokingly said that perhaps he got so tired figuring out the internal system that he decided to make the extra kampong rules simpler. He was amused. He also seemed amazed at the building-up process of anthropological research which I use; for example, when I first asked the names of the eight kampongs and then went right on to ask the names of the sons of Lenurat, he saw that
[791] I was getting directly at the system. He said that if the folk here heard me leading straight into the heart of the complete cosmogony they would think me a suwanggi. I also said jokingly that they couldn't call me a pontianak. He was also delighted with my admiration of how everything here falls into a system. He has learned
124 the word "sistim" and uses it all the time. He

Wav

582 I asked if there were many marriages between
614 Wailolong and Leloba. He said that before
177 there were many because they were allies and
578 nearby. In 1912, however, when the Dutch came
797 in, his father, who was the head man of Leloba, decided it was useless to fight. Wailolong, however, decided to resist. This strained the friendly relations which had existed before, and until recently there have not been too many marriages. I also wonder, inasmuch as he mentioned in this connection that missionaries entered the region in 1907, whether the more rapid Christianization of Leloba might not also have strained relations with the relatively resistant Wailolong.

124 After telling me that he was in fine spirits
177 because my pyribenzamine had cured his asthma,
578 he said he was also happy because he got such
123 a fine reception in Wailolong when he went from
609 house to house getting the census material. He had been afraid of this, and thought that the people would snub him. This would have made him much ashamed. This was also why he insisted that we get the kakang to order the Wailolong folk to give the information. Now he reports that he was received with open arms and that the Wailolong folk say they are delighted that a big man of Leloba is coming among them to work, and that also big men from the United States are getting their names and their customs down on paper. They said that they felt submerged for many years (and their kampong looks a bit dingy and dispirited) and that now they are having a rise. It looks to me as though Roy really feared a bad time, and this shows that the probable relations between these two communities were really distant until we came. We may have brought peace and good
609 will to the two kampongs. It is also amusing
123 to note his remark that when we first appeared,

Wa.

831 goat; and buffalo?). During other months they
614 may eat such food. This figures out to be
241 roughly about one half of the year. Some of
796 the ama have no nu'a luka, for example, Ama
784 Rere. Indeed, Roy says they must not be too
strict about this system because there are
plenty of holes in the ideal scheme. As we
115 were finishing up the work he got a note tell-
124 ing him to meet the Radja at the kakang's
house for a conference. Evidently he is be-
coming a big man here. We are perhaps partly
responsible.

He is making a map, and his daughter, who goes to the nun's school in Larantuka, is doing the drawing.

The next morning, Sunday, we went back, and
632 arrived while church services were being held.
796 They expected the Radja to visit today, so they
had removed a section of the fence to let his
car in. He never showed up, which was a disap-
pointment to them, as they were all waiting
[621] around. The name of the section of Wailolong
where we saw the rite yesterday is Apukule(ng).

578 We asked about the bonds of friendship and
72) enemy relations here. It is clear that seven
of the kampongs are always friendly, and are
never at war with one another. The eighth,
Riang Kamië, has been the traditional enemy of
each of them in turn. They are all descendants
of Lenurat, whereas the folk of Rian Kamië are
descended mainly from Kroko Putang folk, mixed
in with some Sina Djawa. Most enmity against
Riang Kamië has been, as usual, by kampongs
bordering Riang Kamië. Always, border wars are
the most frequent here. Thus, Leloba, Wailo-
long, and Lewohala are involved. The tradi-
tional enemy kampong is Lewowitin. The others
are brothers, just as in fact or legend their
founders were.

The main causes of wars were, in order:

Wae

578 land disputes, head-hunting, and women. Or
721 perhaps the latter two should be reversed. Another cause was molesting a child if done by a neighboring kampong. There were also radja wars, in which the people served, but this was involved in high politics. Finally, there were also the early wars against the aborigines, the Padji folk.

721 The reasons for head-hunting were linked
346 with the new korke (this is still a reason for
796 the largest feast, when all kampongs come to-
782 gether. Nowadays, the feast for the new church takes over this function). When a new korke is built, if the six posts do not fit into the rafter posts, it is a sign that the posts are not happy because they are in need of food, so they are pledged food. Formerly the people then went out and got a head and hung it in the korke. Then everything was all right. Note that nowadays at such rites they give food to the posts. For example, yesterday they smeared rice on the four barn posts. The korke must have six posts.

346 The korke was the center of the war cult and
769 the ghost cult (ancestor cult). The barns were
343 the center of the agricultural cult. The little
241 kebang (barn) of the suku and the ama is called sebua.!

582 Relations between villages are kept up by
621 marriages. In fact, they are almost the sole
602 reason for such relations. This shows that genealogical relationship is nearly everything here. It shows also why descent is the basis for the whole organization of power, etc., and why marriage rules are so complex and strongly held to. There have even been marriage relations with Riang Kamië, although they have not been too pronounced.

476 Another reason for relations with other com-
582 munities is work. That is, there is mutual aid
602
621

! [See cat. 116, p. 202 -- Analyst]

We

582 in other areas, or working in the gardens lo-
476 cated in another kampong. Here again, it is a
602 matter of marriage. Indeed, only if marriage
621 gives a person some sort of privilege to work in the other kampong does one usually engage himself in such work.

632 Relations between districts have not changed
582 much in recent years. If there are marriages
602 between the districts involved, the same situation obtains as between the kampongs just described. Similar situations are those involving different tribes. Bonds are formed if there are marriage links; if there are no such links there are no bonds. Trade is so small a
[438] factor that it is unimportant in intercommunity relations.

186 The people here love their own kampong and
621 feel that they are lost when they are outside.
166 Figuratively and literally, they have no place in another kampong. They can see good in another kampong, however, and if they go elsewhere and return they tell about the good things there and may even adopt them themselves. Only the young people, and few of them, want to get out and see other places. Once they are married they never leave.

609 They say that if they leave their own kampong for another they become outsiders. They are then nipatale (beyond the fence). The other term used in suku terminology for outsiders is rere. It means "low." The opposite term, which also occurs among the suku, is belolong ("high").

578 All seven kampongs have been enemies of Riang
621 Kamië. The seven have remained about the same
614 in relationship to each other, but tales tell a
173 bit about the ranking among them. Riang Kamië was formed by a union of several kampongs which were separate formerly. These united into one kampong in defense against the Bai Pitu (seven

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578 children). There are no Ili Djadi descendants
621 in Riang Kamië at all. The folk are mostly
614 descendants of Kroko Putang, although there are
173 some from Sina Djawa. Among the kampongs which
united to form Riang Kamië were Lamalewa, Beluwela, and Lamaliang. There are now fifteen suku in Riang Kamië. The old kampongs are still used for the sections (as is so often the case in Indonesia).

[211] The Kroko Putang origin (Tenemau) is symbolized by the wooden prau model in the korke of Riang Kamië.

621 The Sina Djawa folk were liked by the Ili
614 Djadi people, however, because when they entered
173 they brought iron, flint and steel and other
177 "high" things. Many suku were taken into the
773 kampongs from the Sina Djawa. They brought
with them good weapons. Riang Kamië is the largest kampong here. Its population is about
[161] one thousand three hundred (Wailolong and Leloba have about seven hundred each). There is a lot of material on the legendary relationships between the ancestors as seen now in the kampongs. Thus, the two original Ili Djadi were a brother and sister, covered with hair. They came out of the mountain and a Padji girl on the shore saw a fire on the mountain. They were then discovered, and the Padji girl, Hadumboleng (a different person from the Ama Hadumboleng in the suku list), married Lenurat. Thus the Ili Djadi are Padji on the mother's side. The girl, however, sister of Lenurat, married a Timor man, Pategolo. The Radja of Larantuka is descended from the latter union. Thus Timor is involved in the male origin and Ili Djadi in the female origin. Also, the kampongs which are descended from the Pategolo-Watuwele (this was the name of Lenurat's sister) union are on the beach side of the mountain, and they are Waibalun, Balela, and Lokea. The last is the Radja's kampong.

War

000 Radja's kampong.

721 There used to be much warfare with the Mohammedan coastal folk too. And war was waged with other districts and tribes, but this was rare, and was largely tied up with the higher politics of the radja. A pure border war, however, was one carried on with the district Lewotala.

186 621 484 Only a very few people locally have been in other places enough to have inferiority feelings about their own village. They have all seen the town of Larantuka, but this is not much and they get tired of it after a little while. Those who have, for example, seen Makassae, of whom there are very few, are less happy when they come back. This is a real difference. They tell a lot about the big town. Thus, the truth is that in all Flores the towns are so little and are so much like the kampongs (i.e. dull), that there is little contrast. Therefore, they see no advantage locally as over against the kampongs. Of the kampongs here all are about the same in wealth and land holdings. Lewohala and Watuwiti have a bit better land and perhaps more of it; thus, in general, one place is about as good as another.

721 178 578 691 693 Wars were waged over borders, women, and molesting children. Now warfare is outlawed, although they still carry it on in a modified way. For example, there is a dispute of this kind going on now between Leloba and Waibalun, although the chief says that they must not carry on a war. There have been repeated grievances; their patience is gone. A band goes out hot for revenge and although the chiefs in general try to keep the people from war they are unsuccessful. Most disputes are settled by legal procedures, with the kakang as the main judge and the kepala kampong, radja tuan, and kelake of the kampongs concerned making up the court.

693 614 For inter-suku cases, the court is made up

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186 This may come later. The truth seems to be that they are not "Flores-conscious" or "Larantuka-conscious."

186 778 Indeed, the only slight flare of criticism of any other section or group on Flores was Roy's statement that the Mohammedans cause a bit of trouble (but this seems to be a fear or perhaps a recognized resemblance to the previous troubles here; for example, see the history of the Mohammedan attacks on Christian settlements in Flores). They are singularly mild on all this, especially when contrasted with Ambon and the chronic "gripers" there.

648 609 578 681 The people here all knew that they were a subject group. Although they were not happy, there was no revolutionary spirit. There was some secret criticism, and everyone was sure that it would be better to be free. Roy said that one impressive thing was that the people disliked the coarse quality of the Dutch, and he said that there was too much of the "god verdomme" stuff. He imitated a coarse Dutchman swearing at the natives. And in the prewar period, all the people here would gladly have seen every single Dutchman leave, except the pastors. They liked the latter, but hated the officials. A sore point, of course, was that of taxation, but they also hated the summary way they were so easily put in jail. He keeps on saying how if a man tried to press his case with the Dutch, the latter just waved his hand and said, "To the bui with him."

648 578 609 When the guru had his famous case concerning the land, and the kepala kampong was put in jail because Roy and he would not sign the paper, twenty soldiers surrounded his house. The kampong people were so angry that they wanted to start a battle then and there. Roy dissuaded them, however, and then offered to pay a fine in order to release the kepala kampong. The

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648 Dutch said there would be no release unless he
578 signed. He signed on a promise that the case
609 would be reheard, but then after he signed the Dutch refused to reopen the case. I get the idea that there was real hostility to the Dutch here, but that the people were so scared that there was no revolt. Indeed, this is what the Roworoke men said: at first the people resisted, but when many of them were sent to jail, they gave up. The Dutch came here late, and the rough stage of colonialism was a recent one. It came earlier elsewhere. At any rate, there is no sorrow at all here that the Dutch have gone. They really hated the Dutch except the pastors. The lack of politeness of the Dutch seems to have impressed the folk here very much. There were radjas, however, who sided with the Dutch, and in fact I think this was the previous line of the radja kedua family.

829 In regard to Holland, they all thought that
648 it was a very big and powerful place. This is why there was great muttering yesterday when I told of the population of Holland. They regarded the Queen as their Radja, because her head was on the money. This is an illustration of the primitive political views here. They also saw that the Larantuka radja was well under the Dutch, and his rank fell very far.

609 The pastors here are the great exception.
797 The people love them, and when Roy tries to ex-
758 plain why, the first thing he mentions is medi-
177 cine, and then comes the standard stuff in regard to religion. This is a good example of how religion rides in on the advanced culture's material strength. They indeed have more powerful "medicine." This kind of thing seems to have been the wedge. Then the schools would come in, etc. That is, primitive people can see
797 quickly the obvious advantages in material and
177 job terms, etc., of the outside superior culture,

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178 religion, when he knew so much about the old
797 ways and his ancestors were so important in
565 it, then this new religion must be all right.
177 (Here we see the old theme of converting the
769 chiefs first. And all the magic aspect is clear too.) He admitted that if the nobles had been against Catholicism it would have been much more difficult (impossible? Note India, where the handicap of missions has been that most of the people converted have been untouchables; and the joy of the missions has been whenever they could snare a Brahmin.)

797 Roy says that they received Catholicism at
first gladly and were interested and liked the
175 medicine. Then there came trouble, however, when they saw that the Catholics were determined to wipe out the old things. Then came resignation. The trouble started when the Catholics began to win. Thus there were three phases, starting with the conversion of the first man, Guru Bala, in 1885:

(1) 1885--1912: period of amicable relations.

(2) 1912--1920: the pagan fight, and real conflict.

(3) 1920 to the present: the surrender and acceptance of the inevitable.

[614] Bala was of the suku Lewonuhah.

565 Even now, the asli, the men of real noble
177 descent, have the power and prestige. It is very hard, indeed impossible, for a commoner, no matter how clever he may be, to bring in alien things. If a commoner tried he would be killed. If he is a noble, he will find things easier, but he too had better be careful, for if he is a "trouble maker" he too might be thrown out (killed?).

797 In Wailolong the first Christian was Pulo,
177 converted by Bala in 1890. Conversions were
798 slower here than in Leloba, and paganism still
184 holds on. Because it was slower there, Roy says
578

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797 that there was less open conflict than in Leloba.
798 There was a chance to mix the pagan with the new
177 and develop a syncretism. In Leloba it was a
184 life and death struggle, and indeed it was, as
●578 the issue shows, a showdown. Perhaps Roy refused to compromise. This is a very interesting contrast. They had their fight out in Leloba and gave up paganism, while Wailolong held onto a little of the old. Indeed, he says that the Catholics in Wailolong do many of the pagan rites today, whereas the Catholics of Leloba have no ceremonies left to participate in.

[665] Since there are no political parties here,
797 and the real issue in Wailolong now is religion,
177 since all depends on it, I went right back to
798 the struggle on this point too. The leader of
578 the Catholics in Wailolong is the guru from Bama. His outside origin is a handicap. (I am just about sure that Roy is the main man to destroy paganism in Leloba. He was the perfect man for the job.) The leader of the pagans is Blawa, the kelake of one of the Datong ama. He is the one who shares the office with the legitimate kelake, Doeng, who is less able to do so. The Radja tuan of this head suku is not so eloquent, and so Blawa is the center of resistance. I asked if he got along all right with the guru
[181] and with Roy, and he said yes. Again the mild-
[152] ness of the folk stands out, together with their tolerance. They simply do not show anger.

Anyway, the pagans, even Blawa, have given up. Their only struggle is over little things (please let us have at least one little girl for a tuno wudjo!). They just try to hold on, like their last gasp. They are going down the road to death, and after them the pagans will be eclipsed. It is dramatic.

166 The only people who go away from here usually
484 go to jail, as Roy says. This is the only trip they make.

5: Kennedy--197 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

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	Male	Female	
127 162 Watuwiti	127	124	
Mudakaputu	128	123	
Laneda	143	167	
Riang Kanale	107	114	
Lewohala	286	285	
Riang Kamiē	430	427	
Wailolong	290	288	
Leloba	272	298	
Totals	1783	1823	3606

The Christians then totaled 1973.

133 Ili Mandiri is at an elevation of 1501 meters, the highest around here.

582 621 578 Wailolong intermarries with all of the other seven kampongs, a bit more with those which are near than with those which are farther away. During the period after the Dutch entered (1912) there were practically no marriages with Leloba, because Wailolong was sore that Roy's father would not fight the Dutch. (The present enmity of Roy against the Dutch may be delayed reaction to this.) Since then, there has been more intermarriage, but extra-kampong marriage is relatively rare. Roy estimates that not more than ten per cent of the cases are extra-kampong marriages. This holds for both sexes.

591 583 If a man lives matrilocally (which is optional if no bride price is paid, or if the bride price is paid only in part), he keeps the privileges he has in his own kampong, but he works for his food with his father-in-law in the latter's kampong.

If the bride price is not paid, he may live in either kampong, and this is merely something which has to be agreed upon. Roy says that about half of such marriages follow patrilocal residence and about half matrilocal residence.

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462 the men. If a woman gets sick, a man may fetch
[286] water, and some men like to cook. The only
thing which is purely a woman's occupation is
[285] weaving. There is no mat or basket making
here. This is done only in the mountains.

426 Small debts may be accumulated among the
kampong folk. Thus if a man has fl. 10.00 he
lets it be known that he will lend it, and he
does so at interest. People seldom borrow more
than fl. 5. For one month for this amount they
must repay fl. 7 to fl. 8. Thus there is a
fantastic amount of interest. The Chinese will
lend only if the borrower has some form of se-
curity, for example, a gold decoration. He
charges the same rate. There were and are no
government pawn shops here.

465 There are about five men who work as coolies
178 in Ende town. These are the only wage earners.
The kapitan receives pay, and the secretary
gets a very small amount. The kepala kampong
gets eight per cent of the tax yield (this is
bad). The mosa laki mere gets meat at all
feasts. He also receives rice. Fifty years
ago there were no wages at all.

443 There are two Chinese stores (at kilometer 6
and kilometer 8). There are eight warong, six
owned by the papalele Ende folk, and the other
two by the guru agama and the kepala kampong.
They sell the same merchandise as the Chinese
stores but have smaller stock.

622 The posts of kepala kampong and kapitan are
634 new here. This is true also of their mandur.
578 The radja has always been here as a post.
There have been changes in the borders too.
Thus there is no more Radja of Ndona. The family
lives near the bridge but no longer has the post.
(All over Flores there must be these fragments
of old-time ruling families, and there is a
great deal of potential trouble here unless the
whole radja complex gets cleared away.)

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000 does not amount to much.

178 When new things first came in there were
578 certain troubles, but now most of that is over. Nowadays when the old men get drunk they flare up about the old days, but otherwise they keep quiet.

166 The next day the kapitan said that the young men are now starting to talk about going off and becoming sailors or policemen. He has discussed this with the Radja, because he fears that if this goes on too much, the district will be drained of its present population (!). The Radja told him that he would allow only police trainees to leave. Does this mean that the people here have no freedom of movement? Perhaps an impelling factor in this talk is that the kapitan's younger brother recently left here after a vacation. He is a policeman and is being transferred to Sumba. It would take only a few examples to get the wanderlust going perhaps.

601 After a terrific struggle I got the kin terms, and as closely as I can figure them out they go as follows:

father	baba
father's brother	baba susu
father's sister	no'o
father's brother's son	ari, ka'e (male speaking); nara (woman speaking)
father's brother's daughter	veta (man speaking); ari, ka'e (woman speaking)
father's sister's son	edja (man speaking); aki (woman speaking)
father's sister's daughter	veta (man speaking); ipa (woman speaking)

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587 moved out of the girl's house, a man must pay another price for her sister. If they have not yet moved out (for example, the guru still lives in the house of his wife's father, the head guru), no bride price is paid, and the father gives a sister free.

601 587 835 Now, note the beauty of the kinship terms here. I had wondered why the terms ari and ka'e were restricted to: brother (man speaking), sister (woman speaking), sister-in-law (man speaking), brother-in-law (woman speaking), wife's sister (man speaking), husband's brother (woman speaking), brother's wife (man speaking), and sister's husband (woman speaking). The fact is that the terms mean, not really sibling, but these relations and these linkages only. The connotation is that one can marry his or her ari or ka'e, while the real brother and sister terms (nara, veta) mean a marriage taboo. Thus the levirate and sororate are beautifully reflected in these terms. Where the terms are used for persons of the same sex, they cause no trouble, because marriage here is impossible anyway. Perhaps the truth is that they mean brother and sister, in a way, but since they have to have other terms to indicate ones who cannot be married, they have also the terms nara and veta. The edja and ipa terms, the other ones for cousins, make no difference, as they also are used for persons of the same sex.

842 578 181 The belief here is that the more children one has the better it is. They are sad if they have only a few children. They like children of both sexes for different reasons. Boys are good to work in the gardens (and can develop new land) and are good in standing up for their father (a relic of the old war days, but even now in an argument it is good to have a big gang, and as they say, "You can trust only your

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842 family." This shows [a] the belligerent nature
181 of these people and [b] their distrust of most
[578] other people). Girls are good for weaving,
house work, and for the bride price that they
bring in. When I pressed the matter, they
said that perhaps it was better actually to
have a few more girls than boys, because of
the money they bring in. This is different
from Larantuka, and perhaps shows the greedy
nature of these folk. They don't like all
girls or all boys.

842 They have no knowledge or idea of limiting
the number of children. As usual I told them
about birth control in the United States, and
they were very much surprised. They seem to
have heard vaguely that there may be some sort
of medicine used to prevent having children,
but they never think of using it.

163 They are unclear, but they think that the
178 average number of births per woman is between
five and six. This may reflect the late mar-
riage age here. Of these, three or four live
(perhaps the population here is indeed rela-
tively stationary). They think there has been
little change in this regard, and this may be
true, as it seems to be about as dirty and un-
cared for medically as it was before, or at
least there has been no great improvement.
They said that a great number of children die
in infancy.

855 There was a chorus of agreement to the ef-
887 fect that the mother is the important one here.
The father is away working all the time. Old
women help in caring for the children.

584 There is no modern courtship. Intermedia-
ries are used.

581 Although they do not like ugly women in a
showdown, the ugly worker wins over the pretty
drone. In fact, they think first about her
skill as a worker and second in terms of her

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601 does so. So much for the kinship system.

Then, incidentally, he said that an indis-
273 pensable item at each sacrifice must be palm
769 wine (tuak). Even if they have to travel for
778 some distance to get some (and it is hard to get in the Veol area, as not much is made locally), they must do so; and the reason is that the stone, which is the central point of all rites, must have a libation poured over it. The ancestors are explicitly called, and then the tuak is poured over the stone as though into the mouth of a person which the stone is. Thus I think these stones are the ancestors. They are real idols. Note that the Vatu Veol, and the removed Ine Amba too, are, (or were) in human form. I think that perhaps the popularity of statues in Java after the Hindu influx may have been due to the pre-existence of human form stone images. The point is, in this libation business, the stones are treated as though they were really human.

In regard to the mother's brother's daughter
582 or tungku marriage, this was formerly required,
578 at least for one son. He might be forced
835 brutally into such a marriage if he was reluc-
[753] tant. It should be the eldest son too. If this is not done, the family may be afflicted with illness. And it is wicked anyway. This rule still holds, although force is no longer used to back it up. A good case is that of the assistant himself. He didn't like his mother's brother's daughter, as he said, "she lived in the house" (what psychological overtones are there here?). So he refused, and married his wife. However, he has two other brothers, who are still unmarried, and his whole family is watching anxiously until one of them marries the mother's brother's daughter. He says that they talk about this all the time. It is true that they are still pagan. His father indeed

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582 has several wives. (This shows the recency of
●578 conversion here. Here is this smooth and smart
835 lad, almost sophisticated, one who could get
along almost anywhere in the world, whose father
is a completely benighted heathen. He says that
the family will be torn apart if one of the sons
835 does not marry the mother's brother's daughter.)

582 Then I asked what happens to the Catholics.
797 He said that usually they are given isin (dis-
[189] pensation), but the priests do not like it at
all. However, he saw the point when I said
that after all it was only one brother in a
family who had to get the dispensation, and
so maybe the church would not be too worried.

This led me to a speech, and I think the
point was not bad, and perhaps the priests
[182] think of it. If they destroy the mother's
brother's daughter marriage, the whole social
organization falls apart, as this is the keystone
all over Flores (and all through this part of
Indonesia, I think). If they do this, perhaps
the adat will fall apart and cause a breakdown
of all the good rules, from the Catholic view-
point. However, perhaps the reason is more
realistic, i.e., it is hard to get converts if
they make it too hard on the old adat.

Anyway, they can use the three generation
up and three generation down dodge to get a
classificatory mother's brother's daughter and
keep up the old system.

583 Then we got onto the records again and ran
591 into some trouble. But before that I note that
No. 167 is a girl who lives with her father's
sister. She may well be already spoken for and
even paid for, for the son of the latter. There
is a son of nearly the same age there.

There are several families in the kampongs
of outside origin in the case of both spouses
(46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62,
63, 64, 65). There are several men in Ndung

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567 178 565 slave descent and the removal of slave or slave-like services.

The kraeng of Todo and Pongkor, who were all over this area, were evidently the worst, because they were more numerous and more omnipresent. Bima was rather far off, and asked only peace and taxes, including slaves.

[578] 565 614 567 In regard to Todo and Pongkor, I got plenty of undercurrents of resentment here. Cornelius says the people here regard them as aliens (as indeed they are in this area, especially considering the localism of "nationalism" here). [173] And they themselves say that they are from Minangkabau via Makassar. I wonder if there is a tie-up with the Datu ri Bandar who brought Mohammedanism to Makassar from Minangkabau about three hundred years ago? I would like to see the treasure chest of the Pongkor kraeng, as perhaps I could decide whence their ancestors came. I then asked why all the people of the kampong were noted as gelarang. And here I ran into the same thing as in Ende. Indeed, all the members of certain clans are a kind of nobles, like Odja there. This goes for the va'u Veol. It also goes for the va'u Pau, to which the assistant belongs. I tried every way to plumb this matter, and first got this information about the kampongs:

565 567 621 614 (1) There are kampongs in which all the "locals" are of the gelarang class, for example, kampongs Veol and Ndung. But there may be included among these, descendants of slaves who were admitted into the va'u after long residence, or who now claim membership, and although no one gainsays this, all know that they were from lower depths before. Still, I wonder if possibly some of the many men from the outside va'u, who are especially common in Ndung and who are married to outside women too, may have been here a long time and may have been slaves before.

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565 the old adat:
621 (1) The dalu rule, centering on Bima.
174 (2) The kraeng rule, centering on Todo and
177 Pongkor.

177 Thus the locals may have been merely under a
565 double rule, and the actual supremacy of Todo-
621 Pongkor or Bima was never really resolved. It
634 may be that it was like the Madjapahit situa-
[174] tion in outlying areas: the local princes were partly to a largely degree independent and oppressed the locals (the Todo-Pongkor ones here), and the proconsuls of the central government got what they could for the sultan (the dalu). The question remains, whence the dalu? And I must find out whether the dalu family trees are the same as those of the kraeng. Note, incidentally, that the radja is of the Todo kraeng.

It may be that there is a strange unassimilation of rule here. There is the radja, whose supporters would be the kraeng scattered all over (and I heard the first day that "there are a few kraeng of the radja's family now in Tjantjar; they have gotten land there." I wrote at the time: "Any story here?" There seems to be
• [578] one. Now comes the question whether the dalu work with the radja, or are still a bit independent, as sort of survivals of the Bima days (and the Dutch days that replaced Bima)? And what of the gelarang? Are they more for the radja or for the dalu? Or are there no tensions at all?

578 I remember that the Radja when he was a bit
634 drunk during the feast told us that he would
565 advise us and tell us of possible dangers, etc. My guess is that all is not peaceful and happy here. Why? There seems to be no real exploitation any more, but perhaps there is a remembered resentment against the kraeng. And the mandur said that the Radja was not really Manggarai,

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565 but a Minangkabau. He belongs to a soccer
634 team called ATOM (Anak Tanah Orang Manggarai).
578 Is there any "nationalistic" resurgence under the merdeka stuff here? Who would lead? There are only the gelarang. I can see a good chance for elective democracy here, because (1) the old adat system lives, and its class levels are minimal (as the assistant says, the gelarang are "middle"), (2) the dalu may represent Bima rule (and the assistant insists that they are of alien origin), (3) the radja represents the oppression of the kraeng of Todo and Pongkor. Thus the old shakiness of the Flores radjas is even more remarkable here, and the radja is very new anyway.

[124] But the assistant is not ready to talk. I tried to stir up things by saying that perhaps in twenty years there would be no more radjas in Flores. But I think the lesson of oppression has been too recent. It will take a little time for the revolution, if any, to get going in Flores.

565 The kraeng said, when I asked if there was
614 any difference in looks between the classes,
[576] that it was a matter of manners (he said it was a matter of with whom one associates) and money. But he said that you can tell by the manners. I get a definite impression that the kraeng are proud, and perhaps a bit snobbish. I then tried to get at the class business via the clans. I got this, which jibes with the kampongs, as the kampongs are largely clan units, although there is some mixture:

(1) There are one hundred per cent gelarang va'u, e.g., Veol.

(2) There are one hundred per cent leke va'u, e.g., Adjang and the other formerly lampang kampongs, Levat, and the other formerly sekontu va'u, and Lerong, and the other formerly mangko' pitu va'u.

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778 high hill, which is otherwise bare, like most
776 of the land here. It is taboo, as special
824 darat dwell here. And now I see many such sacred groves in the hills, carefully left when the land was cleared. It is as though they have to leave places here and there for the darat whose trees have been largely cut away. One has to watch out for feelings of the spirits always. The assistant also uses the word roro for spirits in general.

As the big timbers are carried in, the bear-
346 ers sing all the time, moving about slowly, and
776 telling the setan not to sit on the timber and
533 make it heavy. A small girl, elaborately
824 dressed, sits on the timber, showing the setan that someone is already sitting there, so that they won't. A flag is set on the timber (now usually a merdeka, red and white flag) to show the kampong folk from two to three kilometers away that they are coming. In the kampong, they begin to beat gongs and drums "to receive the wood" into the kampong. They may not be quiet as the wood enters. There is much singing, etc.

[335] While the carpenters are at work with modern tools on the house, the gongs and drums are beaten constantly (technology and adat). There has been trouble here in Tjantjar with the tukang from Ruteng. The timbers were already set
•[578] when an argument started over the contract, etc. Tempers rose, and the carpenters picked up their tools and left for Ruteng. I saw them on the road two days ago. Now the kampong folk are worried stiff because there lies the wood and there is the wood in the half-finished house, and nothing is being done. The wood may get impatient or angry, and if so they will always have trouble with the house. And this is important, as it is the main house, the cult house,
[753] of the kampong. Also, if the wood gets angry, there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.

342 in Tjantjar they use some nails, but also many
178 wooden pegs; perhaps the nails are expensive and hard to get).

Now comes the last stage, when the rectangular houses are coming in all over. A certain pastor went around showing how to build the rectangular type houses, and now everyone follows his model exactly. They do not know any variations! Until 1948 all houses in the Veol--Ndung area were round. Now there are only three left, and Number 11 is to be torn down this month, and they intend to tear down Number 8 soon. In the old days, and now, a round house lasted only ten years, anyway.

166 Usually, when they build a new house the
178 whole population of the old one moves out and
[342] into the new one en masse. This took place every ten years. They seldom move from the kampong. An exception was the mass move of Tjepang to Tjantjar twenty years ago.

In the past fifty years the only movement he knows of was the Tjepang one. Before this there were many moves out of Veol, and Veol
[614] va'u kampongs are found all over the area, as well as families from Veol. But this was all before fifty years ago.

The places to which Veol folk have moved are all in Manggarai, and only in the two or three nearby dalu or gelarang, for example Rahong and Tjibal.

Families move because of four causes, accord-
166 ing to the assistant: (1) arguments over whose
●578 pigs are using the troughs and when, (2) arguments over pigs getting into gardens, whereupon the pig would be cut (like the buffalo I saw yesterday), (3) arguments between women over the use of pestles, and (4) marriages of men who went to live with their wives, taking the Veol name with them. Thus it seems that the main cause or causes are arguments, and they

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166 578 affect mainly the younger branches of panga. The older ones are too important to leave.

[592] Most of the people who leave go as households, except for the men who marry out.

166 574 621 527 Those who leave never come back, as far as the assistant knows, but there have been returnees in other kampongs. They do come back, however, for the big feasts in the mother kampong. There are five kinds of festive returnees: (1) for kampongs in the gelarang Veol, all must come to Veol for the big feast, and so must Veol go to the tjabang kampong feasts. (2) for kampongs in the dalu Rahong, but in other gelarang, if there is a big feast, a delegation must be sent to the mother kampong, and vice versa. These kampongs have their own tuan tanah in the new Veol kampongs, whereas type (1) kampongs have only a tjabang tuan tanah. (3a) For kampongs outside the dalu Rahong, they may come if they want to, but they need not do so, and vice versa. They have their own tuan tanah. (3b) Isolated Veol families which live in kampongs among other va'u always come back, as otherwise there is no ritual life for them in relation to the ancestors, etc. (4) The Ndung and Veol folk, because they are nearby and of the same va'u, always come to each other's big feasts. (5) The Ndung area kampongs (Ndung gelarang) come to the Ndung feasts. Any of them may come to the Veol feasts too, and vice versa. The pattern in the gelarang Ndung is not so complex, as it is actually a branch of Veol.

527 574 756 The big feasts so treated are: (1) "New Year" which comes in November or December. It is not on any set day, but takes place when the gardens are all set and growing. The work is then over; (2) the building of a tuan tanah house; (3) a "buffalo feast," i.e., a cleansing of the kampong, a time decided by one of mbako, who decides that

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166 the ancestors that they are back, and to offer
574 something to all the relatives who have died
769 since they went away. This applies to an individual who has been away for a long time and at some distance. If a family departed in anger and with hot words, they must give a feast on their return with the sacrifice of an animal "to clean off the dirty talk."

166 They like to see people return, because they always like to see their kampong and va'u increase in population.

When they move they take with them movables, cattle, etc. If they have relatives in the new kampong, they are received easily. It is notable that the assistant says the ones who leave are always the younger branches, and so they have no status to lose. As for land, the situation is not too clear. I suppose they lose it.

166 If they are merely moving to some nearby
578 kampong, for example, within the same dalu,
614 there is little opposition. If it is within
769 Manggarai, it is not so bad. But if there is a desire to move really far off, there is great trouble, and a youth would probably have to sneak away. The assistant helped a brother of his to sneak off to become a soldier (I think). They try every means to keep them home. All relatives try hard in this. If someone leaves anyway, they have a feast and there is much mourning. The bonds are very close and strong.

One of the main reasons for this family resistance to leavers is because they do not want to have the population of the family, panga, or va'u lessened. There is a great fear of depleting the strength of these units. No greater catastrophe can take place than to become extinct. And I found a beautiful ancestor cult reason on the part of the old. The assistant says that the father mournfully asks, "Who

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166 will give me food when I am dead?" This is
578 exactly like the ancestor cult of China, in
614 that there must be descendants to make sacri-
769 fices for the soul of the deceased. And there is the same mournful asking by a pagan father whose sons turn to Christianity and therefore probably will not keep up the rites for the dead ancestors: "Who will feed me after I am dead?"

776 This led to a discussion in regard to the
361 guardian spirit of the kampong. Each kampong
778 has such a re, called naga, and its abode is
[166] in the stone heap and the tree thereon in the pusat of the kampong. This is called the tjompang. If there is a great deal of trouble, e.g., illness, a succession of bad crops, etc.,
[756] the mbako may say that the naga is no longer any good, and if all the people so agree, the whole kampong is moved en masse. When this happens, the old tjompang and tree are left there in the old place and are abandoned. Thus it happens that a naga which for a long time has been benevolent may turn to be malevolent. This may be because the people have not pleased him, or just because he got wicked. He is no longer a good naga, and the people had better get out and get a new place and a new naga (how do they get a new naga? There is a very big feast for a new kampong, so perhaps a new naga is then installed).

Veol moved about two to three generations ago from the place noted on the map (c) on higher ground above the vatu Veol. I thought it was strange that the stone was there, outside of Veol and above Ndung, and also strange that the highest spot was empty. This is where Veol used to be, but the naga became so bad that Veol was moved about one hundred meters below. Also, I noted when I first entered that the tree was small, and when I asked why, they said it was

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425 stand with the families and get a share, like
624 any ordinary person? This led to the usual
565 wild look and obvious reluctance. Then he
634 came through. The truth is that the kraeng
661 don't get their land directly, but rather, when a new garden is laid out, the radja just says, I'll take this part. It may be a quarter or even half of the pie. And he pays nothing. Then he gives pieces of the land so requisitioned to members of "his family," of whom there are hundreds, and more swarm out of Todo and Pongkor all the time. They pay nothing. Now I see why the kraeng yesterday said that a privilege of the kraeng is to get land anywhere in Manggarai. This seems to be a real burden, and is at least a racket. I can see where, if there is enough open land, a kraeng or anyone else might be given pieces; but the chiseling evidently comes from the fact that they get cleared and nicely laid out land after a lot of hard work has been done on it.

And now I can see perhaps why the priest in Larantuka said that the tuan tanah and the Radja work together (though this seems to be a strange combination, it might take place in Larantuka because the Radja is a kind of big tuan tanah himself and is part of the whole native tuan tanah system; i.e., he is the Kottang of the state), and as soon as the poor folk have cleared the land, the radja steps in and says, "I'll have this piece," and takes the best part. Perhaps the priest linked the tuan
[578] tanah in here because he naturally hates the tuan tanah, who are anchors of whatever paganism is left. This is why I'd like to know here whether the tuan tanah likes the kraeng and the radja and dalu (but the latter is a "different breed") or whether he grudgingly gives what he must.

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624 gendang (the aradjang pattern) from the head tuan tanah of the original kampong.

166 609 [443] [335] The groups of people who visit the village more or less regularly (actually only occasionally) are as follows: (1) pastors, (2) traders to buy stock, Chinese, Arabs, etc., (3) a Chinese pedlar who comes with a coolie carrying a pack, (4) government men, and (5) specialist carpenters who come to build houses.

They stay for a short time only, except for the carpenters, who stay for about two months.

One other class is important. It comprises the outsiders who have gardens in the kampong. They come to work in their gardens, stay awhile and leave. They sleep with the kampong folk as their guests.

[584] Family relationships are definitely interrupted by migration. Usually one starts the ball rolling by marriage or by buying a garden, and then relatives follow. This is important in regard to marriage because the young folk become acquainted in this way. It is a case of "propinquity".

166 609 ●578 The immigrants must follow the local adat absolutely. They take part in the same rituals, pay the tributes of the land, etc. Thus there is no trouble. However, there are occasional difficulties in managing the gardens. For example, the local people become jealous of the outsiders who have big crops, or argue one way or the other. There is not much trouble, however, and usually things are quite serene.

[783] There are no specific ideas about the outside world. Still, when one returns after a long stay in some other place, they have a rite to "clean the dirt." I am informed that there is no opposition shown toward those who accept the outsiders. However, I wonder if there may not be at certain times. Evidently there is no policy of "exclusion," and my guess is that if outsiders are not welcome they are told so and that is all.

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621 are established or where the people have mar-
614 riage relations. The dalu area is quite
602 secondary, as it is not genealogical. There are, e.g., three Veol kampongs in the dalu Tjibal, and these are closer than the other non-Veol kampongs nearer in distance or others in the same dalu but of a different va'u. Even though a family has lived for a long time in another kampong and has few close acquaintances any more in the old kampong, the bond is still closer than with the neighbors in the kampong
[571] of residence. This shows that residence is less important here than blood. Still, as propinquity makes for marriages, there is a tendency for a family to establish new marriage relations in the place of residence. Thus it is either the consanguineal or the affinal group that counts, in order.

There are no relations at all with other tribes or places.

[648] The Dutch stopped the wars. They say that
721 if there were no police now they would have wars
614 again soon.

578 When a war comes all the va'u kampongs help. They could also call on the vina-rona families, i.e., the affinal relatives. These might refuse, however.

Once there was a war between two places (and usually wars were thus along va'u lines, except for the dalu wars), and everlasting enmity remained between these two places. Thus the wars were va'u against va'u and dalu against dalu, not kampong against kampong, although they might start that way. And in this area, most of the wars were dalu wars. Some wars were dalu or even a va'u against Bima, and there might be quite an alliance against Bima. Once in awhile Bima lost. On the border there were many wars against Ngada.

Some dalu here fought against Todo and Pong-

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721 kor, e.g., Ruteng and Tjibal. But Rahong never
614 resisted Todo and Pongkor. The Dutch fought
578 here (near the pemali grove along the road).
The panglima prang who led this fight is still
living.

Va'u Veol had no traditional enemy, but might join in and help on one side or the other in a war.

There were many wars between the dalu that these kampongs entered. In other regions there were plenty of wars between va'u ("non-dalu wars") but there was not much of this here. These were caused because of borders, molesting fellows, etc. Dalu wars were over borders mainly, but might be for other reasons. The only big wars here were between the dalu. And each kampong had to send just about all of its adult men to fight in these dalu wars.

411 The weapons used consisted of spears, long knives, and shields. They did not use the bow until a few came in very recently. They had no blowguns, but recently a few have come in for hunting birds, although they use no poison darts. Shields were round or rectangular, always of rattan. Helmets were also made of
[714] rattan. Their war clothes were fancy. Feathers were placed on the helmets.

There was no head-hunting, but, for revenge,
266 they drank a little blood. However, there was
721 no war cannibalism. (Note the many things which are lacking in Manggarai which are usually found elsewhere in Indonesia.)

Still, even now from time to time there comes
721 a rumor that men are coming who will chop off their heads. These people are rumored to be coming from outside. It looks like the leftovers of a memory of an old head-hunting experience, perhaps felt from the outside.

[608] There are no traditional alliances between
721 clans or kampongs of the pela sort. But there
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War

721 578 614 were traditional enmities to some extent between dalu. For example, Ruteng was against Tjibal. Rahong usually helped Ruteng. Tjibal had allies too.

When there was a Todo war against Pongkor, the dalu here often entered, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other.

There are plenty of stories about the old wars. Thus there is the Prang Kuvu (that was against the Dutch near here); Prang Lait (against Bima, at a place near here); Prang Vake (Pongkor against Todo, and the dalus here entered), etc.

621 614 602 [423] There are definite borders here, and the people are quite sensitive about them. These exist between the dalu, gelarang, and kampongs. They are marked by stones, mountains, rivers, etc.

In every gelarang there is a central kampong, for example, Veol and branches. Only one va'u per gelarang is the original va'u. There can't be two. Each dalu has kampongs under direct dalu rule. Some dalu (e.g., Rahong) had kampongs directly under Todo or Pongkor. Aside from the va'u relations, the vina-rona (mother's brother's daughter or affinal) relationship is important. In this mutual help is expected. Thus the pattern of one's own clan and the clan of affinity (and, I suppose, by extension this, could work out to a circle of the Wouden type)[1] is found here.

614 582 However, I get nowhere with the regular marriage class system here. Nevertheless, the old tuan tanah said that there was a preferred clan, Mungges. It does not show in the record of the marriages, however. He will get the clans of the women for me.

756 789 Note: he misunderstood the "magic" here, and says that the mbako could and can make a drink or amulet, etc., to make a man strong, and such is used in war.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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871 old people have been heard to say that they
185 wished they were young again so that they could go to school. "We didn't have these advantages in my day."

871 There is no trouble between the educated and
212 the uneducated. Until recently there was no conflict between the illiterate older people
[578] and the schooled young. Of course, they have only three grades anyway, but in all events they haven't had the problem of the stuck up children at all. There is no disobedience. There are still a few dalu and kepala kampongs who are illiterate, but this is becoming less and less so all the time. And they have assistants who help them.

The young do not teach the old here. The literacy campaign of the East Indonesian government failed here as everywhere. It started and then stopped. (Why learn to read when there is nothing to read? Why learn to write when no one writes? This is my interpretation.)

[787] The schools are run by the mission, but the
[658] government pays all of the expenses except for what the mission wants to give, for example, books. This is a system found all over Flores, I think. Mission schools are paid for by the government. The whole administration is carried out by the mission.

874 There is not a single person from here who
797 has gone to seminary. After the six grades the gurus go to OVO (Opleidingsschool voor Volksonderwijzers), a two year course at the mission in Ruteng. There is also a trade school at the Ruteng mission. The trade school gurus must go to a two year course in Ende Ambachtsschool, in the mission there, after they have finished six grades. There is no other available special education.

614 The assistant worked until midnight getting information for the outline in Veol and Ndung,

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771 should not pray. Also, a Catholic may not
788 initiate ceremonies by himself, for example,
183 house rites. I wonder what happens to a Catholic who lives in a house with the little hanging shelves for the naga. There the shelf is over their heads, and I wonder if they do not give offerings. If I had the time I would like to trail a Catholic around; my guess is that most of them do not worry too much about orthodoxy. There is still a lot of friction here.

875 There is a guru agama for Veol and Ndung,
793 but he lives in Rai. Usually there is a guru agama for each kampong, but these are twins. Usually one pastor serves one or two dalu. Rahong has the Maumere man, who lives in Tjantjar.

797 Most conversions are made of the young through the school. There are no cases of children converting their parents. There are relatively few direct adult converts. The school does the trick. A convert must first be a catechumen and learn the ropes. This lasts for one to two years.

797 The priests worry a lot here about what to
183 do, because adat is so dependent on the old
● 578 ceremonies. In Larantuka they have tried to
595 Christianize the pagan rites, etc. Right here there is a real problem, as the heir apparent of the big tuan tanah of Veol is Catholic. The assistant says van Bekkum[1] has discussed what should be done with him. Then too there is the matter of polygamy, which is very strong here. Most of the outright opposition to Catholicism comes from men or women who, because of a plural marriage, are not looked upon favorably by the
[783] church. There is no possible idjing (dispensation, according to Oudehand's version)[2] for this. This is a head-on conflict, especially because they desire so many children. The polygamists

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]; [2] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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797 are the ones who most often get lost to the
183 church, and they are the ones who fight bitter-
578 ly against the church. Perhaps here Mohamme-
595 danism might have an advantage, but the pig necessity at ceremonies would stop it cold. These people can get along without more than one wife, but without pigs the whole ritual life would be unthinkable. Thus each church has its weakness.

634 The first Radja of Manggarai, Baruk, was
595 put in by the church, actually. He was a
797 Catholic. The present one has two wives, one
578 of them a Minahasan. The mission is worried.
183 This is why the radja is only a deputy or acting radja and not a full radja. The mission runs Flores and will not agree to let him become a real radja as long as he remains a polygamist. The mission is on the spot. Probably the present man will never get the full status. This is checked by Degens, the Controleur.

Later, in Waingapu, Oudehand, the former Controleur in Larantuka, told me that the Radja of Larantuka also has several wives and keeps them, although he is "Catholic." One of them, the head one, is the daughter of the Sikka Radja.

This is all beautiful material in regard to acculturation and Catholicism. The Catholics are as tolerant as they can be, but they can't accept polygamy.

554 Note: The title nyora (from Portuguese sen-
177 hora) is used here as in Ambon for the guru's
171 wife. I don't know whether it is also used, as in Ambon, for a chief's wife.

771 There is no Mohammedanism here, and no tendency toward Mohammedanism. Polygamy would work out all right, but the pig taboo would be very difficult indeed.

162 Degens says that the population of Manggarai is about one hundred and ninety thousand. Of these, about ninety thousand are Christian.

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162 Here in Veol the Christians and pagans are also about fifty-fifty. It is notable that here in Veol many of the young people are still pagan. There is plenty of paganism still, and the Catholics, I am sure, are largely pagan. The
●[578] main conflict is over polygyny. But there is also plenty of general friction. It is especially bad if a man has a barren wife. He must remarry. Who will feed him when he is dead? Also, what about the ceremonies? It is all right for the Catholics to say that Christians may attend community rites, if they do not pray in pagan style, but what will happen if all of them turn Catholic? Who will be there to do the rites?

797 Note also that the last of the rites means
769 the end of relations with the thousands of dead
775 inhabitants of the kampong. The Catholics try to fix this up. For example, Roy tried to do
788 this by saying that they are probably not around the graves but have flown off to heaven. But this is revolutionary, and changes the whole character of the settlement into a kind of "empty" place, with only living persons living in it. He told how his father's father, when his father was a boy and the guru tried to convert him, had ordered the boy not to change. And the boy didn't. He now has four wives, one of whom is the assistant's mother. Note the
[771] similarity with Toradja Protestant rules. Catholics may not pray in pagan style and may not hold private rites, and they may not officiate at the rites, but they may attend.

865 Note: At the Sunday singing performance I was impressed by the good behavior of the children. This always seems to be true here in Indonesia. They are amazingly unmischievous. The guru says that almost never is there a disciplinary problem. I can see this all over. The children are adults really while still very

F 114 C 634 han, which had no mandur or kitchen or bed. I set up a camp bed with the help of the Radja of Kolaka (who was waiting[1] for a Makassar ship with his family after six months banishment in Ruteng by the Dutch) and his assistant. I then went to the dalu's house where Degens worked for awhile. Then I had lunch with the dalu, a sullen young man, whose still living grandfather is the last radja naib of Reo.

F 634 565 632 598 The dalu was bitter about the Radja of Manggarai. He says that he should be radja, but that the mission put in a Catholic. He says that next to him the proper royal house is Tjibal, which is descended from Daeng Tamema of Reo. The proper royal house is not Todo, because Todo was under Bima only, and the Radja is only a dalu subordinate. He also said that his territory was very small, because the Catholics do not like Mohammedans, nor did the Dutch. Only he, the dalu of Pota, and the dalu of a couple of other coastal places are Mohammedan here. He told me a long story about the past, and why his line is the right one. He also said that the Do Donggo are descendants of Manggarai slaves in Sumbawa. He said that Reo, being Mohammedan, was not favored by the schools. In general, he is quite sore.

C 634 565 648 The Radja is a good man, and fed me. He told me a lot about the Celebes radjas returning now to Celebes after exile by the Dutch. He doesn't want to go back to Kolaka, because he said one would get "bodo" if one stayed there. He is traveling on government expense. He will seek an office job in Makassar. Kolaka and Kendari (Laiwui) are under Luwu.

F 505 On the last morning, part of the plaster wall fell down, and I am glad to be getting away. After watching the loading of animals all day at the beach, I got onto a float with the jeep (first loading of a car ever to take place in

1[i.e., in Reo --Analyst]

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721 at me and raised his brows, saying, "Ah, but
789 you are forgetting the kekuatan adjaib. It was not a matter of men alone." I am accepted as one who can appreciate the magical things. In this case he was pointing to "those intangible factors which mean so much in warfare."

842 There are no limitations on the number of children in a family. There is not even a conflict here with the church. He did say, however, that they know or think they know a medicine (at least he has heard that some women know about this) which might limit the number of children a woman could have (or did I say this?). Anyway, it is unthinkable.

The bigger the family the better it is. A
[614] big family, ama or suku makes its members cocky.
[534] As Roy says, he is a member of Hurint, the biggest sib here, and he would like to see the so and so who would try anything on him. He would have to settle with the group. Thus numbers mean strength all along the line.

162 The average size of the family here is about
178 eight individuals. Formerly, about fifty per cent of the children did not grow up. Now they
165 nearly all live (I doubt this, but evidently
758 the change has been so dramatic with the introduction of modern medicine and cleanliness that it seems this way). I asked why, and they at once said new medicines and cleanliness.

355 Women do most of the upbringing. The father,
368 for example, just looks on once in awhile. The
178 mother is the crux, as well as other women. Later on, boys learn to work from their father and girls learn their tasks from their mother. The only change in all this is the school and church, especially of course the former.

581 There has been no significant change in the
178] concept of a "suitable man or wife." So little has the pressure for mere existence lessened that appearance and looks are minor. First of

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581 all it is a matter of proper behavior and
secondly one of good work. There are no taboos
[565] on interclass marriages. Note that slave de-
scendants are placed in the system. Above all
they do not want a lazy mate. The rank is the
same for both sexes: behavior, work, and
personal appearance. As the guru said, "How in
hell could we have clothes if the wives were
not always weaving? We can buy shirts and
pants only rarely, as money is dear. Therefore,
they must weave sarongs, etc." It is a simple
necessity. I said, "Well then, as long as a
girl is a good worker and is well behaved, you
would like to marry her even if her face is
like that of an animal." This literally raised
the roof, and all of them laughed, including
the flat-faced but attractive daughter. "Oh
well," they said, "if she really has a face like
a monkey, that's a different thing." They are
absolutely adamant, however, that mere pretti-
ness is not enough. If a girl is very attrac-
tive, but is bad on other points, no one wants
her as a mate. They might like it, but they
just can't afford it.

836 Roy said that nearly all women here are vir-
gins at the time of their marriage (except the
pairs who had sexual relations before, but
these marry anyway). This goes for the men as
well as the women. I asked what would happen
if a man found that his wife was not a virgin.
He said that he wouldn't make a fuss about it,
but that the "marriage would probably not be
happy." These little indications show me that
there must be a lot of fooling around to give
him any chance to answer at all.

585 The only marriage ceremonies here are those
177 of the church, and they are of recent origin.
There is no native marriage ceremony here.
This must be very unusual in Indonesia. There
is not even a ceremonial meal.

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842 family." This shows [a] the belligerent nature
181 of these people and [b] their distrust of most
[578] other people). Girls are good for weaving, house work, and for the bride price that they bring in. When I pressed the matter, they said that perhaps it was better actually to have a few more girls than boys, because of the money they bring in. This is different from Larantuka, and perhaps shows the greedy nature of these folk. They don't like all girls or all boys.

842 They have no knowledge or idea of limiting the number of children. As usual I told them about birth control in the United States, and they were very much surprised. They seem to have heard vaguely that there may be some sort of medicine used to prevent having children, but they never think of using it.

163 They are unclear, but they think that the
178 average number of births per woman is between five and six. This may reflect the late marriage age here. Of these, three or four live (perhaps the population here is indeed relatively stationary). They think there has been little change in this regard, and this may be true, as it seems to be about as dirty and uncared for medically as it was before, or at least there has been no great improvement. They said that a great number of children die in infancy.

855 There was a chorus of agreement to the ef-
887 fect that the mother is the important one here. The father is away working all the time. Old women help in caring for the children.

584 There is no modern courtship. Intermediaries are used.

● 581 Although they do not like ugly women in a showdown, the ugly worker wins over the pretty drone. In fact, they think first about her skill as a worker and second in terms of her

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581 behavior. Looks are a mere by-matter. The same holds for women. They like good workers for husbands (men must keep at the gardens); and as far as I could see, that is about all. I wonder if men should be decent (I doubt that looks are thought of much if at all), as long as they work. These people are way beneath any aesthetic stuff in love (but it may be there in its own way!).

836 [848] They insist that there is not one case of a bastard in their memory. However, yesterday I got the impression that boys have a chance with, for example, widows sometimes. But evidently the girls just stay virgin. They hammer on this; it is and always was a one hundred per cent rule, and that a girl would try to fool on this is considered a terrific thought.

177 797 595 587 582 In the family the Catholics have tried to stop: (1) polygny (but this goes on), (2) levirate and sororate (but this goes on), (3) mother's brother's daughter marriage (they do this with more distant relatives in order to keep up the form). This is interesting.

789 753 [565] In regard to the nobility, I can get no reaction on ideas of magic power, and they say that even the Radja of Ende does not have any. They say that he is new anyway. He is just a big man from the Djari Djawa suku (but the radja must come from this, but I got the idea that Nggobe might get in too). I asked if maybe the mosa laki had any, and they said no. If they do not obey they just become angry, and it is better to stay on their good side as they control the land and they are the big men anyway. There is no magic punishment. Thus they are different even from Larantuka. The only things which have magic power are taboo places, for example, the rumah pemali, the grave-bone shrines, and the old ancestor places. Breaking such taboos can cause illness, and the

We

584 178 whom they like. They always used and still use intermediaries for the approach. There is never a chance for much acquaintance before marriage.

● 581 276 In marriage the main thing wanted is a good worker, by both sexes. Secondly, they want good behavior and good nature. Looks are very unimportant for both. I notice this, and it may be a reason why betel mouths are of no consequence. But I do notice that the prettiest young women I see (the head guru's wife and the mandur's wife) do not use betel. Maybe they are beginning to think of their appearance a bit. I asked him if the men here think the guru's wife is pretty. He said not especially so. She happens to be a beauty. I said that in the United States she would be so regarded, and he seemed embarrassed at the whole talk. They evidently don't go into such questions very much if at all.

836 About ten to twenty-five per cent of the women here are not virgins at marriage, but he says, how can he tell? This is his guess. They do it in the dark. A girl can ruin her name in this fashion, but they do it secretly. If a bride is not a virgin, there is no fuss. He insisted that there is no special feeling about it, which seems a bit queer. He said that perhaps there is a bit more sex now, but he is very uncertain. About fifty per cent of the men are not virgins at marriage. There is not much sex with widows, mainly with those who are young girls. But there was a bit of talk about widows, and it seems that there are cases. If [848] a bastard is born, the mother looks for a husband. If she can't find a man who is willing to marry her, the children merely enter the girl's family. Cornelius[1] doesn't know of a case in Veol.

584 An adat wedding first involves an intermediary to sound out whether the marriage will be

[1] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

634 Keo), and the kapitan from Gunung Rodja (the
124 southern half of Ende town). After a long sales
talk, the Radja offered all of his aid and said
that on the next morning the kapitan of Gunung
Rodja (evidently a kind of crony of the Radja,
and one who usually wears an overseas cap, even
while eating) would come to the pasanggrahan
and take us to Roworeke. Meanwhile I asked a-
[611] bout Tana Ai, and they knew that it was matri-
lineal. Then the hadji from Keo said that it
was matrilineal too, which was news to me.
Then I asked about Wolo Wae, and they said it
was in the mountains to the north, in Ende.
614 They seemed to think it was matrilineal too. I
●582 then asked about clan exogamy and they said
178 that Mohammedanism was breaking it down, just
as had happened in Tulehu in Ambon. But as in
Ambon, clan exogamy is kept by the Christians
here.

583 Incidentally, the priest in Ndetosoko said
178 that the Catholics are in favor of keeping the
797 bride price, as it strengthens marriages.

We finally left, and the next morning the
124 kapitan of Gunung Rodja appeared without his
overseas cap. We got into the jeep and went to
Roworeke, but the kapitan there was again in the
garden. We went to kilometer 10 and saw the
kapitan with several men wading across the river
to the garden on the other side. We called him
back and he got in suspiciously and we then
drove back to his house. There he called the
kepala kampong of Watu Roga. This fellow was a
relative of his, an old man with an old sarong
and short betel teeth, who looked somewhat like
a Toradja. Later he called the djurutulis
[scribe].

I gave a long sales talk and the kapitan
124 warmed up. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja helped
634 out and was quite enthusiastic. He is evidently
632 a powerful man, but the Controleur says that the

R

632 most extinct, with only about twenty members.
614 The kapitan is elected by the orang besar of the eighteen kampongs in the kapitanschap.
634 The Radja of Ende is also elected, in this case by the orang besar of the whole state. This means that he is elected evidently by the kapitan. I must inquire further about this matter.
632 The present kapitan is a nephew of the former
578 kapitan. He was chosen because the son of the former kapitan was not satisfactory. I noted that as I asked about this there seemed to be some embarrassment and I wonder if perhaps there was not a little fuss attached to the selection of a new kapitan even in the past. This seems to bear out the evidence for a feud pattern of which I see so much at first glance in Flores. Anyway, both the radja and the kapitan are elected with a tendency to heredity in the male line. They are elected by the officers of the sections of their domain. It is similar to the electors of Goa.
583 They say that the bride price is necessary
614 for marriage, and that the price is really high.
476 They say that some people go bankrupt in order
237 to pay the bride price. Nevertheless, everyone in the suku helps the man pay his bride price and in turn all helpers are later helped. This bride price is a clan affair. Formerly the price had to
[436] be paid in elephant tusks and in gold pieces called wea. Now most of the tusks are gone be-
[727] cause they have been sold or stolen (during the Japanese time). There are still quite a few of the gold pieces left, however. There were hundreds of thousands of tusks in Flores before. Sikka used only very long ones, but in this area they evidently used both long and short tusks. They are remarkable and I must learn more about them.
614 Marriage is exogamous as far as suku are con-
582 cerned and residence is patrilocal. They did
[591]

614 R They did
582 say, however, that Mohammedanism is tending to
break down this suku exogamy. Here in Roworeke,
178 however, the old adat is still strong and the
exogamous rule still holds. The young people
who have gone to school are beginning to rebel,
but the elders remain strong and hold to the
adat.

771 I asked about religion and they said that at
797 least fifty per cent of the people here are pagan.
Most of the rest are Christian, although there
are a few Mohammedans. The picture is the fa-
miliar one of the younger generation becoming
Christian while the older generation remains
pagan.

565 If I can believe the story about the nobility,
632 it looks as if there are about ten noble fami-
614 lies eligible to the kapitanschap in all Rewa-
rangga, because there are five suku and about
two families of this nobility to each suku.

632 Then I got onto the subject of the officers.
In the kapitanschap there is the kapitan, and he
is assisted by a scribe, a mandur and an oppas.
Evidently these are a secretary, a sort of pub-
lic works man, and a messenger--sheriff.

622 In the kampong the chief is the kepala kampong,
565 the ata nggaeh nua (ata nggaeh itself is a term
624 for noble). Some of these belong to the nobility
and others not (I must find out more about this).
The assistant to the kepala kampong is the oro
kuni. Then tere are four mosa laki, which seems
to them to be the equivalent to the tuan tanah
elsewhere. One of these is the main adat chief
(thus exactly like the tuan tanah) and he is
called the mosa laki mere, or mosa laki pu'u
(pu'u is the term for clan, and I must check on
this as it may be a survival of a purely genea-
logical localization of clans in a single kampong).
He may also be called merely by the term laki pu'u.
The three other mosa laki are: the giri tumba,
624 the ndeto au, and the sikesani. The giri tumba

2

614 main suku there are several others in Rewarangga, but they have moved in and are not original suku. But any one of them may be given land and become in effect "members" of the communities. Thus Tibo is a suku which has virtually entered Roworeke. Later I got some kind of an explanation that it was formerly a kampong on the hill above there, but has now moved into a section of Roworeke. In fact, I saw this section, with only about three houses, and it is called Kopoedo. Among the suku which are "foreign" in Rewarangga are Ambu Djawa, Ambu Nduru, and Ambu Rutu. Ambu means grandfather.

624 632 Later I got more information about the mosa laki. Evidently in the kapitanschap there are four big mosa laki: mosa laki mere, giri tumba, ndeto au, and sike sani. Then, in each kampong there are four with the same names, but they are on a lower level even though their functions are the same. I met the mig mosa laki mere and giri tumba of Rewarangga. They were old fellows, dignified, dressed in adat clothes, and most refreshing in contrast to the modernized Catholics like the kapitan and the guru. They are polite and quiet. I got the impression that maybe most [887] of the mosa laki are older men. They are probably mainly if not all pagan too, and probably mainly illiterate.

614 582 Talking with the kapitan and the scribe and a few other lads later, I learned that suku exogamy is not necessary if there is enough distance between the relatives. Thus the kapitan is married to a fellow-Odja. They noted, however, in my questioning, that most people seem to have married exogamously.

527 129 The second day was the Flag Day, and I took ten fellows in the jeep from Roworeke. After the ritual, which was not very impressive (the Sikka radja made a speech with little grace), we went 123 with Ariens (the Controleur) on a ride to Nanga-

123 panda, a kampong about thirty kilometers to the
west along the coast road. The drive was very
133 scary above tremendous cliffs above the sea,
but the scenery was magnificent, with Pulo Ende
in the bay and the mountains all around. The
road is extremely dangerous, especially when
the rains come. The kampongs here seem to be
[771] mainly Mohammedan. They are shabby. Only one
36] side, that which faces the sea, of Pulo Ende,
is inhabited.

123 When we returned it was too late, although the
men were sitting in the pasanggrahan. We talked
●[582] for a little while and I got some information on
the non-existence of strict exogamous marriage
rules. We also talked a little about a map and
the schedule with the assistant. Then we took
them back to the kampong. We did nothing more
that day, but the kapitan suggested that we go to
Kilimutu, the colored lake mountain, on the next
day, Sunday. I refused at first, but then thought
that I might as well and get it over. I note that
[181] these people are not retiring and respectful like
the Buginese, although the kapitan is really quite
polite. Still he has an eye on the jeep as a
means of getting around. They are all mad over
the camera and talk constantly about photographs
I should take and give to them. I could easily
lose my patience with them. They keep asking for
things.

126 The next day we went to the kampong at seven
123 in the morning and tried to get away fast. But
we had to take photographs, and I was almost de-
luged with requests for more from all sides. I
took pictures of the two old mosa laki, the
kapitan, etc. The old mother of the kapitan, a
good type with the usual betel teeth, asked me
through the interpreter to take her photograph
before she died. I said I would on the return
123 from the lakes. Finally we got off, and I had a
terrible struggle insisting that I could take

159 wherein the kepala kampong is a Kottang. This is
[622] all right according to adat, he says. The guru is
an old fellow, sick with a cough. He was not there,
and his daughter, who might be any age from eighteen
to thirty, talked with us. She seems to be a queer
type, and it is strange that she is not married. I
get the idea there is some friction between her and
her father. She had five years of schooling at the
sisters' school in Larantuka. A son of the guru is in
Makassar as a clerk (I think in a church office),
and he married a Leloba girl recently. The guru
[582] married a woman from the same suku, but the daugh-
ter says this is all right as she was from Laran-
tuka. If she were from any kampong behind the moun-
tain, this would have been impossible. The house
was adorned with holy pictures. The guru said he
[797] was converted in 1907, and as he is now perhaps
771 sixty, that was when he was about eighteen. There
178 are no more pagans in Leloba, a change from Vatter.
The old pagan stuff in a material form is all gone.

124 After our talk we decided that perhaps Wailolong
121 was the best community in which to work, because
Leloba is entirely Christian. In addition, Leloba
was done by Vatter. Wailolong is about the same
size as Leloba and at the crossroads below. We
talked a great deal about adat and then came back
to Larantuka with the guru, who wanted to visit
the children in the school there.

In the afternoon we picked him up and went to
312 Wailolong. On the way we picked up the kepala kam-
pong Leloba and a few others. They were at the
[515] other crossroad near the spa, and here there were
many women bathing (there is no water in the kampong
for this). Women were also hauling water from this
place. The guru said they had to go even farther
778 for water originally. It seems as though all of the
kampongs have a higher negri lama, as in Ambon.
There are holy stones here too.

361 Wailolong is along the main road and is located
161 on both sides of this highway. It may have as
many as one hundred houses and a possible population
of seven hundred.

[See bibliography, Cat. 113-Analyze]

797 stead they nearly always use the term Orang Katolik or Orang Serani. The usual pattern seems to be recurring, the Protestants not being accepted as of the same religion in any way.
797 The mission headquarters has a large building
346 for priests (there are always three here, but
874 others come to rest and get supplies), several
793 workshops (where boys who are dormitoried on the grounds learn woodworking, machine work, etc.), a lower and a following school of five grades with one thousand pupils in which boys and girls are kept separate (boys and girls from other islands sleep in dormitories), a household school, a laundry, a library, etc. It is really a great plant. There are four brothers of a "working" type here, who run the workshops and handle the technical education, including one Pole who was interned during the war. He speaks Dutch with an accent. There are many nuns here,
[792] and they also help in the small government hospital. Evidently all or nearly all the schools in this area are "government," but they are really run by the mission. I haven't found out exactly how the system works yet. The Mission is ingenious. There is an old tractor which is used for lathe power, an old Japanese machine used for electricity, etc. They have a very large coffee plantation on the road to Maumeri and it looks good.

797 It is remarkable that such a great number of priests and nuns are here in this miserable spot, which can never be any good. Maybe they regard it as a sure foothold in a Mohammedan area, a foothold which may later be expanded.

244 There are practically no vegetables except
262 tubers here, and fruit is rare. So is all other food.

582 The suku marriage custom is evidently still
614 in force, and I will work on it in detail.

578 It is notable that there are so many border
721

614 ama chiefs. As for the marriage rules, many of
582 them are based on the old marriage relations
835 which were complicated by ritual stuff. He
684 talks a lot about how such and such cannot marry so and so because his group is an older or a younger brother of the latter. This could stand further investigation. Anyway, marriages are as follows:

Men of	Marry Women of
I-1a	IV, V-2
I-1b	II-2, III, (I-2) (note)
I-2	II-1, IV, V
I-3a	IV
I-3b	III-2, III-3a, III-3b
II-1	I-1a, III
II-2	I-3b, IV
III-1	I-3b, IV
III-2	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, V
III-3a	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2
III-3b	I-2, I-3a, IV, V
IV-1a	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-1b	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-1	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a

[583] The notable case of a marriage inside a suku
[178] started three generations ago when a man of I-1b wanted to marry a woman of I-2 (Ama Kottang Belepe Lolong Lango' Kene' and Waktuka(ng), thus. This was heavily taboo, but the man wanted the woman badly and the men of Waktuka(ng) said that if he paid a terrific bride price he could have her. This was done, not without some fuss, and ever since it has been possible to do this without paying the terrific price because the ice
582 was broken. All know that it is a terrible
614 thing, however. I expressed horror and asked
835 whether these two groups weren't having bad trou-
684 bles because of the curse of incest. The guru
688

582 said yes, it had caused great misfortune. I told
614 about the evils of breaking the pela and fam
835 rules in Ambon, and he burst out with a speech
684 about how much worse it is to commit an adat sin
[688] than it is to commit a religious sin. The latter hurts a man only when he faces God, and it may be washed away before he dies. But the former makes a man an outcast all his life, shunned and marked, and the curse afflicts his crops, children, and everything. This was a guru serani speaking!

The women run as follows (incidentally he says he knows of a case of the same sort of incest from Wailolong, which I will get tomorrow). (In the old days punishment for breaking marriage rules consisted of expulsion from the suku, ripping off of clothes, and even the death penalty.)

Women of	Marry Men of
I-1a	II-2, III-2, III-3a
I-1b	IV, V
I-2	III-2, III-3a, (I-1b) (note)
I-3a	III-2, III-3a, III-3b
I-3b	II-2, III-1
II-1	I-2, IV, V
II-2	I-1b, II-1
III-1	I-1b, II-1
III-2	I-1b, I-3b, II-1
III-3a	I-1b, I-3b, II-1, IV, V
III-3b	I-1b, I-3b, II-1
IV-1a	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
IV-1b	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
IV-2	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
V-1	I-2, III-2, III-3b
V-2	I-1a, I-2, III-2, III-3b

In the evening I tried to make some sense out of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

000 of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

582 583 237 614 621 The next day I questioned the guru about this, and after a long talk about kinship, which revealed that the mother's brother's daughter type of marriage is a regular type of thing, he came out with the classic statement that usually the tusks come back to the original payer in three moves. Thus, ideally this is a three-class, mother's brother's daughter, rotating system. However, the route of the tusks may be longer, involving up to twenty moves before they return to the original giver. But they try to make the circle as fast as possible, doing it in three moves if they can. Naturally, this is not always possible. We examined some cases of possible long routes, and he said it might be true that it would take up to twenty moves before the tusks returned. They try never to let the tusks go outside the kampong, and this may be why probably there is not much extrakampong marriage. But even if they did, they could close the circle by careful planning. He said, just as Wouden[1] might, that the mother's brother's daughter marriage and the bride price and the sib system are all part of a complete system. We will have more of this later.

114 Today, Friday, December 23, we started in on the Vatter[2] book which the mission lent to me. It is amazingly correct.

Among the corrections, etc., are the following: [304] tattooing against illness is not done in Leloba; [775] a tattoo mark is needed to be recognized on entering the deadland; [301] feather decorations are used only festively; [302] the special woman's horsetail coiffure is not used here any longer; [755] cotton is not placed in the ears for illness (55)[2]; [614] one of the sibs from Sina Djawa is Lewonuhah; [784] the term suku wung is used here (74)[2] wung having the sense of taboo.

[1] [See pp. 19-21, 85-88 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

114 As Vatter[1] says, there are taboos of a totemic
784 sort. Ama Hurint has a taboo on a kind of
614 vegetable. Others are as given by Vatter. Vatter has a real error, however, in that there are only five suku, not six, because Marang is within Kottang.

582 Marriage with one's father's sister's sister
835 [father's sister's daughter?] is taboo, as are
177 marriages between parallel cousins. Mother's brother's daughter marriages are preferred, and this occurs regularly. It was interesting to note that the mother's brother's daughter marriage is considered taboo in Catholic communities. This was admitted, and no longer do Catholics
[836] here marry their real mother's brother's daughter unless the girl has become pregnant (this is evidently a fairly common occurrence, as it is mentioned freely). However, because of the classificatory system, it is possible to marry a mother's brother's daughter relative through the grandparents. Such a relative must be at least a fourth grade cousin to suit the Catholics. Thus they manage to maintain the old system and suit the Catholic demand.

601 Kinship terms are as follows:

father:	bapa
father's brother:	bosu
father's sister:	nona, kaka (male speaking); nona kaka, tia (female speaking) (Tia means mother-in-law)
father's brother's son:	kaka aring (male speaking); na'a (female speaking)
father's brother's daughter:	bine (male speaking); kaka aring (female speaking)

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

601

	mother's brother's son (male speaking), (at one point, mother's sister's son)
opu:	father's sister's son (male speaking) (at two points, mother's sister's son [probably not] [female speaking], and mother's brother's son [male speaking])
opu kesi(ng):	father's sister's daughter (male speaking)
nada:	father's sister's daughter (female speaking), mother's brother's daughter (female speaking)
dading:	mother's brother's son (female speaking), (at two points, mother's brother and mother's sister's son [male speaking])
blake:	father-in-law (male speaking), mother's brother (at one point, mother's brother's son [male speaking])
tiu:	father-in-law (female speaking), father's sister's husband (female speaking)
tia:	mother-in-law, father's sister (female speaking), mother's brother's wife (male speaking)
mure'bereung:	mother's brother's daughter (male speaking), father's sister's son (female speaking)
woru'i(ng):	older sibling
tukan dore(ng):	younger sibling
tuho wutung:	middle sibling

583 He said in regard to the circulation of the
582 marriages that the mother's brother's daughter
614 marriage is the thing that keeps the system going. It is this plus the exchange of the tusks. The sibs, subsibs, and sub-subsibs gear in too. There is much indirect exchange of wives, but it can't

582 be straight exchange. They must have one inter-
583 mediate move because of the mother's brother's
614 daughter marriage. He sees this clearly, and says that if one could marry a father's sister's daughter they could have a straight exchange. He says that they do this in Tandjung Bunga. Vatter[1] says this is not so. If they do not want to give the tusks or they do not have them, they can work out the bride price in a deal with two other sib groupings so that A will give a girl to B, B a girl to C, and C a girl to A. Thus no tusks are needed, but they act as though the tusks had actually made the rounds. It is all done in their heads. They must plan this, as not every combination will bring the exchange back to the original sib grouping in three moves. Of course, a more complicated deal can be made with many moves leading the fictitious tusks around and a girl back to the group that starts the whole thing.

836 The premarital sex relations with the arrange-
583 ment that leads to marriage which Vatter[1] calls penara is properly called penaga(ng). The guru prefers to call it bride-service, but it is not so according to Vatter[1].

The guru says there are three kinds of marriage here: capture, service (or premarital sex relations leading to marriage), and payment. He calls the last the respectable type. It requires tusks, either real or according to bookkeeping.

192 Vatter[1] makes a bad error on page 83. Kelen
114 does not mean "heaven," but only foot. The word for heaven, on which he was confused, is klng, with almost no vowels.

782 Prayer is not carried out by the Marang. The
788 word marang means to pray, and this has led to the confusion that the ritual prayers at the
614 animal killing were always done by the Suku Marang. The latter merely hands the betel around. The oldest man who is an expert, from whatever

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Wa

614 a. Ama Radja
621 b. Ama Belolong
c. Ama Rere

II. Leworita
a. Subamaki(ng)
b. Harutmaki(ng)
c. Tapopuka(ng)

III. Ama Hurint
a. Hadumbole(ng)
(1) Hadumbole(ng)
(2) Hadumbole(ng) Nipatale (slave descendants)
b. Marimaki(ng)
c. Melamaki(ng)

IV. Lewato
a. Ama Waru'i(ng)
b. Waktuka(ng)
c. Tuhowutung

V. Lewodoreng
a. Ama Waru'i(ng)
b. Engamaki(ng)

582 The marriages run as follows (I checked a few
614 from the woman's side and this is enough):
835

Men of	Marry Women of
Ia	IIIa2, IIIb, IIIc
Ib	IIIa1, IIIb, IIIc
Ic	IIIb, IIIc
IIa	I, IVa
IIb	Ia, Ic, IIIa, IIIb
IIc	III
IIIa1	Ic, IVb, V
IIIa2	Ib, IVb, V
IIIb	IIa, IVb, IVc, V
IIIc	IIa, IIb, IVc, V, (IIIa) (Note)
IVa1	III

Wu

Men of	Marry Women of
IVa2	III
IVb	I, II
IVc	I, II
Va	I, II
Vb	I, II

582 614 835 583 684 178 The case of IIIc intermarrying with IIIa (perhaps it is IIIb) was one of incest which involved three virtually simultaneous marriages which occurred two generations ago. There were three men from one family who paid a very high bride price. This is like the similar case in Leloba. I asked how much higher the bride price was in these cases, and he said that they had to pay more tusks, but the man had to kill all of his animals. Thus it seems like a kind of tremendous purifying feast in order that the incest may be allowed. He said that the Leloba incestuous arrangement is still technically in, and anyone who wants to follow it now may do so without paying the tremendous price the pioneers once did. Both of the men who did it in Leloba are dead now. As for the Wailolong cases, this arrangement has been stopped, or rather, if it is carried on today it is wrong. They don't do it any more. There were the three men and then it ended. I asked about any resulting disasters and he said it is true that these sinners had had terrible troubles. I must ask what these troubles were exactly.

624 622 614 554 The offices are as follows:

--Kepala Kampong Kottang (Ib)

I. Radja Tuan Datong (kepala suku, tuan tanah) (Ia)

(2) a. Kelake Ama Radja (kepala ama (same man as I)

Wa

622 624 614 796 574 — **Ama Hurint**
- Head: Man called from Ia or Ib.
- Feet: Man called from IIa or IIb.
- Cut: Man from Hurint, except Nipatale.

231 — **Lewato**
- Head: Man from IVa.
- Feet: Man from IVb.
- Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

Lewodoreng
- Head: Man from Va.
- Feet: Man from Vb.
- Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

If a kampong feast is held for all of the people, the setup is as follows:

- Head: Man from Ama Radja (Ia).
- Feet: Man from Subamaki(ng) (IIa).
- Cut: Man from III, except Nipatale.

614 567 423 ●582 [796] [753] The Nipatale groups--in Wailolong they are IIIa2 and IVa2; in Leloba IV-lb--are former slaves, bought respectively by the Ama Hadumbole(ng) Waru'i(ng), and Lewamaki(ng) amas. They have no ritual standing and they may never hold or cut. They just look on. Also, they have no land of their own, but use the land of their masters (i.e., the ama who bought their ancestors). They must give the first fruits of their gardens to these masters, and if they do not they get sick. He says that they were bought from Adonara not long ago, perhaps about four generations. They are not really free yet. They must obey the orders of their masters. In ordinary life, however, this is a matter of adat and respect (hormat), and they are not ashamed. It is really a matter of (a) owning no land of their own; (b)

Wa

614 giving the first fruits to the masters; (c) owing
567 certain duties to the masters; (d) respect shown
423 to the masters; and (e) not being in a good
582 place at feasts. They may intermarry, however, and the bride price for them is the same, etc. He said that even in the beginning they intermarried; in fact as soon as they got into the area they integrated into the marriage system. So strong is the need for these marriage rules that even slaves must be put into the system.

The Ama Rere is a peculiar case too. They
[727] are descendants of war captives brought back from the Maumeri area eighteen generations ago. They too have no ritual standing, as can be seen above in their lack of chance to do any of the duties of the Datong suku. They do not have their own land either. They have to work for
[796] Ia and Ib. That is, they have no ritual standing, no land, and they must do certain duties. In the marriage system, however, they are equal.

614 Also peculiar in the Wailolong setup is the
554 Ama Hurint. They do not have a full position
423 in the kampong, because their ancestors came in from Leloba. They have no land of their own in Wailolong. Each year they receive land for their use during the next year.

721 Then we got onto the schedule and learned a number of incidental things. For instance, right now the Leloba folk are scared to walk along the road near Waibalun because there is a state of war. Thus this is a real war and not play, and there is real danger of death. The "big houses,"
778 i.e., the houses of the radja tuan and the kelake,
789 have holy stones before them. It is not proper
171 to call them nubanara but rather saoniwa(ng). The nubanara proper are the holy stones of the kampong in front of the korke. The saoniwa(ng) hold the magical power of the radja tuan and the kelake. The power of these stones invigorates the respective chiefs, and this is why the folk

Wu
584 true no more for the Christians in Leloba. Here
184 they have only adult betrothal. In Wailolong, however, there is still plenty of this child betrothal business. This may take place at the age of three to four years. They are told of this when they are from five to six years old. As children they think nothing of this until
584 they become older. Sometimes the tusks are paid
583 early; at other times they wait until actual marriage. If the boy's father agrees to pay for a girl and later the boy refuses, he must pay the bride price anyway. In the old days, however, a boy never refused, or almost never. The younger brother of the guru hated the girl he was betrothed to as a child and ran away to Badjawa. His father paid the tusks anyway and they were lost by so doing. Later the brother married a woman from Roti.

621 The guru was the first man from the Belakang
582 Gunung [behind the mountain] area (consisting of eight kampongs) who married a Larantuka woman. His wife was from Balela. Later, the present kakang (who is a Leloba man) married a woman from Balela too. Balela is a foothill kampong now a part of Larantuka town.

595 A man may have up to three wives, but no more.

The guru's father had much magic power. He
789 was the panglima perang [war leader] here. He
776 had familiar spirits who helped him and usually
178 he alone saw them. Other people would see them
825 sometimes. Thus the guru heard a noise like a horse in front of the house one night when he was young. He looked out and there stood a buffalo. There are no buffaloes in this area. He called his father and the latter told him to shut up. This buffalo was one of his father's familiars. Another time the guru was in the fields with his father and heard stones rattling. He saw a crocodile. There are no crocodiles here either. He called his father, and again his

R Smaller private rites are held for such
755 cases as illness. A medicine man or woman (and in the example given they said woman; perhaps they are more frequent than men) is called in and magical rites are performed.

●582 We got onto the suku exogamy matter, and
614 they said at first that one could marry within
178 the suku if the relationship was at least three generations off. But I pressed this a little further and they seemed less certain. I looked over the list which is now up to No. 190, and I noticed only a single case of endogamy. This proved to be a man from the outside who had been "adopted" by the Odja (he was originally from Lio) long ago. He was still separate, however, and I noticed that although he is still trying to find the name of his suku in the old place, the assistant left the suku slot blank for him and his children. This proved to be a case of no bride price and hence matrilocal residence. Thus there is not a single case of suku endogamy. I suspect that they
[124] are either trying to fool me into thinking they follow only Catholic rules, or else they know the latter and talk about them. Or perhaps they just don't phrase the old rules in the same way any more, although they follow them actually in practice.

124 We got onto the schedule as he has written a few short answers already. They are not bad, but it is evident that thinking and writing are painful for him.

342 Formerly the kampong was much larger than it is today and the houses were bigger by far. They are still large. In regard to migration
166 the situation is not too clear, but it is quite evident that very few people leave. Most of the individuals who go away are police or soldiers who serve in other parts of Flores. There are also a few teachers who serve elsewhere in Flores. They nearly all come back later. Their

611 I think he[1] said it is possible to pay Also part of
614 the bride price and then to give some of the
583 children to the mother's group. This is not so
582 important, however, as the usual marriage is endogamous. They prefer to marry within the sib. They may marry out also. They have the same term for all cousins, and may marry with any cross or parallel cousin. Descent is patrilineal. Female descent is traced too, and thus there may occur cases of double descent with patrilineal emphasis and endogamy and clans. This is remarkable.

784 They also have totemism here with animal de-
824 scent and tree descent. A member may not kill or eat the animal totem and may not cut or burn or use in any way the wood of the tree totem. Two of the latter are ficus and lontar. The
583 amount to be paid as a bride price is a matter
554 of pride. Many kampongs have only one voi,
614 but others have several.

197 The language of Ngada is related to that of
193 Ende and is very close to Nageh. Manggarai speech, however, is quite different. Arndt says there are no affixes in Ngada, but instead they use particles.

614 Correction: Not all voi have women as an-
565 cestors, but most of them do. There are four
582 classes (not three as van Staveren[2] says). These are the nobles (ata gai or gai meze), upper commoners (ata gisa or gai giza), lower commoners (azi ana) and slaves (ata hoö). An upper woman may never marry a lower man, but the reverse is all right. The peo still stand.

124 We talked about the possibility of working in a Ngada kampong, but the Soa area has already been covered, and Arndt has a book nearly ready on the sociology of Ngada. There is practically nothing on Manggarai, so we decided to go to Ruteng first. We left in the afternoon, and after a hard drive, largely in the rain, we

1 [i.e., Arndt, pastor in Ngada area--Analyst]
2 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more
243 people in many of the houses. The complex ar-
rangement of rice fields stretches out far be-
low and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but per-
haps this is done merely by flooding. I must
ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly
situated on rises and they are small, for ex-
ample, Weol has only about thirty houses in it.
The priest says that there are many of the
stones in kampong Ruteng located about 1½ km.
outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each
day, and the guru will bring the table and
chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel.
The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary,
which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about
fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
177 houses were introduced here by a priest. The
guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the
58 folk here, including the priests. Bathing is
not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the rela-
tionship between partners is distant enough.
Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans,
called panga, and one may marry within these in
the same way, according to the guru. I must find
out more about this and also get the kin system.
We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in
the center of the town where they were playing
football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

We

721 whips. Later the mandur of the pasanggrahan,
555 a Manggarai man from kampong Ruteng, said that girls especially like a man who has knocked out another's eye with a whip.[1] It looks like a head-hunting pattern, but so far I have gotten no response on the subject of head-hunting, and the priests say it did not exist here even in former times. I must check on this.

[126] We took photographs, and one of them was of
634 the Radja. He was a bit drunk, and said that
273 the dancers were hot inside too. He made what
537 seemed to me to be an unnecessary speech to
609 the men around him to the effect that we were Americans and not Dutch and as to why we were here. Later he said he was busy as this was the day of the kampong folk. He said he would see us later so that if we needed any help we could call on him, and he could also warn us of possible dangers. The latter reference was vague, and I can't see the point. He called a lad who came with a bottle of brandy and we had drinks in front of a great crowd. He wore a songko, which is strange for a Christian radja. Evidently, from what we hear, the Radja here has been in for only a short time, and this one is both young and new, as his father died recently (maybe not his father?)

614 Then we went back to the pasanggrahan and
582 talked with the mandur who said that in the Ruteng kampong there is still plenty of the old culture. He said it is possible to marry inside the va'u (this is the correct spelling) or outside. He said marriages usually occur outside. He said something about how if one partner was from the older sibling branch of the va'u and the other from the younger sibling branch, they may marry (could it be that here we have a subclan?) The assistant says they have panga inside the va'u, and he gave his own as the first, which I think means the older branch. Thus

[1] [i.e., during the ritualized mock warfare games; see p.92, c.st.116 --Analyst]

614 maybe it is a matter of the older and younger
●582 lines. I must check on this. The mandur said
[624] there was no tuan tanah in Ruteng kampong.
Later the assistant said they must have one.

124 In the evening the assistant came to the pasanggrahan and talked with us. He seems to be the best one yet. He knows plenty about the old customs, and Christianity has not caused him to scorn the old ways. He is so enthusiastic that it was hard for us to stop him. We got onto the question of Weol.

178 He said that in the old days there was only
342 one large round house per kampong. The diameter
614 was perhaps twenty meters. If you saw two
624 houses, it meant that there were two va'u. And
582 up until twenty years ago (1927) all tuan tanah
778 lived in round houses. After that, however, a
801 change took place. For example, the tuan tanah of Weol now lives in a rectangular house. In the old clan house there were nine posts, in rows of three. The very center pillar was the main one and here sat the tuan tanah at religious rites. Others ranged around the walls in the front half of the house. The rear section of the house was for the tuan tanah and his family. Other panga had sections around the walls. In the center, behind the main post, was the kitchen. Later, when more than one round house was built in a single kampong, the tuan tanah occupied the main house, and here the main pillar of all was located. This pillar is especially holy, and the setting of it in place requires certain rites, sacrificial animals, etc. Other round houses had nine pillars too. Each house was inhabited usually by one panga, and in each there was a kepala panga, and smaller rites were held at each main pillar.

243 The circular rice field arrangement shows
782 certain similarities here. He says that even
778 now when they begin planting or have some other

Wac

243 agricultural rite, they must make a sacrifice
782 at the very center. The main post is the place
778 for house and kampong offerings, and it is called pusat. I think the center of the circular rice field complex is also called the pusat.

115 The assistant's name is Cornelius Lawang.
624 He is from the va'u Pau, which is also the name of a kampong about one kilometer outside the town. His father is the tuan tanah there, and there he will spend tonight. He is his father's successor. Will he take the post? He said just about all tuan tanah (tua' tano') are pagan. But evidently they could be Christian, although a bit of trouble may rise when it comes to the ceremony.

582 I forgot to say that the mandur said it is possible to marry with one's mother's brother's daughter, but not with the other cousins, including father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and father's brother's daughter. If so, this is interesting. He said that
[184] the Catholics forbid mother's brother's daughter marriages now. I must check on this.

We got onto the census matter with the assis-
567 tant. This led to some new points. He said that they do have slaves here and said that he would indicate them in the census, but I must never tell, as this is never mentioned although
842 everyone knows about it. He said that they like
583 to have many children here, and if they have many they give a feast of thanks. (Evidently the more daughters the richer the family may become because of the bride prices. If the family consists of all boys, there is considerable trouble in getting enough goods for the bride prices. These bride prices are reckoned in terms of animals mostly. The mandur said there is trouble often in getting the price and that men who can't marry on this account are not

842 too uncommon. If relatives help out in this
583 matter, they must be repaid.) The assistant
[602] said that if there are no children or if there
[597] are very few children, it often happens that a man buys a child, who then becomes one of his own. (From whom does he buy?)

565 The ranks are:

582
595

1. Radja bangsawan
2. Dalu bangsawan (he says, since 1880) (Kraeng)
3. Gelarang bangsawan
4. Leke (commoners)
5. Mendi (slaves)

The first three may intermarry, either way. The last two may intermarry, also either way. Polygamist marriages are possible, and this goes even for the Christians who do so in order to have more children. He talked as though polygamy, if done for this purpose only, was not so bad. He is of the gelarang and his wife of dalu. The children are of gelarang.

624 Then we got onto the subject of the social
621 organization of Weol. He said that there is a
342 tuan tanah and also a second man, whom he will
534 explain later, as it is a long story. There is also a medicine man, and he is important in ceremonies. He will give me the posts of the kampong later on the sheets.

Weol has two offshoot kampongs. One is Tjantsia (where he lives) and the other is Tjara, on the next hill. The former has a tuan tanah tjabang (a branch tuan tanah). Incidentally,
[178] the present tuan tanah of Weol lives in a rectangular house, which was an unknown thing here before ten years ago. Even in this rectangular house, there is a main post or rather a place which serves as a main post, and here the tuan tanah sits as the center of rituals. The tuan tanah must have in the house a gong and a gendang

[i.e., meeting the bride price --Analyst]

We

624 In the house of the tuan tanah of Weol there
342 are four households. The tuan tanah has a sec-
592 tion to one side, since the old place in the
554 rear, as in the round house, is impossible be-
534 cause the rear door is located there. He keeps
the gong-gendang, which is the symbol of his
being tuan tanah. One might even call the tuan
tanah house the drum house. These drums are
important, as they are used in agricultural
rites.

778 There are no holy stones (yet see later) in
the kampong here. I hear that there are some in
kampong Ruteng, which I must see. In each kam-
pong there is a tree (the Weol one died some
time ago and was replaced; the new one is rather
small). Around these trees (the assistant knows
nothing of the significance of the tree) are
placed stones. He says they have no magic power,
but in sacred rites animals are sacrificed there
below the tree. In the cleansing of the kam-
pong rite these stones are rearranged nicely.

178 Nowadays it is possible to marry in or out
582 of the clan. It is also possible to marry
614 within or without the kampong, and the kampong
[621] usually consists of one clan. But even now one
may not marry in the same panga. Thus there is
lineage exogamy.

Formerly clans too were exogamous, but in
special cases one might marry in, for example,
if the girl became pregnant. Evidently there
were other cases too. But since about fifty
years ago endogamous marriages within the clan
have been possible. Nevertheless, most marriages
are outside of the clan. The first case of clan
endogamy in Weol kampong involved the parents of
the present tuan tanah. This occurred fifty
yeargs ago. He said that they cannot remember
what trouble was caused if any. The assistant
has heard tales of evil following such cases of
endogamy. I must follow this up. What has

We

614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the relationships linking the individuals in this area became more and more distant. Thus they gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed, since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols, showing the effect of having worked with van Bekkum.[1] The priests try to discourage mother's brother's daughter marriages, but they always give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get the idea that the priests here are less firm regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka. This is probably because it is a relatively new field, and the Catholics go slowly and gradually in destroying what is old. The dodge they use here is special dispensation. This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price, is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with his wife's family until the bride price is paid. This may take ten years or he may never pay the bride price, but the children belong to his va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
177

[1] [pastor at Ruteng; see also bibliography, cat. 113 - Analyst]

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We

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ema father, father's brother, mother's sister's husband.
nde mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.
amang mother's brother, father's sister's husband.
inang father's sister, mother's brother's wife.
empo grandparent.
weta sister, father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter.
kae older brother; ase--younger brother. Also father's brother's son, mother's sister's son.
kesah father's sister's son, mother's brother's son.
wina mother's brother's daughter, wife.
rona father's sister's son, husband.

114 Coolhaas[1] is all right on cross-cousin mar-
●582 riage, too. Only one of a set of brothers mar-
583 ries a mother's brother's daughter. Other
565 brothers may not do so. In this event it can
614 be any of the brothers, not only the eldest.
597 But it is essential that one must and the others must not. However, if another brother wants to after one brother has, he must pay a horse in addition to the usual bride price. This is probably for a common man, and the extra price may be expected to be higher for a noble. This is done only if the father of the boy is unwilling to let him be adopted by another. The latter is another means to the same end. Thus, if the second brother wants to marry a mother's brother's daughter too, the father can let him be adopted by another man. However, the latter must be of another panga. Then the bride price is kept at the usual size.

114 Note an error in Coolhaas on page 348[1]? Two
582

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

114 brothers may not marry two sisters, as this is
582 very much taboo. A man may marry two sisters,
[632] however. They agreed that Coolhaas's on marriage
114 rules of the dalu seems correct. As for the
582 folk, the rules indicate preferred clans, but
614 they say this is not too strong. Thus the
rule is that Weol men get wives from Manges, a
va'u and gelarang in the dalu Velak, to the
west, although not very far. It is about a one
day walk from here. However, this is not by
any means the method followed at all times, and
actually only about twenty-five per cent of the
women married in here are from Manges (Manges
is now called Regak). These were originally
from Lelak or Relak, which is a neighboring
gelarang to Weol. Thus it looks like a clan
localized in district terms with marriage rules
between clan-districts as in Wouden's style. The
women of Weol usually marry men of Tjepang, the
clan which used to live in Weol also, when it
was a two-clan kampong, but who now have moved
down to Tjanjar. However, Tjepang is the name
of a kampong just to the west, also in the Velak
area. It looks as though the fact that Tjepang
[166] men married Weol women led to more and more
Tjepang men coming to live in Weol, until it
finally became half Tjepang. (Even now the
Ruteng folk who have houses in kampong Ndung
are mainly, if not all, men who have married
Ndung women, and the latter have gardens here
and so the men must come to live in their wives'
kampong.) I must get the marriage rules of
Ndung.

Men of Manges may not marry women of Weol.
582 And men of Weol may not marry women of Tjepang.
614 Thus it goes that Weol gives women to Tjepang,
583 but gets women from Manges. However, Tjepang
gives women to Lalong, and another clan gives
women to Manges. Bride exchange is taboo, which
582 is in line with the mother's brother's daughter
rule.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

582 rule. There is also a taboo on father's sister's daughter marriage.

(Lalong kampong is not far to the northeast from Weol.)

582 583 There may be a system here, but they are sure that it is not a mere three move thing like what we found in Larantuka. In fact, I asked about this, and they said that it was impossible (that is, for example, Weol women to Tjepang, Tjepang women to Lalong, and Lalong women back to Weol; this is impossible, i.e. the last move). In fact, there does seem to be a system, as he said even four moves is not possible, but five moves may be. Also, when I described the Larantuka figuring on how to get around the bride price by arranging a series of marriages, he said this type of talk is done here but that the price must always be delivered even though the books might balance in the long run. In Larantuka they can wait, but here they must make actual payment (though theoretically the same horses and buffaloes might some day come back to the original giver).

583 It is true that the bride price must be in horses, buffaloes, and money. The return gift is in women's ware, that is, pigs, cloth, and ornaments. In value, the women's ware return gifts are far less than the former. Coolhaas [114] was wrong to assume that perhaps fowls were included in the return gift.

562 181 The assistant saw the point of a male-female dualism in the whole society, but he is not sure that it is entirely so. He agreed that it is a good hunch.

231 585 At the marriage feast they kill animals. Usually about ten pigs are killed and the normal custom does not include other animals.

114 585 565 The wedding rites described by Coolhaas (page 351) are all right, but the amounts quoted are for the upper classes. The lowers have

[See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 237 224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him 776 784 124 824 769 about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo [789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

582 firm in stating that one had to marry within the
565 same class, of which there are three: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata hoö, but I forget the terms for the others.
[587] They say that a lower man may never marry up,
[567] but that a higher man may marry down for a second wife. They are more open here about slavery than I have found elsewhere.

142 The people are quite handsome and many of
144 them are of the proto-Malay type. There are relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay element predominates, and the East Flores Negroid types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars. There is also a great difference in the color of the skin, many people being quite light-skinned
[515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here
[197] say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not the Soa folk.

291 The clothes of the local people are shabby and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are
304 universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears.
[276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments
[301] in their ears today. Only the holes are noted. We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most men have their names or initials as well as figures tattooed on their forearms. This name
[177] tattoo is quite general.) (Perhaps this is the secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy tattoo.")

764 The burials here, I think, and certainly in
565 Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners, but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

632 The districts here are called kepala mereschappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan. This one is evidently Naru.

000 bands under their knees formerly.

R Roworeke: On the next day we saw some pro-
582 gress made in making out the census. There are a couple of cases of endogamy, but they are seven "layers" distant.

782 I asked about the oro pesangga, which Such-
346 telen says are offering posts set before each house in Ende. They said that oro is merely a more polite word for ata, man. And pesangga means merely to stab. Thus it means only a man who stabs, i.e. the one who does the sacrifice. This is very unclear. I got no further with it. Perhaps it is only in the mountains.

The central offering post, tubu musu, mentioned by Suchtelen, is found in Roworeke Asal. I must see it. Suku Gusa has one in Wolowaru,
[361] the deserted kampong lama above here. There the original settlers were Odja and the Gusa folk came in later. Then they both moved down to the present Roworeke.

166 The Ende folk who live in the border areas
361 of Ndetu and Tana Ri are papalele, i.e., people
[441] who have no land generally but who buy and sell. They have mere huts to live in, and they come for awhile and then leave. However, many of them have been in their huts for four to five years, so all of them will be entered in the census. They are not full members of the kampong, and indeed are regarded as mere "people who have arrived."

632 The list of gemeente in Ende is as follows (and the proper spelling is Rewarangga):

1. Nggobe (town and inland).
2. Rodja (town and peninsula).
3. Rewarangga (five to eight kilometers).
4. Pulo Ende (island).
5. Rukuramba (km. 8 on the way to Badjawa).
6. Berai (km. 6 on the way to Badjawa).
7. Numba (km. 18 on the way to Badjawa).

[See p. 133 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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538 there are a few who are great story tellers.
533 Some stories are told with singing, i.e., real ballads, and may last as long as two days. The kapitan sang one for a bit, softly. They warmed up and began to appear to be quite proud of these songs. They insist, however that only a few are clever at these things.

They tell such stories when the rice is
[243] ripe, and they may sit all night listening. Most of the stories are about the ancestors. Thus it is the free time--rice-ripe period as usual in Indonesia. This is the time for stories, when they have plenty of time. Perhaps this is also true in the post harvest season. Anyway they do have plenty of stories. And it is not only the old people who know them. For example, there is a rather young lad named Ero who is famous for chanting long stories. These sung stories are voi.

621 They are very clear about the location of
423 boundaries in the district, kampong, and sections of the kampongs, as well as in the gardens. Markers are stone posts, trees, streams, etc.

609 There are different grades of being a for-
621 eigner. The crux of the affair seems to be
[563] people who come from other islands. Thus, though the Sikka are outsiders, they are not foreigners to the same extent that the people from Kupang are. It is a bit hard to fit into a kampong if one is an outsider, although it can be done. The Ende papalele in the huts at the lower end of the kampong are still outsiders, although many have been there since the end of the war. They have few relations with the kampong folk, and there have been few if any marriages. The community is closed.

609 I asked about the teachers and found that the
● 582 Ndona one found it easy for two reasons: He
608 lives in Waturoga, which is in Lio, and also

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609 has a friend-bond with the kampong of Ndona;
582 and he married a Waturoga woman. The Maumere
608 teacher has a somewhat harder time, but he married locally and this helps. (I think he married locally, although I am not sure now.)

632 In the district, the "pusat" kampongs are
624 Roworeke and Worowai. The latter is the older
621 and the kampong of the real prime suku, that
778 of the oldest of the original brothers, Rewarangga. There live three of the Big Four (mosa laki mere, ndetu au, and sikesani), and it is thus a sort of adat center. Roworeke is newer, and it is the administrative center, where the kapitan lives. Here also, however, is the big giri tumba. Formerly, these two were one kampong. In the kampong, the section or hamlet Roworeke Asal is the oldest, and there the grave-bone shrine of the Odja suku is located. It is the adat center. There also is the tubu musu. Nuamere means the big village, and this hamlet is where the kapitan lives. Thus it is the administrative center. Still, the ata nggaäh nua, the adat kepala kampong (Bapa Ketjil) and his adi, the administrative kepala kampong, live in Ae Utu (I think).

361 The present Nuamere was newly established
621 here in 1907. There had been a previous ham-
632 let Nuamere up the hill. The Dutch, however,
[648] as usual made most of the hamlets move down to the road. Thus there is a general pattern here that in each district there is a kind of original kampong, and in each kampong there is a sort of original hamlet. But it is not a constellation arrangement as in Toradja country, where all the kampongs and hamlets spread out from the center like a star. This is truer of the kampongs than of the districts, because the latter here are coming to be more and more a coming together of independent kampongs, some old and some younger. Thus

Wae The Demon or
614 Ili Djadi are the original people here because
173 the Padji are gone. They also are found else-
621 where, and where they and the Padji are found
829 together, as in Adonara, they still fight.
[578] The constant murders there are partly caused by this endless feud. They never live in the same kampong together.

3. Sina Djawa. These are descendants of people who came from the west. There are suku here which came from there. Thus the suku Lewonuhah (kampong, island) of Leloba is of Sina Djawa. So is the suku Lewato of Wailolong.

4. Tenemau. These people came from the submerged island Kroko Putang. There are suku here from these people. Thus, Lewarita suku
[769] of Wailolong is Tenemau. In the ceremony this morning the genealogy used to call the ancestors went back to the Tenemau. He says you can tell at once the origin of any suku by listening to the genealogies recited at the rites, because the ancestors are called.

582 Then we got onto the inter-kampong marriage
124 system, and this is not so complicated as the intra-kampong marriage system. I jokingly said that perhaps he got so tired figuring out the internal system that he decided to make the extra kampong rules simpler. He was amused. He also seemed amazed at the building-up process of anthropological research which I use; for example, when I first asked the names of the eight kampongs and then went right on to ask the names of the sons of Lenurat, he saw that
[791] I was getting directly at the system. He said that if the folk here heard me leading straight into the heart of the complete cosmogony they would think me a suwanggi. I also said jokingly that they couldn't call me a pontianak. He was also delighted with my admiration of how everything here falls into a system. He has learned
124 the word "sistim" and uses it all the time. He

124 We has also adopted the term kekuatan adjaib, and loves it.

●582 614 The rules are as follows:

Wailolong man	marries	Leloba woman
I		II-2, III
II		II-2, III
III		I-2, I-3a, IV
IV		I-1, II-1
V		I-1a

Thus no man of Wailolong marries a Lewodoreng woman of Leloba.

Leloba man	marries	Wailolong woman
I-1a		V
I-1b		III
I-2		I
I-3a		?
I-3b		I
II-1		III
II-2		IV
III-1		IV, V
III-2		IV, V
III-3		IV, V
IV-1a		I-c
IV-1b		I-c
V-1		I, II
V-2		I, II

614 565 This brought out certain problems with the material recorded earlier. The subsibs in each suku are ranked according to first, second, and in some cases third. The terms are waru'i, waktukang, and tuhowutung. These mean, approximately, first, middle and last. Now we see that certain suku, subsuku, and sub-subsuku names are of one kind and some of another, and some have two names showing different meanings. These

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Wailolong to Bama because of troubles over marriage, bride prices, and perhaps others. They came back to Wailolong three generations ago, but although they were allowed into the kampong, they have lost their land and ritual standing. They marry like Ama Rere. It is remarkable to think that when the old people thinking what to do with these returned refugees decided to equate them with war captives!

II. Leworita (original kampong name) (function of Kelen).
   a. Suba (meaning? rank?; evidently a personal name).
   b. Harut (meaning? rank?; evidently a personal name).
   c. Tapopukang (meaning? rank?; evidently a personal name).

III. Ama Hurint
   a. Hadumboleng (personal name), Baka (personal name). (middle rank, Waktukang).
   b. Mari (personal name; rank No. 1, Waru'i).
   c. Mela (personal name; rank No. 3, Tuhowutung).

IV. Lewato (kampong name).
   a. Ama Waru'ing, also Ama Radja (the latter is the personal name of an ancestor).
   b. Ama Waktukang (just means middle; not a personal name).
   c. Tuhowutung (just means No. 3; not a personal name).

V. Lewodoreng (original kampong name).
   a. Ama Waru'ing (just No. 1 rank; not a personal name).
   b. Enga (a personal name; last rank, Tuhowutung).

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On the records there is a case of a man of

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582 IIIc marrying a woman of IIIa. This is some-
614 thing which happened two generations back when three men of IIIc married, for a high bride price, women of IIIa. However, this has been discontinued officially. The case did happen once, and it was definitely wrong. The assistant said it was incorrect. From the records I can see that there are very few endogamous marriages. The assistant says that they are a rare exception even today, although a few do it. It is wrong. The great bulk of the people here follow the rules strictly.

The suku Lewodoreng, in either Leloba or Wailolong, cannot marry with Lewonuhah. They are in a relationship of metemereng, i.e., older sibling--younger sibling. There is something to the elder--younger sibling business which constantly crops up here.

/622 The three kepala kampongs in each kampong
[614] are called kepala kampong Kottang, kepala kampong Keleng, and kepala kampong Hurint. These should be the Radja Tuans of the three main suku, i.e., the kepala suku or tuan tanah. And some of them are. However, it may be that the radja tuan may not want the post of kepala kampong which he may have, and so he gives this job over to a relative, in every case I have heard of, to a brother. Thus Roy is Radja Tuan of Hurint in Leloba, but he has given the kepala kampong post to his younger brother. There may be other variations too. Thus Leloba has only a kepala kampong Keleng and a kepala kampong Hurint. The kepala kampong Keleng is also the brother of the Radja Tuan Keleng, who has given over the post to him. There is no kepala kampong Kottang in Leloba now because the Kakang of the gemeente was the occupant of this post formerly, and since he has been in the kakang post, his former post has not been filled.

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582 I asked if there were many marriages between
614 Wailolong and Leloba. He said that before
177 there were many because they were allies and
578 nearby. In 1912, however, when the Dutch came
797 in, his father, who was the head man of Leloba, decided it was useless to fight. Wailolong, however, decided to resist. This strained the friendly relations which had existed before, and until recently there have not been too many marriages. I also wonder, inasmuch as he mentioned in this connection that missionaries entered the region in 1907, whether the more rapid Christianization of Leloba might not also have strained relations with the relatively resistant Wailolong.

124 After telling me that he was in fine spirits
177 because my pyribenzamine had cured his asthma,
578 he said he was also happy because he got such
123 a fine reception in Wailolong when he went from
609 house to house getting the census material. He had been afraid of this, and thought that the people would snub him. This would have made him much ashamed. This was also why he insisted that we get the kakang to order the Wailolong folk to give the information. Now he reports that he was received with open arms and that the Wailolong folk say they are delighted that a big man of Leloba is coming among them to work, and that also big men from the United States are getting their names and their customs down on paper. They said that they felt submerged for many years (and their kampong looks a bit dingy and dispirited) and that now they are having a rise. It looks to me as though Roy really feared a bad time, and this shows that the probable relations between these two communities were really distant until we came. We may have brought peace and good
609 will to the two kampongs. It is also amusing
123 to note his remark that when we first appeared,

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578 land disputes, head-hunting, and women. Or
721 perhaps the latter two should be reversed. Another cause was molesting a child if done by a neighboring kampong. There were also radja wars, in which the people served, but this was involved in high politics. Finally, there were also the early wars against the aborigines, the Padji folk.

721 The reasons for head-hunting were linked
346 with the new korke (this is still a reason for
796 the largest feast, when all kampongs come to-
782 gether. Nowadays, the feast for the new church takes over this function). When a new korke is built, if the six posts do not fit into the rafter posts, it is a sign that the posts are not happy because they are in need of food, so they are pledged food. Formerly the people then went out and got a head and hung it in the korke. Then everything was all right. Note that nowadays at such rites they give food to the posts. For example, yesterday they smeared rice on the four barn posts. The korke must have six posts.

346 The korke was the center of the war cult and
769 the ghost cult (ancestor cult). The barns were
343 the center of the agricultural cult. The little
241 kebang (barn) of the suku and the ama is called sebua.!

582 Relations between villages are kept up by
621 marriages. In fact, they are almost the sole
602 reason for such relations. This shows that genealogical relationship is nearly everything here. It shows also why descent is the basis for the whole organization of power, etc., and why marriage rules are so complex and strongly held to. There have even been marriage relations with Riang Kamiĕ, although they have not been too pronounced.

476 Another reason for relations with other com-
582 munities is work. That is, there is mutual aid
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! [See cat. 116, p. 202 -- Analyst]

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582 in other areas, or working in the gardens lo-
476 cated in another kampong. Here again, it is a
602 matter of marriage. Indeed, only if marriage
621 gives a person some sort of privilege to work in the other kampong does one usually engage himself in such work.

632 Relations between districts have not changed
582 much in recent years. If there are marriages
602 between the districts involved, the same situation obtains as between the kampongs just described. Similar situations are those involving different tribes. Bonds are formed if there are marriage links; if there are no such
[438] links there are no bonds. Trade is so small a factor that it is unimportant in intercommunity relations.

186 The people here love their own kampong and
621 feel that they are lost when they are outside.
166 Figuratively and literally, they have no place in another kampong. They can see good in another kampong, however, and if they go elsewhere and return they tell about the good things there and may even adopt them themselves. Only the young people, and few of them, want to get out and see other places. Once they are married they never leave.

609 They say that if they leave their own kampong for another they become outsiders. They are then nipatale (beyond the fence). The other term used in suku terminology for outsiders is rere. It means "low." The opposite term, which also occurs among the suku, is belolong ("high").

578 All seven kampongs have been enemies of Riang
621 Kamië. The seven have remained about the same
614 in relationship to each other, but tales tell a
173 bit about the ranking among them. Riang Kamië was formed by a union of several kampongs which were separate formerly. These united into one kampong in defense against the Bai Pitu (seven

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665 The thought of a political career is absolutely absent. No one has it, not even the guru.

204 The one local paper, the mission bi-weekly
203 "Bentara" (herald), is received by only one
212 guru in Leloba and two guru in Wailolong. It is read by perhaps ten other individuals in each place. It is very important, as it is the only paper here. The people are now in the habit of asking the guru what is in the paper. Thus the word of mouth is the main vehicle, but the feeble paper is an important item. The only books here are school books and religious books. Adults read only the latter, and not for fun. However, they love stories, and he is sure that a library would be deluged with readers. Literate adults over thirty or forty are rare. Younger people are mostly literate. There is
[207] no radio here at all.

•582 There have been no changes in the marriage
593 system to speak of in the last half century.
858 Roy says there have been few changes in the
888 family either. I tried to ask if the children are less respectful or obedient now, but he said no. I tried to get this by the religious conflict, but he is adamant that it never split up families. Even here there was never a loss of respect for the elders, even though they were pagans and the children were Christians. And the elders, although their hearts were sick, never tried to force their children to follow them. They were just not violent. There was never a case of disowning. He said a parent would be ashamed forever if he had done so, and indeed it was quite unthinkable. They love children so much that, though they might try to talk with them, if a child remained firm always a child would get its will. The parents would be ashamed of any open or loud conflict. They might have troubled hearts, but that's all. Although they might try reasoning with them, they would go no further.

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000 they might try reasoning with them, they would go no further.

584 762 The same story holds for marriage. If a child does not like his parent's choice of a mate, the marriage does not occur. There have been a few cases, however, of suicide (always by hanging) on the part of both men and women, because of desperate love and mismarriage. This is interesting, and if I have the time I will try to get these cases down.

582 835 614 178 The marriage system is the thing, and it is exogamous with complicated rules. There has been no change. Even the very few cases of endogamy have not increased. The only thing that has been modified is the fact that there is no longer an allowance of blood mother's brother's daughter marriage. This is a Catholic taboo. This is true at least in Leloba, although I am not sure about Wailolong. They have to be careful to have fourth grade distance (that is, third cousins, via great grandparents). What the system allows is the choice of a mother's brother's daughter (that is, married into the suku of the man's mother) or married into one or two other suku of the ama linked with his suku by marriage. Thus a boy of Hurint Demong (the guru's may marry Belemang, Belepe Lolong A, or Waktukang Keleng. If his mother was Belemang, this would work out all right. In the old days, this would have been the best thing for him, that is, a girl of his mother's group (I want a girl just like the girl that married dear old dad). This is because of the good relations already, and anyway they like these close and reinforced linkages in suku relationships. It is not a matter of bringing back the tusks more rapidly, as one needs to make three moves anyway, and they can do this if they marry in any other group aside from the mother's. But, even in the old days, though this mother's brother's daughter

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582 marriage was preferred, it was not required, be-
178 cause the boy could also marry a girl of an en-
614 tirely different group from his mother's, for
835 example, Belepe Lolong A or Waktukang.

Nowadays, the easiest thing to do is merely to disregard the mother's brother's daughter stuff, as this requires care in observing that the relative must be at least a third cousin, and they marry in one of the other allowed groups. This is the leeway that the traditional system allows. When it is a question of close figuring, Roy says that they usually ask the priest to settle the situation for them. A good case of this was with the guru's son, who is now in Makassar. He was in love with a Belemang girl, but this was the ama of his grandmother, and the girl was his mother's brother's daughter--cousin via his grandmother, i.e., only a third degree relative. Therefore Roy went to the priest, and the latter (I suspect they are always indulgent in this matter if it is not a first cousin) said that if they were that desperate he would give a special dispensation (he uses a word for this that sounds like isin, but I must ask about this) (idjing). And so the boy was married. The way to do this correctly is for the boy to marry his mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's son's daughter. This is via the great grandparental generation. Note that it has to go up via women and down via men. This works out all right if one notes that under the mother's brother's daughter rule this brings the proper amas into the relationship (I may be wrong on this and must check on it later).

582 I was much impressed when he said that there
835 is a good reason for the Catholic rule. I had
827 tried to say that it is not in the Bible and
177 that Protestantism had not worked out this rule and yet they were Christians too, that the ancestors thought it was all right and indeed de-

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582 sirable and that for hundreds of years the folk
835 had been doing this sort of thing (first cousin
827 marriages) without any ill effects, to counter
179 his saying that first cousin marriages caused poor offspring, for example, feeble-mindedness. He took this barrage with polite resignation, but said that he had seen plenty of bad cases of close inmarriage children. The probability is that there is some inbreeding chance of recessives coming out, at least enough to use this argument of rationalization, and surely the priests have played up this "scientific" justification. It is interesting, however, that he uses the pseudo-rational explanation and not the appeal to divine authority, which would at once raise the issue of the wrongness of a strong pagan rule.

562 The next day, our last, was a half day, as
887 I had to get to Maumere in order to get Kattenburg on the place to Makassar. At the end of the session we had lunch with the two guru, and the younger daughter served. Then I found out that in every house the oldest woman is the nu'a luka rumah tangga, paralleling the ritual functions for the women of the nu'a luka suku and the nu'a luka ama. The mother is in Makassar, and the eldest daughter is in the hospital, so this one acted as the server. The nu'a luka is important here, as she directs everything in regard to cooking and eating and also for caring for small animals, weaving, etc. She is the household manager. In this poor area food division is especially important.

127 I looked up the 1930 census material in the report of the Controleur then and found the following:

5: Kennedy--197 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

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	Male	Female	
127 162 Watuwiti	127	124	
Mudakaputu	128	123	
Laneda	143	167	
Riang Kanale	107	114	
Lewohala	286	285	
Riang Kamiß	430	427	
Wailolong	290	288	
Leloba	272	298	
Totals	1783	1823	3606

The Christians then totaled 1973.

133 Ili Mandiri is at an elevation of 1501 meters, the highest around here.

582 621 578 Wailolong intermarries with all of the other seven kampongs, a bit more with those which are near than with those which are farther away. During the period after the Dutch entered (1912) there were practically no marriages with Leloba, because Wailolong was sore that Roy's father would not fight the Dutch. (The present enmity of Roy against the Dutch may be delayed reaction to this.) Since then, there has been more intermarriage, but extra-kampong marriage is relatively rare. Roy estimates that not more than ten per cent of the cases are extra-kampong marriages. This holds for both sexes.

591 583 If a man lives matrilocally (which is optional if no bride price is paid, or if the bride price is paid only in part), he keeps the privileges he has in his own kampong, but he works for his food with his father-in-law in the latter's kampong.

If the bride price is not paid, he may live in either kampong, and this is merely something which has to be agreed upon. Roy says that about half of such marriages follow patrilocal residence and about half matrilocal residence.

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611 However, all children are descended patrilineally.
583 That is, there is no ambil anak here. In any
614 case, the bride price must be paid eventually.
591 It may even take two generations to do this, but the debt is remembered and the books must finally be balanced. This eventuates as follows: If a man can't pay with tusks, he pays with a daughter. It may be any daughter, the first, second, or later daughter. If the man has no daughters, the debt remains and must be paid someday. But, she does not become a member of her mother's sib. She remains a member of her father's sib and marries as though she were a full member of it. That is, all that happens is that when she marries, her price goes to her mother's sib. This is a very peculiar arrangement, and it is purely for monetary reasons. The sons are called anak suku. The daughters are called anak gading ("elephant-tusk children"). Thus the price of a woman is either tusks or a daughter. The daughter who is given for the price may live matrilocally or patrilocally, depending on where her parents live.

582 There are some marriages between Wailolong
621 and other districts. Roy can think of cases
614 with Lewotala, Wolo, and Lewinga, and he thinks there are others. I asked him how they figure the marriage rules in such cases. He said that if there were already suku there which corresponded to those in the kampong, the situation was easily resolved. If previous marriage relations existed between the two areas, it is also a simple matter to figure out the marriage relations. If no previous marriage relations exist, it is easy to figure out anyway, as none of the rules applies. Thus Roy's brother married a girl from Roti whom he met on his travels. This was no problem, as she was far outside the
582 pattern area. What usually happens, however, is
584 that a boy, for example, sees a girl at the

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582 584 Larantuka market and likes her. He finds that she is from, for example, Lewotala. Then he tells his father, and the latter goes there and asks "whence her blood." If the relationship is not close, or there is a relationship but they figure it out to be all right, then they go ahead with arrangements (how these people work at their rules!) Anyway, when [583] they marry outside the area of the local pattern, they must pay a higher bride price in order "to fix it up." Thus, this is not the right thing to do, and it requires the same kind of thing in a way as a breach of exogamy. In a way, it is a breach of endogamy, in a sense that one should marry within the "adat belt."

"The Ordered World of Ili Mandiri."

582 621 Roy says that he believes that if more people traveled outside of the area there would be more marriages outside of the area. This might, I think, lead to a final confusion of the rules. To keep such a complex scheme going they have to keep the marriages from going out of bounds, where the rules are off. If the rules get far enough off they may go out of vogue.

Marriages outside of East Flores are very [484] rare, and only in a few cases has this happened. They have been local men who have traveled outside, for example, the few soldiers.

[609] There is not a single case of a marriage with foreigners.

582 178 The average marriage age used to be older. It might be even thirty or thirty-five for men. Now it tends to be anything over eighteen for girls and anything over twenty for boys. They still have the feeling against too early a marriage. They say that if the couple are too young, it is not good as the children will not be so healthy and it will not be too good for the health of the parents. Young people can marry more easily today because the children

582 178 Wae become competent earlier. They learn to work earlier now. Roy[1] says that the school helps in getting them trained at an earlier age and they begin to weave and do other tasks sooner.

836 178 684 I jumped on this to see if there was much premarital sex, and he said that it was extremely rare. He said that as far as this is concerned there has not been much change. I pressed, and Kattenburg ~~got~~ the kepala kampong aside and tried to pump him. They remained adamant, however. It is just very rare. Even when a man is not married until he is thirty-five, they claim he does not engage in sexual promiscuity. [548] There is no prostitution here and none in Larantuka either. And anyway, they never go anywhere where they might get girls. There are very strong taboos on premarital sex. (He said that the girls would lose their name, which indicates that it has happened, perhaps.)

584 836 But there is an exception which came out when he told of two ways to get married. These are the two: (1) Prearranged and regular marriages. This type counts for most cases. (2) Boy likes girl and begins to hang around her house at night. He slips a cloth or something into her sleeping place and she asks who is there. He tells, and if she doesn't like him she tells him to go away. If she is willing to talk, they talk, and this may go on at night for as long as five years. If a girl has several such suitors, she sends all except one away, and he keeps on having dates. Perhaps the parents do not find out about this, or perhaps in singing and gossip it comes out that they are "going together." At this point a marriage may be arranged. Or, and here comes in the premarital sex practices, the girl may at least let the boy in and they have sexual intercourse. As soon as her parents discover them, marriage must take place. (Also, I suppose, if she be-

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

Wae

832 those rascals. They scolded them, saying that
684 if they wanted women, they should ask about
628 them, and speak up about it. That is, they were willing to hear a request, but it had to be done through regular channels without chiseling. ("If you had come to us decently, etc.")

•582 In regard to the relative ages of the couple when marriage takes place, the ideal is to have a couple whose ages are nearly the same. If either is older it is better for a boy to be a bit a girl's senior. If there is too great a discrepancy in age, it is not good.

595 His grandfather had four wives. I note that
183 he does not seem to regard polygyny as very bad, even now. And he does not hesitate to tell me that other Christians do this. It is simply that they do not get the sacramen for the second, or third, or even later wife. That's all. Dispensation is called isin.

582 He says that the people in Tandjung Bunga
836 marry when they are very young, and that they begin their sex life as early as nine years old.

178 In the old days, the boys in Leloba and Wailo-
513 long slept regularly in the korke or sebuang
882 (the ama korke, and this is a correction:
[346] sebuang does not refer to the barns of the ama,
[614] but to the cult houses).A I think he said that this is not done any more in Wailolong. It was not required, but they just did it. This took place after a boy reached the age of about sixteen. Roy did it himself. They liked this because it was more fun. They could talk, sing, discuss girls, etc. (I think it was practically a rule, and I wonder what they would have said if a boy did not go there.)

What has happened now is peculiar. The boys
178 sleep together in groups, wherever it seems
513 good. They get in the habit, for example, of
882 sleeping on the benches of a certain house, or
171 in a vacant house, etc. (Thus I see that the

A [See cat. 116, p. 166 -- Ana 45]

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771 families which are split (e.g., Migo has Mohammedan relatives, including a hadji) talk very little about religion except for such things as how was the trip to Mecca, etc.

582 797 This led to the matter of marriage. Migo said that there might be trouble with religious differences in marriage, but there had not been much fuss yet. There are two or three cases of Catholic men who became Mohammedan in order to marry Mohammedan girls. There is no case yet of a Mohammedan becoming a Catholic in order to marry.

This led to a discussion of a case where a Catholic married a pagan. Usually the pagan agrees to a church wedding, but there are some cases where the pagan will not agree, and then they just live together.

595 183 Then I got some real data: There are Catholic men who have two wives. They marry the first wife in the church, and just live with the second. The second wife is often a pagan. Thus the kepala kampong has a second wife, and she is the young beauty who was among the crowd who got into the jeep one time going to Ende. I tried to speak to her, but she was wide-eyed and said nothing. She looked like a wild animal. She is illiterate and one hundred per cent pagan. Thus he admitted that there are still young pagans (are they mostly men or women?). She was perhaps twenty years old. I asked if the pastors nag about this, and he said no. Evidently the pastors are not concerned about these people. They just preach that it is not right (but evidently they go easy on such cases, because they are afraid that they might turn some of the individuals against the church. Thus, how could they excommunicate the kepala kampong?) As for the children of mixed pagan-Catholic marriages, he said that there are some arguments. Evidently, here again the whole level is so low that it does not amount to much.

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601 A man calls his father's brother's son and mother's sister's son "brother"; but calls his father's sister's son and mother's brother's son "brother-in-law." The term for the former also means "sister's husband," and the same term means, in the latter application, "wife's brother."

[582] Thus the terms check out exactly for mother's brother's daughter marriage, and even to the specific application to siblings-in-law as appears from the following:

sister-in-law	ari, ka'e (man speaking); ipa (woman speaking
brother-in-law	edja (man speaking); ari, ka'e (woman speaking)
wife's brother	edja (man speaking)
wife's sister	ari, ka'e (man speaking)
husband's sister	ipa (woman speaking)
husband's brother	ari, ka'e (woman speaking)
brother's wife	ari, ka'e (man speaking); ipa (woman speaking)
sister's husband	edja (man speaking); ari, ka'e (woman speaking)
father-in-law	ada (man speaking) aki no'o (woman speaking) (means "no'o-punya aki" or "father's sister's husband")
mother-in-law	ine tu'a (man speaking); no'o (woman speaking) (means "father's sister")
mother' brother's wife	ine tu'a or hai ada (man speaking); hai ada (woman speaking) (hai ada means "ada-punya hai" or "mother's brother's wife")
father's sister's husband	aki no'o (man speaking) (means "no'o-punya aki"

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	mother's brother's son (woman speaking), brother (woman speaking)
veta	father's brother's daughter (man speaking), father's sister's daughter (man speaking), mother's sister's daughter (man speaking), sister (man speaking)
edja	father's sister's son (man speaking), mother's brother's son (man speaking), wife's brother (man speaking), sister's husband (man speaking)
ipa	father's sister's daughter (woman speaking), mother's brother's daughter (woman speaking), husband's sister (woman speaking), brother's wife (woman speaking)
hai	mother's brother's daughter (man speaking), wife, woman
aki	father's sister's son (woman speaking), husband, man
hai ada	mother's brother's wife (man speaking or woman speaking)
ine tu'a	mother's brother's wife (man speaking), mother-in-law (man speaking)
aki no'o	father's sister's husband (man speaking or woman speaking), father-in-law (woman speaking)
ambu	grandparent
ambu ata aki	grandfather
ambu ata hai	grandmother

582 835 I can find no flaw in the system. It is exactly right for mother's brother's daughter marriage. And they say this is the right thing. Nowadays, there is some trouble with the church, and they have, canonically, to go up three generations to get the proper hai or aki (that is, mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's daughter;

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582 or father's father's father's sister's daughter's
835 daughter's son). However, the priests will give dispensation only with a certain amount of fuss here (unlike in Manggarai, where it is evidently easier because the Catholics are newer there and maybe they want to go slower at first).

583 A bride price must be paid for a good marriage, but the very poor folk may omit it, although they try to pay a little, and merely go and live together. The price is variana. Formerly it included tusks, money, animals (buffaloes, horses, cattle). They try to give these things now, but it is degenerating into money alone. The return gift is called tau laguana. The girl's family gives it. It usually includes properly a pair of gold earrings, gold beads, and formerly slaves. The price also formerly might have included slaves, I think. In addition, the girl's family gives a kind of "household outfitting" to the couple, including baskets, gear, food, and formerly slaves. This is like a dowry. Evidently it is also called laguana.

They say that if they did not give a return gift it would be like selling a slave.

[797] The church enforced a shift to more distant mother's brother's daughter type marriages.
[178] The price is much lower now, and this constitutes a big change in the last fifty years or
[565] so. In the old days, for a noble girl one might pay one hundred tusks, ten gold units, two slaves, etc. This depended on her rank.

582 Another change is the removal of the former
178 taboo on slave-noble marriages. In the old days,
565 an upper man might take as a concubine a slave
567 girl, but they seem pretty sure that he would
684 not ordinarily marry her, although he might do so. In the old days, however, if a slave man tried anything with a noble girl, it would mean that both of them would be put to death. This

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582 has long since been tabooed by the government.
178 Nevertheless, I wonder if there is not a re-
565 luctance to marry a slave descendant. They
684 say that there used to be plenty of slaves
567 here and that they were obtained mainly by war.

583 They say that the Mohammedans have just
184 about given up the bride price here, but that the Christians keep it up firmly. This is another example of the greater conservatism in some ways which the Christians demonstrate.

I wonder also if what a priest says may not be true: that the Catholic church has decided that the bride price is a good idea, as it solidifies the marriage bond, and why drive it out?

585 As for changes in the wedding procedure,
583 Migo gave me first the way a pagan marries today and the way everyone married formerly:

First the intermediaries sound out the girl's parents. If all is O.K., the parents get together and decide on the price. The wedding starts with the boy, with his best man, going to the house of the bride, and there her family kills a pig. The girl and her bridesmaid and the boy and his best man eat the pig or part of it that evening, and then the couple have their first sex relations in the girl's house. The next morning the boy goes home taking what is left of the pig and gives it to his family. That day he returns to the girl's house with his best man, leading a goat. This is presented to the girl's family and they eat it. That evening, the girl's family again kills a pig, and the four eat part of it and then the couple sleep together again. The next morning the boy goes home taking the remains of the pig to his family. He then returns with another goat and gives it to the girl's family. That evening a third pig is killed and the four eat of it and the pair sleep together. The next morning the

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585 is to get the outfit ready. The outfit is
583 provided by the girl's family. Then they go
178 to the boy's house to settle down. This represents a big change. Elopement was never an established custom here, and it does not exist today. Formerly, marriages were arranged, and the girls and boys simply obeyed. Nowadays, the young are consulted, but there is still plenty of prearranged marriage.

582 Sib exogamy is still favored in the majority,
614 by far. Formerly, this rule was very strong.
621 There are a few cases of endogamy with distant relatives, but not many. Formerly this never took place. Most marriages are inside the kampong. The only frequent exception is marriage with Watu Roga, across the street. There are plenty of marriages with Wanda suku, the main one there. Indeed, with the mother's brother's daughter arrangement, and so many Odja-Wanda marriages, it is just about a regular thing. Of course, however, there are plenty of Wanda people living in Roworeke too.

An extra-district marriage is very rare, except for Watu Roga, which happens to be in Lio, which is even in a different radjadom, although it is just across the street.

582 The average age for men at the time of mar-
178 riage is about twenty-five. Today, for women, the average age is twenty-one. And they insist that in the old days the average ages were much older. They said it was usual for a man to be well over thirty, and many women were thirty-five at the time they got married. The kapitan said that they "aged" much slower than they do today. He said that he didn't even have clothes until he was very old, relatively speak-
836 ing. I asked about virginity under these conditions, and he said that all women stayed virgins until they were married. If a husband found that his wife was not a virgin today, he would

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836 be very angry, and I think he said that he might kill her. As for the men, he says that the situation may be different, as there were easy women in the kampong, that is, for example, widows whom a boy might get. Thus, it seems that unlike remote Wailolong and Leloba, the boys tended to get some sex experience premaritally, but the girls were regularly virgins until marriage. The same situation exists today, he says. I guess there is little doubt that this is outside the free premarital belt.

582 Probably as astonishing a thing as I have
178 seen in regard to marriage here is the younger age which they say now prevails everywhere. They are sure of this, and indeed they shout it out. This is a real and deep change.

124 Today the old mother of the kapitan sat with
123 us, and had our questions translated for her.
181 Also, there was a decent old lad there. He understood Malay and seemed to speak it too. He was middle-aged. There was the usual impolite talking while I tried to talk, and looking at the clock, even ringing the alarm at noon. And the secretary is as bad as the others. Then at the end, after I had heard enough in Endenese to know that they had been talking of it all the way through, the kapitan comes up to me and asks me to get a tanda mata (souvenir) for him too, that is, a briefcase. I said I would try to get one in Batavia as there was no place to get a good one here, but they have evidently talked that over and do not trust me, as he said, "Why not get one in the toko here and give it to me?" Then the secretary said on the way out that a good one for the kapitan would be the kind of zipper bag I carry. They are impolite, and so stupid that they think they can delude me. They have no shame, and they are crafty. They constantly pass around my cigarette case, obviously considering whether they might ask for one of those too.

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581 behavior. Looks are a mere by-matter. The same holds for women. They like good workers for husbands (men must keep at the gardens); and as far as I could see, that is about all. I wonder if men should be decent (I doubt that looks are thought of much if at all), as long as they work. These people are way beneath any aesthetic stuff in love (but it may be there in its own way!).

836 They insist that there is not one case of
[848] a bastard in their memory. However, yesterday I got the impression that boys have a chance with, for example, widows sometimes. But evidently the girls just stay virgin. They hammer on this; it is and always was a one hundred per cent rule, and that a girl would try to fool on
177 this is considered a terrific thought.

797 In the family the Catholics have tried to
595 stop: (1) polygny (but this goes on), (2)
587 levirate and sororate (but this goes on), (3)
● 582 mother's brother's daughter marriage (they do this with more distant relatives in order to keep up the form). This is interesting.

789 In regard to the nobility, I can get no re-
753 action on ideas of magic power, and they say
[565] that even the Radja of Ende does not have any. They say that he is new anyway. He is just a big man from the Djari Djawa suku (but the radja must come from this, but I got the idea that Nggobe might get in too). I asked if maybe the mosa laki had any, and they said no. If they do not obey they just become angry, and it is better to stay on their good side as they control the land and they are the big men anyway. There is no magic punishment. Thus they are different even from Larantuka. The only things which have magic power are taboo places, for example, the rumah pemali, the grave-bone shrines, and the old ancestor places. Breaking such taboos can cause illness, and the

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789 unfulfillment of ancestral duties can cause ill-
753 ness too (note the illness fear theme; this is just right for these folk who are ill a good deal of the time). But there is no real kekuatan adjaib here.

567 There were many slaves here before, and this
● 582 applies even to twenty years ago (this is
178 probably a bit too late, I think). The regular
565 thing was for the father of a girl to include
[583] in the return gift at marriage, two slaves (like the "and two persons" still used in the formula for the bride price among the Buginese). There are slaves in the kampong now, but he thinks that only about two to three per cent of the population are so categorized. They are, and were, taken into the suku, but formerly there was little intermarriage with them, and then it was only between a higher man and
[684] a slave girl. If the reverse took place, the death punishment could be meted out. The marriage taboo is still in, but it is lessening, and even a boy of slave descent (if he is an excellent man and a good worker) may marry a higher girl. However, they are well known, and in general are still to be classed underneath. For example, they have to do certain duties (the guru said they are like "servants"; he used the Dutch word "jongens"). They live in houses with regular people, or perhaps in their own houses. Everyone knows who they are, but no mention is made of this because they reportedly get furious. This is a thing worth investigating further: exactly what are the duties, and exactly how are they thought of and what do they think of themselves, etc.? (Remember that in the United States no one really thinks of taunting Negroes with an open charge of being descended from slaves.)

565 There are few possibilities for class mo-
555 bility. There are some meager beginnings at

114 The island is fascinating for pure ethnography,
as I always expected. I am tempted every time
I look at the map to take time off and go into
491 those far hills. The entire northwest half of
Flores has no roads except for the Reo-Ruteng
one, and here would be good territory. The
793 priests know a lot, and really should be mobi-
lized for an ethnographic survey. And many of
them, for example Mommersteeg,[1] would like it.
103 The kapitan insists that the proper name is
114 Tanah Djea, and indeed this is a town to the
north of Nangapanda. Maybe the old authors
confused dj with r.[1] [pastor at Todabelu --Analyst]

As for Wolowai, which Wouden[2] (check his
source and track this down!) says is reported
to be matrilineal, there is a place to the
north of Nangapanda in the hills (thus in Tanah
Rea part of Ende shown on the Bruine[3] map) so
named. This is Wolowai and it is in Ende. I
wouldn't be surprised to find any kind of social
R organization in this island! What a place to do
614 a real survey. I asked about a few other things
582 in Roworeke. I made a final try to get a cir-
culating scheme out of the suku here, knowing
that they have mother's brother's daughter mar-
riage. I thought I had something when the
assistant started off saying that an Odja man
should take a Gusa woman, and that a Rewarangga
suku man should take a Wanda woman. But right
away it broke down, as the assistant himself,
an Odja, married a Wanda, and his son will marry
a Wanda, he says, in line with mother's brother's
daughter marriage. Also, Bapa Ketjil, an Odja,
married a Rewarangga. So what? He seemed to
think that perhaps once it went like this:

Men	married	Women
Odja		Gusa
Gusa		Some other
Some other		Odja

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]
[2] [probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]

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Men	married	Women
614 Djawa		Some other
● 582 Rewarangga		Wanda
Wanda		Some other

At all crucial points, he doesn't know! But he does say that once it was not allowed to marry in the suku. And he also says that a daughter must not marry into her father's suku (and yet I am sure there are some cases), while a son by preference should marry into his mother's suku. He also says that if once one marries into a suku, the sons should continue this custom. This is why he says his son should marry into his wife's suku. Thus clearly we have mother's brother's daughter preference, and father's sister's daughter taboo. And they seem to have some memory of a regular circulating scheme so based. However, the system has broken down, and so has the exogamy to some extent (but my guess is that the records will show few if any endogamous marriages). The trouble is, I had no time to ask or rather have him investigate how many of the present marriages of men are with women of their mother's suku. I will try to do a little detective work from the records. Because of the Hebrew "bin" [551] system of names, I may be able to spot father and son. Anyway, I may be able to see whether there is any pattern to the suku marriage choices of the men.

114 I pulled out of Ende for the last time on January 21, and had a difficult time getting across the Nangaba, which is still in flood. With pushing, I made it. The motor stalled on me, as it is filty. It was a long day across to Ruteng, but I had no further trouble.

We Weol: I started the last stretch of a week
124 here on January 23, on Tuesday. I went to the

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124 kampong, Tjantjar, and there the guru and the other person and a pastor from Maumere were found. The guru had received no letter from van Bekkum, and was afraid to start work until he had it. Also, there was an inspection of schools today. I got angry, and threatened to leave the place. Then we decided to go to Ruteng to van Bekkum, and when there it turned out that the latter had sent the leave papers to Pau, the guru's kampong, one-half kilometer from the mission, but it never reached there, or something happened. Anyway, we finally got things straightened out and we began work at the pasanggrahan. Tomorrow I will be at Weol.

We started by inspecting the records, which, though they have been filled out, have many holes. His map is good, but needs touching up. I don't know yet how his answers are. As for the questionnaire, I got as far as the end of the Weol names, but not onto the Ndung names. The following are some of the holes:

592 1. In exactly which houses do the various
● 582 households live? There are only six houses in
595 Weol (nine houses in Ndung). Incidentally, I note much polygamy. The kepala kampong has six wives. There are plenty of extra-kampong marriages, as there must be if there is kampong exogamy. But there are some endogamous va'u marriages. So far there are no endogamous panga marriages. Each house has a tu'a mbaru, and if in a house there is a tu'a panga he is also the tu'a mbaru. But there is one house, that of tu'a tenu, which has the latter for the tu'a mbaru, but there is another tu'a panga therein. There are tu'a mbaru who are not tu'a panga.

2. Religion is not noted.

565 3. The assistant did not note the class and clan and totem of those who married into the kampong, who were mostly women, but some were

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601 does so. So much for the kinship system.

Then, incidentally, he said that an indis-
273 pensable item at each sacrifice must be palm
769 wine (tuak). Even if they have to travel for
778 some distance to get some (and it is hard to get in the Veol area, as not much is made locally), They must do so; and the reason is that the stone, which is the central point of all rites, must have a libation poured over it. The ancestors are explicitly called, and then the tuak is poured over the stone as though into the mouth of a person which the stone is. Thus I think these stones are the ancestors. They are real idols. Note that the Vatu Veol, and the removed Ine Amba too, are, (or were) in human form. I think that perhaps the popularity of statues in Java after the Hindu influx may have been due to the pre-existence of human form stone images. The point is, in this libation business, the stones are treated as though they were really human.

582 In regard to the mother's brother's daughter
578 or tungku marriage, this was formerly required,
835 at least for one son. He might be forced brutally into such a marriage if he was reluc-
[753] tant. It should be the eldest son too. If this is not done, the family may be afflicted with illness. And it is wicked anyway. This rule still holds, although force is no longer used to back it up. A good case is that of the assistant himself. He didn't like his mother's brother's daughter, as he said, "she lived in the house" (what psychological overtones are there here?). So he refused, and married his wife. However, he has two other brothers, who are still unmarried, and his whole family is watching anxiously until one of them marries the mother's brother's daughter. He says that they talk about this all the time. It is true that they are still pagan. His father indeed

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582 has several wives. (This shows the recency of
578 conversion here. Here is this smooth and smart
835 lad, almost sophisticated, one who could get along almost anywhere in the world, whose father is a completely benighted heathen. He says that the family will be torn apart if one of the sons
835 does not marry the mother's brother's daughter.)

582 Then I asked what happens to the Catholics.
797 He said that usually they are given isin (dis-
[189] pensation), but the priests do not like it at all. However, he saw the point when I said that after all it was only one brother in a family who had to get the dispensation, and so maybe the church would not be too worried.

This led me to a speech, and I think the point was not bad, and perhaps the priests
[182] think of it. If they destroy the mother's brother's daughter marriage, the whole social organization falls apart, as this is the keystone all over Flores (and all through this part of Indonesia, I think). If they do this, perhaps the adat will fall apart and cause a breakdown of all the good rules, from the Catholic viewpoint. However, perhaps the reason is more realistic, i.e., it is hard to get converts if they make it too hard on the old adat.

Anyway, they can use the three generation up and three generation down dodge to get a classificatory mother's brother's daughter and keep up the old system.

583 Then we got onto the records again and ran
591 into some trouble. But before that I note that No. 167 is a girl who lives with her father's sister. She may well be already spoken for and even paid for, for the son of the latter. There is a son of nearly the same age there.

There are several families in the kampongs of outside origin in the case of both spouses (46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65). There are several men in Ndung

565 (3) There are one hundred per cent kraeng
614 va'u, e.g., Puruk.

(4) There are one hundred per cent dalu va'u, e.g., Rahong.

(5) There is a radja va'u, of kraeng rang, i.e., Todo.

174 The history may be something like this:

621 (1) Originally, and until about three hundred
565 years ago: the gelarang tuan tanah district
634 chiefs were in, with kampong ramifications.

648 (2) About three hundred years ago until 1900: the period of Todo-Pongkor kraeng conquest, with also some Makassarese rule from the north (Goa) and Bima rule also.

(3) 1909--1929: Dutch rule without radja.

(4) 1929--1941: Dutch rule with radja.

(5) 1941--1949: Japanese, and later Dutch influence, the latter putting in the East Indonesian negara.

(6) 1949-- : The new Indonesia, with the Dutch gone, but the radja still here, as well as the dalu and the kraeng.

The only real power still alien in this area is that of the Todo-Pongkor kraeng (radja). What will happen?

582 I checked over the marriages in Veol and
614 Ndung, but the assistant will get the va'u of the inmarrying women. However, it looks as though there is no pattern. Looking only at the kampongs whence the inmarriers came, I can find just about no system; the twenty-seven women who married men of Veol came from twenty different kampongs (highest frequency was three). The four men who married women of Veol and came here to live are from three kampongs (highest frequency two).

The twenty-nine women who married men of Ndung came from twenty kampongs (highest frequency four: Tjumbi; another three: Tjara).

The nine men who married women of Ndung and

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582 614 came here to live came from eight kampongs (the highest frequency two).

Among those couples both of whose mates came from outside, there were four in Veol. Of these the men came from three kampongs (highest frequency two), and the women came from four kampongs. All of these kampongs were different except for the two men from Leko. There were fourteen such couples in Ndung. Of these, the men came from nine kampongs (the only frequency above one was six men from Tjumbi. The women came from thirteen kampongs and the highest frequency was two.) These were fairly well scattered overall, but showed more similarities than Veol.

Of all the outsiders in Veol (i.e., inmarriers) and Ndung, the highest frequencies are as follows:

	Veol	Ndung	Total
Tjumbi	1	11	12
Leko	4	3	7
Poka	4	0	4
Taga	3	0	3
Leda	3	0	3
Maras	0	3	3
Ndehes	0	3	3
Meler	0	3	3
Tjoal	0	3	3
Teras	2	0	2
Dalo	2	0	2
Pasa	2	0	2
Pau	2	0	2
Tjara	0	2	2
Totals	23	28	51

These are only the highest frequencies, and there is a great deal of scatter. It looks as though there is no pattern at all. This ruins

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582 the previous talk of the tuan tanah that there
614 are preferred clans. I will clinch this when I get the va'u membership of the inmarriers.

The next day I started in on some more question in regard to social organization.

[103] Note that the name of the kampong below is
346 Tjantjar, not as I have spelled it above [Tjantsia]. I went there halfway through the morning as I heard drums and gongs. There were girls (looking very Hawaiian) sitting on the porch of the house next to the new one of the tuan tanah now being built. The timbers are up. It will be a rectangular house, although the one it replaces was round (I made a photo of the latter only a month ago, which shows how fast the old type is vanishing). The drums and gongs were being beaten because this is necessary when a new tuan tanah house (rumah gong-gendang) is being built.

346 There were several drums and several gongs
533 (and I found that each tuan tanah house has
776 several of each). They must be beaten all the
824 time, with short pauses, and the girls take
[562] turns. The men may help too (for garden beating, only men may play the instruments). This has to go on all the time while the big house is being built. The reason is that the wood (always spirit-ridden here) must be constantly kept pacified and told that it is being used for a great purpose, a big house. For ordinary houses this is not necessary. (I wonder if the idea is also in order to get the wood used to being in a rumah gong-gendang?) Before the trees are cut for the wood, they are told that they are being cut for a high purpose. Each grove of trees has a local spirit called darat. These are tree spirits. The generic word for spirit is ro.

778 I notice each day on my way here that there is
776 a grove of fine trees standing isolated on a
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614 in Tjantjar. These people came from West Manggarai, the Boleng area, perhaps one hundred years ago and settled in Veol. About twenty years ago they moved down to this formerly empty place and founded Tjantjar. Although it is not a Veol va'u kampong, it is a kampong tjabang of Veol, and the tuan tanah here, although he is of the Tjepang va'u, has his drums and gongs from the Veol tuan tanah. There is not a single Veol va'u member in Tjantjar, but it is plenty mixed otherwise. Thus there are several Pau families, perhaps ten in all, including the assistant. The Tjantjar people are about thirty per cent of the population, a plurality.

582 I asked about the percentage of marriages which were tungku (mother's brother's daughter). He will try to ask in Veol about this later, but I asked how many cases there were among his acquaintances. First he said only about ten per cent. Then I asked how many among the families he knows in his own kampong, Pau, had at least one mother's brother's daughter marriage among the sons. He said of the thirty he knows, about twelve. This is a higher percentage. Indeed, however, it is not usually more than about thirty per cent, as it couldn't be, for only one son in a family may marry in this fashion (except by exception), and the average number of sons is perhaps three. Formerly, just about every family had at least one son married in the mother's brother's daughter way, but now this is less true. Formerly the eldest son was forced to do it, because it was proper for the mother's brother's daughter marriage to be carried out by the eldest son. In default of such a marriage, another son could do it, for example, the assistant hasn't done his duty, but his father is afraid that one of the other two won't. Both the assistant's and his wife's fathers married

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582 mother's brother's daughters; they were the eldest sons of their respective families. Perhaps this shows that formerly this was just about an invariable rule.

582 178 The reasons why several do not do it today are: (1) the church taboo (but they can get dispensation), (2) absence of a mother's brother's daughter of the proper age, (3) refusal of a son to marry a mother's brother's daughter or of a girl to marry father's sister's son because of a lack of affection, and (4) propaganda via education (I think it is this, but he says "government") that inbreeding is bad (this is possibly a neat trick of the church, which can insert this into the schools and thus beat down the mother's brother's daughter rules indirectly.)

614 773 784 I got onto totemism and origin legends. The Veol folk must clearly be the original people here, because they came out of bamboo right on this spot. The Pau va'u original ancestors came out of a stone which still stands in the kampong Pau. It is more than a meter high, flat on top, and is called vatu Pau.

Cornelius's wife's va'u came from Rintja Island. The va'u is called Manong.

Radjong va'u (kampong Radjong in East Manggarai) also origirated out of a stone which is there now and is called vatu Radjong. Another va'u set of ancestors was born of a buffalo and therefore its members cannot eat buffalo.

If the totem is an animal (i.e., ancestors came from animals), the members of that va'u cannot eat the ancestral animal. If a va'u came from a tree, its members today cannot use that wood. If a va'u is from a stone, they simply must keep and cherish the stone.

The Veol taboos are three: (1) bambu belang: because the ancestors came therefrom; (2) the lusa bean: I don't know why yet, but I will

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721 were traditional enmities to some extent be-
578 tween dalu. For example, Ruteng was against
614 Tjibal. Rahong usually helped Ruteng. Tjibal had allies too.

When there was a Todo war against Pongkor, the dalu here often entered, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other.

There are plenty of stories about the old wars. Thus there is the Prang Kuvu (that was against the Dutch near here); Prang Lait (against Bima, at a place near here); Prang Vake (Pongkor against Todo, and the dalus here entered), etc.

621 There are definite borders here, and the
614 people are quite sensitive about them. These
602 exist between the dalu, gelarang, and kampongs.
[423] They are marked by stones, mountains, rivers, etc.

In every gelarang there is a central kampong, for example, Veol and branches. Only one va'u per gelarang is the original va'u. There can't be two. Each dalu has kampongs under direct dalu rule. Some dalu (e.g., Rahong) had kampongs directly under Todo or Pongkor. Aside from the va'u relations, the vina-rona (mother's brother's daughter or affinal) relationship is important. In this mutual help is expected. Thus the pattern of one's own clan and the clan of affinity (and, I suppose, by extension this, could work out to a circle of the Wouden type)[1] is found here.

614 However, I get nowhere with the regular
582 marriage class system here. Nevertheless, the old tuan tanah said that there was a preferred clan, Mungges. It does not show in the record of the marriages, however. He will get the clans of the women for me.

756 Note: he misunderstood the "magic" here,
789 and says that the mbako could and can make a drink or amulet, etc., to make a man strong, and such is used in war.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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533 797 [562] school is overcrowded, and it is the only place where girls can rise above the lowest level in Manggarai. There were plenty of sisters around. The whole thing shows the good organization of the Catholics here.

[124] I used the last two days of work here to get through the rest of the schedule.

585 For weddings, the Christians go to church for a service as well as going through the old rites.

583 Formerly the bride price was not payable in money, but today it is, in part. The bride price (padja) includes buffaloes, horses, and formerly copper or brass (?) boxes. There are no more of these last objects, and money has been substituted for them. Also, cattle are now used, but were not included formerly.

The return gift (vida) includes cloth, bracelets, ear ornaments, etc. Also included are small elephant teeth (used as pendants on bracelets). They are about two inches long. The bride price goes to the girl's family, and the return gift to the boy's family. Formerly the bride price was not very high. Today it is higher. An average bride price includes about five animals.

Both Catholics and pagans still pay the bride [591] price and make the return gift. If a bride [611] price is not paid, the couple must live matrilocally until it is paid. However, the children are always patrilineally descended.

582 614 The distances of mate selection are about the same as they were fifty years ago. There is a bit more marriage within the va'u, which was taboo before. However, the panga remain exogamous.

476 602 614 If the relatives-in-law live too far off, there is no real, actual mutual aid. If they are near, mutual aid is carried out between three groups: one's own va'u ana rona, and ana vina. The help comes especially in aiding a help-mate

[i.e., at Veol.—Analyst]

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476 602 614 [585] to obtain the bride price, but also in such cases as the building of a new big house. The va'u helps with the costs of a wedding feast. The rona get animals for their women, and the vina give animals for theirs. The return gifts go in the opposite direction: the rona give the gifts and the vina receive them.

I get the impression that there is more to it than just this simple roundabout exchange. Thus, a family has several relations of rona and vina, and the same ones will not always be involved in a given marriage. The ones not directly involved evidently help out, or can be called upon to help in a marriage in which they are not directly involved. But this is not too clear to me. Cornelius[1] says that the whole thing is quite a burden, as when they are called upon they must give this aid. The nearer the groups live, the more they are called upon. If they are far off, this is not too much of a burden.

582 563 There are no marriages here with foreigners, but in other places a few Manggarai women have married Chinese men. These are definitely not liked. They are "lost." They are outside the adat and the magic circle.

582 291 178 At the time of marriage, local males are sixteen (some are fifteen to twenty-one years old. The majority fall within the age groupings sixteen to seventeen. Females, at the time of their marriage, are fourteen to twenty years old. Formerly they married later. The youngest was about nineteen (I think this was for males). He says that this was because they "got clothes" when they were older. The boys did not even wear loincloths until about the age of sixteen. The girls wore only a little cloth from about the age of twelve on. This was because it was so hard to get clothes. They married only two to three years after getting clothes. The rich

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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582 people married earlier, because they got their
291 clothes earlier. Cornelius[1] says that until
178 about twenty-five years ago you could see quite old and young people going about naked. He remembers this. They do not like too young marriages (!). Also, they do not like them if the partners are too old.

[561] There are no age grades.

614 The Veol clan is very large, but there are clans which are even larger. Not a single clan has ever become extinct. However, some panga have. There is one such panga in Veol.

562 Formerly, the position of women was really
178 low, like that of slaves. Now they are a little
584 higher. Today there is a beginning in the direction of freer choice in marriage. Formerly all marriages were arranged by the elders.

611 The system here is all patrilineal, and there have been no changes.

162 In 1930, Cornelius[1] says, there were five thousand extra women in all Manggarai. I will check the records for the ratio.

587 The levirate obtains if there is a widow. If
768 there is no brother, her family must take her back, and pay one horse. The children stay with the dead father's family. If the levirate goes through, the man pays one horse.

[583] If a widow remarries to a man other than the brother of her deceased husband, the price must be paid to the family of the dead husband, and the "bonds" are "broken." The sororate is not required. The bride price is required in the case of a sororate. It is quite usual, because the sister of the deceased is accustomed to the widower and his children. The children of course stay with the father's family always.

586 There is not much divorce, but it did occur and still does.

[587] The main cause of divorce is discord, not barrenness, as in this case a man simply gets another wife.

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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565 dressed, e.g. the kapitan of Roworeke, he is not
291 dominated by an "assistant." However, he domi-
177 nates (cautiously as yet) the adat dressed mosa
554 laki. This is interesting.

565 The Pongkor kraeng said that manners differ
576 by class, and he may be right. However, I met a rough kraeng in Anam. And I think that he was from Todo too. Todo ones have a reputation of being more refined than those from Pongkor. All this probably does not mean very much.

[195] Special words are used as part of the lan-
576 guage of ceremonies and rites. However, this
178 is merely a matter of occasion. In the old days real respect was shown for the Bima dignitaries, the kraengs, etc. When one approached a kampong where there was a kraeng, one had to dismount from one's horse and remove one's shoulder cloth down to the hips, where it was wound around, leaving the torso bare.

[689] If one did not show the proper respect formerly, a whole kampong might be made lampang. Thus, enslavement was the great mass punishment. Even today there is still a bit of feeling in regard to the rank of the kraeng, although it is nothing like what it was before.

554 There are grades of pride on the kampong
621 level, and thus Veol feels a bit higher than
614 its branch kampong Tjantjar. Also, Veol va'u feels a bit better than the incoming va'u Tjepang. But this is not a real formulization. 6

565 There are no approved marriages with mendi.
●582 This is still very bad. It is possible to marry with other kinds of "slaves" (e.g., lampang). There are a number of such cases now in Veol. Everyone, up to the radja, may marry everyone else except the mendi. There are plenty of such mixed marriages, and even the radja has a commoner for a wife. Here again one can see the ordinary quality of the radjas

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565 of Flores, so unlike the radjas of Celebes.
582 This is a correction of some of the previous notes, because he had said that radjas, dalu and gelarang intermarried only among each other. The truth seems to be that all except the mendi are intermarriageable.

There is still great feeling against marrying a descendant of a mendi. For example, in Pau, where there are about ten persons descended from mendi, there have been a few marriages of these families with commoners, but never with gelarang families (e.g., the assistant's). The assistant says that he would never want his daughter to marry a mendi descendant. I pressed hard on this, and asked him if he would not be willing to have his daughter marry a mendi descendant if, for example, he became a great man in Indonesia, along with the new democracy. He said absolutely not. This is a Catholic, young and educated fellow. Then I asked about his son, should he want to marry a mendi girl. He said there would be much less resistance in this case.

Among the uppers there is a great deal of inter-district marriage, for example, at the radja, dalu, gelarang and kraeng levels. There is also some inter-district marriage among the commoners.

789 The only magic power known is in the hands
756 of the mbako. They can give magical strength
565 to individuals. Thus again I see how important and powerful are these secret persons. The nobles, however, have no kekuatan adjaib.

797 The only major change in the local religion has been the introduction of Catholicism, and it has been epochal.

771 About fifty per cent of the local people are
788 Catholic. Just about every family has at least
183 one Catholic in it. If a Catholic wants to attend community rites, this is all right, but he

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162 IIIa. Ama Hurint Hadumboleng 69
614 IIIa1. Ama Hurint Hadumboleng 56
IIIa2. Ama Hurint Hadumboleng Nipatale 13
IIIb. Ama Hurint Marimaking 58
IIIc. Ama Hurint Melamaking 80

Total III. Ama Hurint 207

IVa. Lewato Ama Waru'ing 25
IVa1. Lewato Ama Waru'ing 21
IVa2. Lewato Ama Waru'ing Nipatale 4
IVb. Lewato Waktukang 21
IVc. Lewato Tuhowutung 31

Total IV. Lewato 77

Va. Lewodoreng Ama Waru'ing 7
Vb. Lewodoreng Engamaking 43

Total V. Lewodoreng 50

Thus the clan members of Wailolong total 647. There are 14 others from Leloba, and 27 from other places. The final total is 688.
[565] The "slaves" (Nipatale groups) total 17.
The "captives" (Ama Rere) total 62.
The "returned emigres" (Ama Rere Ama Tobi) total 10.

The marriages are as follows:

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● 582 Ia: IIIb; IIIc; Leloba Keleng Belolong (2); All OK.
Ib: IIIa1, IIIb (3); Leloba Keleng Belolong; Ib; IIa. The last two are taboo. Letter to him.
Ic1: IIIb (5) IIIc (2); Leloba Keleng Belolong; IIIa1. The last is taboo. Letter to him.
Ic2: IIIa1. This is taboo. Letter to him.
IIa: Ia; Ib (3); Ic2; IVa1; outside (3); IIIa1;

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614 582 IIIa2. The last two are taboo. Letter to him.

IIb: Ic1; IIIa1 (4); IIIa2; IIIb (2). All OK.

IIc: IIIa1; IIIb; IIIc. All OK.

IIIa1: Ic1; Ic2; Va; Vb (2); Leloba Kottang Waktukang; Ib; IVa1. The last two are taboo. Letter to him.

IIIa2: Ia; IIIa2; IVc. All these are taboo. Letter to him.

IIIb: IIa (4); Vb (3); Leloba Kottang Waktukang; outside; IVa. The last is taboo. Letter to him.

IIIc: IIa (4); IIb; IIIa (see note); IVc (3); Vb; outside (3); IIIc (2). The last two cases are taboo. Letter to him. (note: This is the "precedent" incest case. See notes on this.)

IVa1: IIIc. OK.

IVa2: IIIb. OK.

IVb: Ic1; IIa; Leloba Kottang. All OK.

IVc: Ia; Ic1; IIb (2); IIc. All OK.

Va: IIb. OK.

Vb: Ia; IIa (2) IIb (2); IIc.

(Note: The assistant told me that the Nipatale group in IV was IVc2, but in the records his cases are noted as IVa2. Letter to him.)

Outside: outside. OK. 1 case, the guru.

621 614 582 592 The assistant's map gives "wards" of the five clans, although he marks one place as "mainly Hurint, but mixed," and another is the Riang near Leloba. mainly if not all Leworita or Lewodoreng. According to his "wards," these are out of place:

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	House	Suku	"Ward"
621	8	Datong (wife Hurint	Hurint
614	15	Lewodoreng	Hurint
●582	17	Outside (guru)	Lewodoreng
592	18	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	21	Datong (wife Hurint	Hurint
	25	Hurint	Datong
	31	Hurint	Datong
	33	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	37	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	41	Leworita	Lewodoreng
	42	Datong	Lewodoreng
	45	Leworita (wife Datong)	Datong
	47	Leworita	Lewodoreng
	55	Lewodoreng (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	62	Hurint	Leworita
	65	Lewato	Leworita
	66	Hurint (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	67	Leworita (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	68	Lewodoreng	Lewato
	73	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	74	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	75	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	78	Datong	Lewato
	79	Leworita	Lewato
	80	Hurint	Leworita
	81	Hurint (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	82	Hurint	Leworita
	83	Datong (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	87	Leworita	Lewato
	89	Hurint	Leworita

Thus, out of 100 houses, 30 are "out of place." Of these, however, the wife belongs to the "ward of residence" in fourteen cases. This leaves only sixteen cases which are really "out of place."

624 I tried to fill in the offices and ran into
124 some trouble. By using the records and the map
614 on which he indicated the houses of the officials,

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I looked at the list of adult married males with wives living, and found some evidence of concentration of clans. In most cases, though I didn't work this out, if the widowed males were included, I would get a slightly more concentrated picture of the clan. As I reckon it, there are 111 cases.

I. Odja 15 plus 5, married with Odja wives: total number of cases 24 (63%, 83%).

II. Gusa 4 plus 3, married with Gusa wives: total number of cases 8 (50%, 88%).

III. Gusa 5 (63%)
Odja 3 (38%)
total number of cases 8.

IV. Gusa 5
total number of cases 5 (100%).

V. Wanda 4
total number of cases 6 (67%).

VI. Gusa 2 plus 2, married with Gusa wives: total number of cases 7 (no good)

VII. Odja 4
total number of cases 8 (50%).

VIII. (Complete spread, 5 cases)

IX. Odja 3
total number of cases 5 (50%).

X. Odja 5 (37%)
Ndoru 5 (37%)
total number of cases 13.

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162 XI. Nggobe Unknown 8
614 total number of cases 16 (50%).
●582 (Maybe this is Nggobe clan?)

XII. (Complete spread, 6 cases)

Note that this comes out differently from the test made by merely totaling the members of clans.

Marriage Pairs

Odja:	Wanda	7	
	Ndoru	4	
	Meo	4	
	Gusa	3	
	Reandona	2	
	Woro	2	
	Djawa	1	
	Rewarangga	1	
	Soa	1	
	Gusi	1	
	Odja	1	(kapitan; he is really a Gusa)
		27	
	Unknown	8	
	Total	35	
Gusa:	Gusa	4	(they say they are at least 7 generations distant; 3 are in Kopo Edo; could it be that Gusa and Tibo were once separate?; both names are used)
	Odja	3	
	Wanda	3	
	Soa	2	
	Gusi	2	

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	Woro	1	
	Fongi	1	
	Mboti	1	
		17	
	Unknown	2	
	Total	19	
Wanda:	Reandona	2	
	Rewarangga	1	
	Ndoru	1	
		4	
	Unknown	4	
	Total	8	
Ndoru:	Odja	4	
	Wanda	4	
	Gusa	1	
	Woro	1	
		10	
	Unknown	1	
	Total	11	
Djawa:	Gusa	2	
	Odja	1	
	Wanda	1	
	Sue	1	
	Djawa	1	(case unexplained)
	Total	6	
Wadja:	Odja	3	
Ndosi:	Odja	1	
	Wanda	1	
Reandona:	Ndoru	2	
Woro:	Odja	1	
	Gusa	1	

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Penawuri:	Baoru	2
Bangova:	Wanda	1
	Unknown	1
Foa:	Wanda	1
	Unknown	1
Soa:	Ndoru	1
Wai:	Reandona	1
Mboti:	Wadja	1
Mbonggi:	Unknown	1
Kora:	Gusa	1
Outside:	Outside	2
	Odja	1
Unknown:	Unknown	13
	Rewarangga	2
	Gusa	1
	Baoru	1
	Total	17

Remarks on marriage: Of the six evidently endogamous marriages, one is not really endogamous, because the kapitan was born into Gusa but [597] adopted into Odja. Of the four Gusa endogamous pairs, three, in Kopo Edo, he maintains are distant. The other two are unexplainable: 1 Gusa and 1 Djawa.

These are pairs having frequency above 1:

Odja--Wanda	7--0	Gusa--Gusi	2--0
Odja--Ndoru	4--4	Wanda--Reandona	2--0
Odja--Meo	4--0	Ndoru--Wanda	4--1

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162	Odja--Gusa	3--3	Djawa--Gusa	2--0
614	Odja--Reandona	2--0	Wadja--Odja	3--0
●582	Odja--Woro	2--1	Reandona--Ndoru	2--0
	Gusa--Wanda	3--0	Penawuri--Baoru	2--0
	Gusa--Soa	2--0		

Thus, of the 15 frequencies, 11 are not reversed; 4 are. This might look a bit like mother's brother's daughter marriage. Note that Wanda never marries into any of the Big 5; but perhaps this does occur in Watu Rota (?).

To get anywhere in this area on the subject of marriages, one would have to collect this sort of data for all cases or from many kampongs. My guess is, whatever the original system was, that there are no marriage classes. However, there probably is a lot of mother's brother's daughter marriage.

595 162 Polygyny cases: (numbers refer to ages)

(1) 38: 30, 20 (sisters); Odja-Meo; pagan; illiterate; No. 5.
(2) 30: 25, 20; Odja-Ndoru, Meo; Christian, Christian, pagan; illiterate, 3, illiterate; No. 8.
(3) 50: 50, 50; Odja-Reandona, Wanda; pagan; illiterate; No. 24.
(4) 40: 30, 20; Ndosi-Wanda, Odja; Christian, pagan, pagan; illiterate; No. 54.
(5) 45: 45, 45, 45; Odja-?, Wanda, ?; pagan; illiterate; No. 62 (giri tumba)
(6) 50: 50, 35; Wadja-Odja; pagan; illiterate; No. 313.
(7) 30: 20, 18; ?-Rewarangga; Christian; 3, 3, illiterate; No. 426.
(8) 40: 30, 40; Bangova-Wanda, ?; Mohammedan; 3, illiterate, illiterate; No. 554.

565 There is not much to say about classes and

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Clans

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Veol	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol Clan	17	7	70	94
Other Clans	6	28	12	46
Total	23	35	82	140

Ndung	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol Clan	18	17	57	92
Other Clans	21	39	54	114
Total	39	56	111	206

Total				
Veol Clan	35	24	127	186
Other Clans	27	67	66	160
Total	62	91	193	346

[591] I can see that Veol keeps to the patrilocal rule, and that there is a great preponderance of the Veol clan. This is more evident in Veol than in Ndung, where there are lots of matrilocal couples, and also many outsiders. In regard to the marriage pairs, this can be seen below:

Marriage Pairs (including Widows)

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	Veol	Ndung	Total
Man (Veol)--Woman (Other)	23	22	45
Woman (Veol)--Man (Other)	4	10	14
Other--Other	4	15	19
Man (Veol)--Woman (Veol) (different panga)	3	6	9

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There is no use working out every marriage pair, because I can see that there is no system of marriage classes here. I note quite a few clearly mother's brother's daughter (tungku)

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582 marriages, and the assistant will send a letter
[124] to me about this later.

[591] He will also send me a letter about how many of the matrilocal residence cases are because of a failure to pay the bride price.

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Clan Membership or Derivation: Veol

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol	17	7	70	94
Paka	3	0	6	9
Leda	1	2	2	5
Leko	1	1	2	4
Poka	0	3	0	3
Papang	1	0	2	3
Kepe		2		2
Laru		1		1
Kole		1		1
Ling		1		1
Taga		2		2
Dalo		2		2
Nulang		1		1
Ndadjung		1		1
Tuke		1		1
Watang		1		1
P. Leok		2		2
Ndehes		2		2
Kuleng		1		1
Tjumbi		1		1
Adjang		1		1
Tjarep		1		1
Nanu		1		1
Total	23	35	82	140

634 Keo), and the kapitan from Gunung Rodja (the
124 southern half of Ende town). After a long sales
talk, the Radja offered all of his aid and said
that on the next morning the kapitan of Gunung
Rodja (evidently a kind of crony of the Radja,
and one who usually wears an overseas cap, even
while eating) would come to the pasanggrahan
and take us to Roworeke. Meanwhile I asked a-
[611] bout Tana Ai, and they knew that it was matri-
lineal. Then the hadji from Keo said that it
was matrilineal too, which was news to me.
Then I asked about Wolo Wae, and they said it
was in the mountains to the north, in Ende.
614 They seemed to think it was matrilineal too. I
582 then asked about clan exogamy and they said
178 that Mohammedanism was breaking it down, just
as had happened in Tulehu in Ambon. But as in
Ambon, clan exogamy is kept by the Christians
here.

583 Incidentally, the priest in Ndetosoko said
178 that the Catholics are in favor of keeping the
797 bride price, as it strengthens marriages.

We finally left, and the next morning the
124 kapitan of Gunung Rodja appeared without his
overseas cap. We got into the jeep and went to
Roworeke, but the kapitan there was again in the
garden. We went to kilometer 10 and saw the
kapitan with several men wading across the river
to the garden on the other side. We called him
back and he got in suspiciously and we then
drove back to his house. There he called the
kepala kampong of Watu Roga. This fellow was a
relative of his, an old man with an old sarong
and short betel teeth, who looked somewhat like
a Toradja. Later he called the djurutulis
[scribe].

I gave a long sales talk and the kapitan
124 warmed up. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja helped
634 out and was quite enthusiastic. He is evidently
632 a powerful man, but the Controleur says that the

R

632 most extinct, with only about twenty members.
614 The kapitan is elected by the orang besar of the eighteen kampongs in the kapitanschap.
634 The Radja of Ende is also elected, in this case by the orang besar of the whole state. This means that he is elected evidently by the kapitan. I must inquire further about this matter.
632 The present kapitan is a nephew of the former
578 kapitan. He was chosen because the son of the former kapitan was not satisfactory. I noted that as I asked about this there seemed to be some embarrassment and I wonder if perhaps there was not a little fuss attached to the selection of a new kapitan even in the past. This seems to bear out the evidence for a feud pattern of which I see so much at first glance in Flores. Anyway, both the radja and the kapitan are elected with a tendency to heredity in the male line. They are elected by the officers of the sections of their domain. It is similar to the electors of Goa.
583 They say that the bride price is necessary
614 for marriage, and that the price is really high. They say that some people go bankrupt in order
476 to pay the bride price. Nevertheless, everyone
237 in the suku helps the man pay his bride price and in turn all helpers are later helped. This bride price is a clan affair. Formerly the price had to
[436] be paid in elephant tusks and in gold pieces called wea. Now most of the tusks are gone be-
[727] cause they have been sold or stolen (during the Japanese time). There are still quite a few of the gold pieces left, however. There were hundreds of thousands of tusks in Flores before. Sikka used only very long ones, but in this area they evidently used both long and short tusks. They are remarkable and I must learn more about them.
614 Marriage is exogamous as far as suku are con-
582 cerned and residence is patrilocal. They did
[591]

632 told me that his mother is from this area, and
later I had her kampong pointed out (Lewoleda).
It is the twin kampong of Watuwiti. As we
passed every kampong the children came out in
droves shouting greetings and then running after
and hanging on the rear of the jeep, just as
Vatter[1] described them almost twenty years ago.
[178] Indeed, many things of his are still the same,
but some are different, for example, Catholicism
has finally destroyed the nubanara, nama, and
the korke of Leloba.

346 At Wailolong we went off on a new side road
797 to Leloba, and the road ended at the kampong,
● 583 barred by a fence. As we were talking here, a
438 priest, Krol, came up on his motorcycle and in-
vited us to his hut. He is temporarily here
because the church and pastorie in Riangkamië
was burned two months ago. The people there
caused the fire by burning the hills on the wind-
ward side, and the kampong elders voted to give
a percentage of the bride prices for quite a
long while in order that they might have the new
church. This will be paid in elephant tusks,
[435] which the mission will sell for cash to the
Mohammedan traders (eight tusks of varying
lengths will sell for about fl. 2000.00, and the
priest knew the exact price). The Mohammedan
traders will then resell the tusks to the people
in Larantuka who need them to pay a bride price.
They will probably sell them in the Tandjung
Bunga (Cape Flores area).

797 The priest told how the Catholics work here.
197 They try to keep as much of the old culture as
177 possible. For example, he and others are learn-
ing all about the Solor language, which is the
local language here, so that they can make
prayers in it. They also make prayers in the
797 old style, as though praying to Lerawulan. They
177 use native songs with words in the native lan-
533 guage and in the native style, too. He, musical,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

578 wars. There is no more head-hunting (but the
721 priest in the mission thinks it still goes on secretly, especially for the main post of a new korke).

53 The arts here are poor in all ways.

583 The bride price must be paid, but ambil anak
611 can occur. In the latter case a daughter or
237 daughters are given to the family in place of the
[556] price. This is especially true for the poor. Elephant tusks are needed for things such as the bride price, but this is evidently mainly for the uppers. And Krol said that nowadays, when the tusks have become rare, they often merely make the transfer in their heads, talking all night, and never actually transferring the real tusks from one family to another. It is a kind of clearing-house procedure. The tusks may be "transferred" up to twenty times in their heads, and they balance out in the end. Thus there is no real cost. It is a matter of delayed payment and really works out to a system of woman exchange between families. The tusk transfer is fictional. Thus A will "pay" tusks to B for a girl, and B will "pay" these to C for a girl, and C will "pay" them to A for a girl, and so on. The tusks, however, may even be non-existent in a particular case, and since they balance out in the end, no one really pays.

764 I was told that they used to put the bodies of
766 the war dead (I think) in trees before burial. Newborn children were buried in the kampong in front of the house. Cemeteries here were evidently placed outside the kampong.

124 We will return to Leloba tomorrow and try to
621 get the assistant matter straightened out. It
578 is notable that the guru said he is more comfortable working in an outside kampong. If the kakang gives the order the people must cooperate. This shows that the kampongs here are fiercely separatistic and only the upper government controls this atomism.

War

614 There is no use of a head without feet. At
788 least this is the idea. They are the leg men
565 of the head. The Hurint cuts the head off, and they also cut or finish or decide cases. Thus the double entendre words which seem to prevail in this language come to light. Also the Hurint do the praying, and in the old days the priests were from this suku as well as were the judges. The Marang passed around and still pass around sirih, or perhaps coffee today, at the rites. The Marang also acts as general helper so that if any of the other three have trouble with the beast he rushes in to aid. The function is symbolized not quite so clearly as for the other three, but the social system is symbolized in ritual which in turn reflects a system of rank and function.

632 I heard another thing which should be inter-
614 esting to follow up. The kakang is a Leboba man
● 583 from one of the Kottang subsibs. His sib (one
576 of the two Belepe Lolong, and must be Lango'
431 Bele' as he has much power) gives women to the guru's sib (Ama Hurint Ola Demo[ng] Lango' Bele') and must be given fowl by the latter. The latter gets women from the former, and gets fish from the former too. Thus fowl and fish form a gift exchange following the marriage exchange system. Evidently the sib that gets the women gives the fowl, and the one that gives the women also gives the fish. Could this be again the serpent and the dove? The kakang said that if he went to the guru's house and there happened to be some fowl cooking there, he must get some, or it would be a terrible breach of respect and much shame would be felt. I think this is correct, but I must check it later.

194 The peculiar nasal end sound indicated by
[114] the parentheses in my orthography is hard to get and Vatter[1] messes it up. The guru says it is hard even for a man from Larantuka town to say it.

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

614 ama chiefs. As for the marriage rules, many of
582 them are based on the old marriage relations
835 which were complicated by ritual stuff. He
684 talks a lot about how such and such cannot marry so and so because his group is an older or a younger brother of the latter. This could stand further investigation. Anyway, marriages are as follows:

Men of	Marry Women of
I-1a	IV, V-2
I-1b	II-2, III, (I-2) (note)
I-2	II-1, IV, V
I-3a	IV
I-3b	III-2, III-3a, III-3b
II-1	I-1a, III
II-2	I-3b, IV
III-1	I-3b, IV
III-2	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, V
III-3a	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2
III-3b	I-2, I-3a, IV, V
IV-1a	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-1b	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-1	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a

[583] The notable case of a marriage inside a suku
[178] started three generations ago when a man of I-1b wanted to marry a woman of I-2 (Ama Kottang Belepe Lolong Lango' Kene' and Waktuka(ng), thus. This was heavily taboo, but the man wanted the woman badly and the men of Waktuka(ng) said that if he paid a terrific bride price he could have her. This was done, not without some fuss, and ever since it has been possible to do this without paying the terrific price because the ice
582 was broken. All know that it is a terrible
614 thing, however. I expressed horror and asked
835 whether these two groups weren't having bad trou-
684 bles because of the curse of incest. The guru
688

000 of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

582 583 237 614 621 The next day I questioned the guru about this, and after a long talk about kinship, which revealed that the mother's brother's daughter type of marriage is a regular type of thing, he came out with the classic statement that usually the tusks come back to the original payer in three moves. Thus, ideally this is a three-class, mother's brother's daughter, rotating system. However, the route of the tusks may be longer, involving up to twenty moves before they return to the original giver. But they try to make the circle as fast as possible, doing it in three moves if they can. Naturally, this is not always possible. We examined some cases of possible long routes, and he said it might be true that it would take up to twenty moves before the tusks returned. They try never to let the tusks go outside the kampong, and this may be why probably there is not much extrakampong marriage. But even if they did, they could close the circle by careful planning. He said, just as Wouden[1] might, that the mother's brother's daughter marriage and the bride price and the sib system are all part of a complete system. We will have more of this later.

114 Today, Friday, December 23, we started in on the Vatter[2] book which the mission lent to me. It is amazingly correct.

Among the corrections, etc., are the following: [304] tattooing against illness is not done in Leloba; [775] a tattoo mark is needed to be recognized on entering the deadland; [301] feather decorations are used only festively; [302] the special woman's horsetail coiffure is not used here any longer; [755] cotton is not placed in the ears for illness (55)[2]; [614] one of the sibs from Sina Djawa is Lewonuhah; [784] the term suku wung is used here (74)[2] wung having the sense of taboo.

[1] [See pp.19-21, 85-88 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

601

	mother's brother's son (male speaking), (at one point, mother's sister's son)
opu:	father's sister's son (male speaking) (at two points, mother's sister's son [probably not] [female speaking], and mother's brother's son [male speaking])
opu kesi(ng):	father's sister's daughter (male speaking)
nada:	father's sister's daughter (female speaking), mother's brother's daughter (female speaking)
dading:	mother's brother's son (female speaking), (at two points, mother's brother and mother's sister's son [male speaking])
blake:	father-in-law (male speaking), mother's brother (at one point, mother's brother's son [male speaking])
tiu:	father-in-law (female speaking), father's sister's husband (female speaking)
tia:	mother-in-law, father's sister (female speaking), mother's brother's wife (male speaking)
mure'bereung:	mother's brother's daughter (male speaking), father's sister's son (female speaking)
woru'i(ng):	older sibling
tukan dore(ng):	younger sibling
tuho wutung:	middle sibling

583 He said in regard to the circulation of the
582 marriages that the mother's brother's daughter
614 marriage is the thing that keeps the system going. It is this plus the exchange of the tusks. The sibs, subsibs, and sub-subsibs gear in too. There is much indirect exchange of wives, but it can't

582 be straight exchange. They must have one inter-
583 mediate move because of the mother's brother's
614 daughter marriage. He sees this clearly, and says that if one could marry a father's sister's daughter they could have a straight exchange. He says that they do this in Tandjung Bunga. Vatter[1] says this is not so. If they do not want to give the tusks or they do not have them, they can work out the bride price in a deal with two other sib groupings so that A will give a girl to B, B a girl to C, and C a girl to A. Thus no tusks are needed, but they act as though the tusks had actually made the rounds. It is all done in their heads. They must plan this, as not every combination will bring the exchange back to the original sib grouping in three moves. Of course, a more complicated deal can be made with many moves leading the fictitious tusks around and a girl back to the group that starts the whole thing.

836 The premarital sex relations with the arrange-
583 ment that leads to marriage which Vatter[1] calls penara is properly called penaga(ng). The guru prefers to call it bride-service, but it is not so according to Vatter[1].

The guru says there are three kinds of marriage here: capture, service (or premarital sex relations leading to marriage), and payment. He calls the last the respectable type. It requires tusks, either real or according to bookkeeping.

192 Vatter[1] makes a bad error on page 83. Kelen
114 does not mean "heaven," but only foot. The word for heaven, on which he was confused, is klng, with almost no vowels.

782 Prayer is not carried out by the Marang. The
788 word marang means to pray, and this has led to
614 the confusion that the ritual prayers at the animal killing were always done by the Suku Marang. The latter merely hands the betel around. The oldest man who is an expert, from whatever

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

Men of	Marry Women of
IVa2	III
IVb	I, II
IVc	I, II
Va	I, II
Vb	I, II

582 614 835 583 684 178

The case of IIIc intermarrying with IIIa (perhaps it is IIIb) was one of incest which involved three virtually simultaneous marriages which occurred two generations ago. There were three men from one family who paid a very high bride price. This is like the similar case in Leloba. I asked how much higher the bride price was in these cases, and he said that they had to pay more tusks, but the man had to kill all of his animals. Thus it seems like a kind of tremendous purifying feast in order that the incest may be allowed. He said that the Leloba incestuous arrangement is still technically in, and anyone who wants to follow it now may do so without paying the tremendous price the pioneers once did. Both of the men who did it in Leloba are dead now. As for the Wailolong cases, this arrangement has been stopped, or rather, if it is carried on today it is wrong. They don't do it any more. There were the three men and then it ended. I asked about any resulting disasters and he said it is true that these sinners had had terrible troubles. I must ask what these troubles were exactly.

624 622 614 554

The offices are as follows:

--Kepala Kampong Kottang (Ib)

I. Radja Tuan Datong (kepala suku, tuan tanah) (Ia)

(2) a. Kelake Ama Radja (kepala ama (same man as I)

778 must give them respect and why the folk are scared
789 not to obey them. (Thus it is like the aradjang
171 in South Celebes.)

789 The guru really got going on magic power. He
721 said that they call on magic power especially
778 when they are going to war (and right now too).
769 If, for example, Wailolong were going to war tomorrow with Riang Kamiß as they did only some fifteen years ago, the respective radja tuan, kelake, and maybe even the molang would get to work the night before doing the magic stuff. Among the other things they would call on the ancestors for magic power and also go through the betel rubbing on face, bodies, etc. They would also kill animals and use gin, because blood and alcohol have power. Then, on the next morning, they would be full of magical power and would go to war. All the men would come to the "big houses" to be "treated."

778 These "big houses" of the suku and ama also
614 have sacred objects, including tusks, plates,
237 etc.

422 These tusks, all of them, are ama property.
583 If any member gains possession of one, he places it in the big house of his ama. Any man in need of some tusks for a bride price may take them. If the tusks of the ama are exhausted, he may draw on the tusks of the suku. Thus Kassi, who Vatter said had no tusks of his own, could not use any tusks because his ama no longer had any. He happened to be a member of the Hurint suku, and the guru, the kepala suku, gave him some finally from the suku store and thus he was able to get married.

583 The minimum price for any girl is five units
237 of tusks (I think this is a matter of length, that is, the small and large are reckoned up). One may pay more without limitation. It is not a matter of beauty.

584 Child betrothal is common here, but this is
184

Wa

584 true no more for the Christians in Leloba. Here
184 they have only adult betrothal. In Wailolong, however, there is still plenty of this child betrothal business. This may take place at the age of three to four years. They are told of this when they are from five to six years old. As children they think nothing of this until
584 they become older. Sometimes the tusks are paid
583 early; at other times they wait until actual marriage. If the boy's father agrees to pay for a girl and later the boy refuses, he must pay the bride price anyway. In the old days, however, a boy never refused, or almost never. The younger brother of the guru hated the girl he was betrothed to as a child and ran away to Badjawa. His father paid the tusks anyway and they were lost by so doing. Later the brother married a woman from Roti.

621 The guru was the first man from the Belakang
582 Gunung [behind the mountain] area (consisting of eight kampongs) who married a Larantuka woman. His wife was from Balela. Later, the present kakang (who is a Leloba man) married a woman from Balela too. Balela is a foothill kampong now a part of Larantuka town.

595 A man may have up to three wives, but no more.

The guru's father had much magic power. He
789 was the panglima perang [war leader] here. He
776 had familiar spirits who helped him and usually
178 he alone saw them. Other people would see them
825 sometimes. Thus the guru heard a noise like a horse in front of the house one night when he was young. He looked out and there stood a buffalo. There are no buffaloes in this area. He called his father and the latter told him to shut up. This buffalo was one of his father's familiars. Another time the guru was in the fields with his father and heard stones rattling. He saw a crocodile. There are no crocodiles here either. He called his father, and again his

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All
727 of them were sold or taken during the Japanese
436 time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese
563 time too, but new ones are being made by
326 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and families. They had been in the mountains making wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They use the natives' gold. Much silver is now mixed in with the gold. They both had complete
[142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large, and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they
611 use money and animals for the bride price, but
591 they may also work it off, although it is not
237 really a case of ambil anak because the children follow the father's suku anyway. The girl must stay with the parents until the bride price is paid. Also, residence remains matrilocal until the bride price is paid. Thus we have an illustration of this in the case of a Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several children, because the bride price has not yet been paid. The children belong to his suku, however. Thus there is bride service, matrilocal residence, but the descent remains patrilineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally, has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to get the assistant to say that they still had tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the
624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before
632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evidently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases
[691] are concerned only with land and marriage questions.

443 night, was pitiful. There were six gambling
[525] tables in the pasar shed,[1] and that was all.
The Radja tried to get some dancers, but the
women had left for the kampong.

525 The priest, Mommersteeg, said that they all
gamble and that there is plenty of money used
here, although there are also many one sen
stakes. We went to bed in the terrible cold.

In the morning we went to Todabelu with Mom-
114 mersteeg to meet Arndt.[2] We had met the latter
on the day before along the road. We saw an
old bearded man with a rain cape and umbrella
on a horse and asked if he knew where Arndt
was. He said that he was Arndt and that he had
ridden seven and one-half hours from Magilewa
near the south coast where he had gone for
Christmas. His parish is not there but on the
road to Boawai, off to one side. He was a
notable figure on the horse. We talked with
him about Ngada.

Arndt[2] says that there are no tribal units
614 called isi as van Staveren says.[2] There are
173 merely clans called voi. Then, inside these
611 units are bhou, or subclans. The big ancestor
was Djawa, who had seven sons and seven daughters.
The seven sons drop out, but the seven daughters
became the ancestral mothers of seven of the
great voi of Ngada, one of which is Ngada, and
this is the name of the ancestress. There are
a lot of other voi here too, each with a female
ancestor. I asked who the seven daughters
married, and he said this is unclear, but evi-
dently there were men on earth when the seven
were born. Thus it looks like an immigration
and intermarriage with aborigines. The bhou
614 have ancestral fathers, and thus they have a
611 system where the clans look a bit matrilineal
583 and the subclans a bit matrilineal, but the
whole descent is patrilineal unless there is no
bride price paid, when ambil anak occurs. Also,

[1] [i.e., at the night market --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

611 I think he[1] said it is possible to pay Also part of
614 the bride price and then to give some of the
583 children to the mother's group. This is not so
582 important, however, as the usual marriage is endogamous. They prefer to marry within the sib. They may marry out also. They have the same term for all cousins, and may marry with any cross or parallel cousin. Descent is patrilineal. Female descent is traced too, and thus there may occur cases of double descent with patrilineal emphasis and endogamy and clans. This is remarkable.

784 They also have totemism here with animal de-
824 scent and tree descent. A member may not kill or eat the animal totem and may not cut or burn or use in any way the wood of the tree totem. Two of the latter are ficus and lontar. The
583 amount to be paid as a bride price is a matter
554 of pride. Many kampongs have only one voi,
614 but others have several.

197 The language of Ngada is related to that of
193 Ende and is very close to Nageh. Manggarai speech, however, is quite different. Arndt says there are no affixes in Ngada, but instead they use particles.

614 Correction: Not all voi have women as an-
565 cestors, but most of them do. There are four
582 classes (not three as van Staveren[2] says). These are the nobles (ata gai or gai meze), upper commoners (ata gisa or gai giza), lower commoners (azi ana) and slaves (ata hoö). An upper woman may never marry a lower man, but the reverse is all right. The peo still stand.

124 We talked about the possibility of working in a Ngada kampong, but the Soa area has already been covered, and Arndt has a book nearly ready on the sociology of Ngada. There is practically nothing on Manggarai, so we decided to go to Ruteng first. We left in the afternoon, and after a hard drive, largely in the rain, we

1 [i.e., Arndt, pastor in Ngada area--Analyst]
2 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

243 agricultural rite, they must make a sacrifice
782 at the very center. The main post is the place
778 for house and kampong offerings, and it is called pusat. I think the center of the circular rice field complex is also called the pusat.

115 The assistant's name is Cornelius Lawang.
624 He is from the va'u Pau, which is also the name of a kampong about one kilometer outside the town. His father is the tuan tanah there, and there he will spend tonight. He is his father's successor. Will he take the post? He said just about all tuan tanah (tua' tano') are pagan. But evidently they could be Christian, although a bit of trouble may rise when it comes to the ceremony.

582 I forgot to say that the mandur said it is possible to marry with one's mother's brother's daughter, but not with the other cousins, including father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and father's brother's daughter. If so, this is interesting. He said that
[184] the Catholics forbid mother's brother's daughter marriages now. I must check on this.

567 We got onto the census matter with the assistant. This led to some new points. He said that they do have slaves here and said that he would indicate them in the census, but I must never tell, as this is never mentioned although
842 everyone knows about it. He said that they like
583 to have many children here, and if they have many they give a feast of thanks. (Evidently the more daughters the richer the family may become because of the bride prices. If the family consists of all boys, there is considerable trouble in getting enough goods for the bride prices. These bride prices are reckoned in terms of animals mostly. The mandur said there is trouble often in getting the price and that men who can't marry on this account are not

We
842 too uncommon. If relatives help out in this
583 matter,[1] they must be repaid.) The assistant
[602] said that if there are no children or if there
[597] are very few children, it often happens that a man buys a child, who then becomes one of his own. (From whom does he buy?)

565 The ranks are:

582
595
1. Radja bangsawan
2. Dalu bangsawan (he says, since 1880) (Kraeng)
3. Gelarang bangsawan
4. Leke (commoners)
5. Mendi (slaves)

The first three may intermarry, either way. The last two may intermarry, also either way. Polygamist marriages are possible, and this goes even for the Christians who do so in order to have more children. He talked as though polygamy, if done for this purpose only, was not so bad. He is of the gelarang and his wife of dalu. The children are of gelarang.

624 Then we got onto the subject of the social
621 organization of Weol. He said that there is a
342 tuan tanah and also a second man, whom he will
534 explain later, as it is a long story. There is also a medicine man, and he is important in ceremonies. He will give me the posts of the kampong later on the sheets.

Weol has two offshoot kampongs. One is Tjantsia (where he lives) and the other is Tjara, on the next hill. The former has a tuan tanah tjabang (a branch tuan tanah). Incidentally,
[178] the present tuan tanah of Weol lives in a rectangular house, which was an unknown thing here before ten years ago. Even in this rectangular house, there is a main post or rather a place which serves as a main post, and here the tuan tanah sits as the center of rituals. The tuan tanah must have in the house a gong and a gendang

[1] [i.e., meeting the bride price --Analyst]

We

614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the relationships linking the individuals in this area became more and more distant. Thus they gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed, since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols, showing the effect of having worked with van Bekkum.[1] The priests try to discourage mother's brother's daughter marriages, but they always give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get the idea that the priests here are less firm regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka. This is probably because it is a relatively new field, and the Catholics go slowly and gradually in destroying what is old. The dodge they use here is special dispensation. This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price, is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with his wife's family until the bride price is paid. This may take ten years or he may never pay the bride price, but the children belong to his va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
177

[1] [pastor at Ruteng; see also bibliography, cat. 113 - Analyst]

We

601 114

ema father, father's brother, mother's sister's husband.
nde mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.
amang mother's brother, father's sister's husband.
inang father's sister, mother's brother's wife.
empo grandparent.
weta sister, father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter.
kae older brother; ase--younger brother. Also father's brother's son, mother's sister's son.
kesah father's sister's son, mother's brother's son.
wina mother's brother's daughter, wife.
rona father's sister's son, husband.

114 582 583 565 614 597

Coolhaas[1] is all right on cross-cousin marriage, too. Only one of a set of brothers marries a mother's brother's daughter. Other brothers may not do so. In this event it can be any of the brothers, not only the eldest. But it is essential that one must and the others must not. However, if another brother wants to after one brother has, he must pay a horse in addition to the usual bride price. This is probably for a common man, and the extra price may be expected to be higher for a noble. This is done only if the father of the boy is unwilling to let him be adopted by another. The latter is another means to the same end. Thus, if the second brother wants to marry a mother's brother's daughter too, the father can let him be adopted by another man. However, the latter must be of another panga. Then the bride price is kept at the usual size.

114 582

Note an error in Coolhaas on page 348? Two

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

114 brothers may not marry two sisters, as this is
582 very much taboo. A man may marry two sisters,
[632] however. They agreed that Coolhaas's on marriage
114 rules of the dalu seems correct. As for the
582 folk, the rules indicate preferred clans, but
614 they say this is not too strong. Thus the
rule is that Weol men get wives from Manges, a
va'u and gelarang in the dalu Velak, to the
west, although not very far. It is about a one
day walk from here. However, this is not by
any means the method followed at all times, and
actually only about twenty-five per cent of the
women married in here are from Manges (Manges
is now called Regak). These were originally
from Lelak or Relak, which is a neighboring
gelarang to Weol. Thus it looks like a clan
localized in district terms with marriage rules
between clan-districts as in Wouden's style. The
women of Weol usually marry men of Tjepang, the
clan which used to live in Weol also, when it
was a two-clan kampong, but who now have moved
down to Tjanjar. However, Tjepang is the name
of a kampong just to the west, also in the Velak
area. It looks as though the fact that Tjepang
[166] men married Weol women led to more and more
Tjepang men coming to live in Weol, until it
finally became half Tjepang. (Even now the
Ruteng folk who have houses in kampong Ndung
are mainly, if not all, men who have married
Ndung women, and the latter have gardens here
and so the men must come to live in their wives'
kampong.) I must get the marriage rules of
Ndung.

Men of Manges may not marry women of Weol.
582 And men of Weol may not marry women of Tjepang.
614 Thus it goes that Weol gives women to Tjepang,
583 but gets women from Manges. However, Tjepang
gives women to Lalong, and another clan gives
women to Manges. Bride exchange is taboo, which
582 is in line with the mother's brother's daughter
rule.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

582 rule. There is also a taboo on father's sister's daughter marriage.

(Lalong kampong is not far to the northeast from Weol.)

582 583 There may be a system here, but they are sure that it is not a mere three move thing like what we found in Larantuka. In fact, I asked about this, and they said that it was impossible (that is, for example, Weol women to Tjepang, Tjepang women to Lalong, and Lalong women back to Weol; this is impossible, i.e. the last move). In fact, there does seem to be a system, as he said even four moves is not possible, but five moves may be. Also, when I described the Larantuka figuring on how to get around the bride price by arranging a series of marriages, he said this type of talk is done here but that the price must always be delivered even though the books might balance in the long run. In Larantuka they can wait, but here they must make actual payment (though theoretically the same horses and buffaloes might some day come back to the original giver).

583 It is true that the bride price must be in horses, buffaloes, and money. The return gift is in women's ware, that is, pigs, cloth, and ornaments. In value, the women's ware return gifts are far less than the former. Coolhaas[1] [114] was wrong to assume that perhaps fowls were included in the return gift.

562 181 The assistant saw the point of a male-female dualism in the whole society, but he is not sure that it is entirely so. He agreed that it is a good hunch.

231 585 At the marriage feast they kill animals. Usually about ten pigs are killed and the normal custom does not include other animals.

114 585 565 The wedding rites described by Coolhaas (page 351)[1] are all right, but the amounts quoted are for the upper classes. The lowers have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

R

614 assumed taboo.
784 (3) Personal totem taboos. These apply to
262 individuals only, not to a wife or husband or
753 child or anyone else. This is a kind of "allergy." These are pire se'imu (the latter term means "individual"). Thus the kapitan's wife got sores and decided (dukun consulted?) that it was because she had eaten buffalo meat. Now she eats none. If she wishes to lift her taboo, she must give a feast with animal sacrifice. The kapitan and his child may eat buffalo.

614 The kapitan's wife thus has the taboos of
784 the kapitan's suku and her own personal one
583 too. She was also of Odja, but until she mar-
562 ried did not have the Odja taboos. Migo's wife has Odja suku taboos (she was from the suku Wanda) and also Migo's household taboo. The kapitan has no taboos, but Migo has his household taboo. It is notable that if a man
[591] pays no bride price and lives matrilocally, his wife does not take on his suku's taboos, but assumes the taboos of the women who marry into her own sib. That is, she is a married woman, and thus must follow suku taboos. But since the bride price has not yet been paid she is not a member of her husband's suku, and so she merely takes on her own suku's taboos as though she were a woman married into her own suku. When the bride price is finally paid, she takes on her husband's suku's taboos, and of course they move into his house. Thus one can say that the totem of the suku hits women only, but only women married into the suku, not women of the suku. Lineage taboos are coming in all the time, and they apply to all household members and may pass on down from generation to generation. Personal taboos are for individuals only. This is queer, and I am sure that I have not yet got the whole story.

R
621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are
still formed partly of suku or suku sections
coming in and joining the old settlers from
the negri lama.

443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series
as in Celebes. These wheels run in different
directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru,
and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The
traders follow the pasar week from market to
market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kam-
pongs, although there is gift exchange in
●583 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male"
562 things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a
woman gives in return "female" things (cloth,
mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere,
and said that many had drowned there recently.
The water is deep, he said, and there lives a
"head" of a human being. It is still living
and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has
seen it several times, in daylight. It moves
around as though on short legs. It is just a
human head, with hair. They don't know what
it is or where it came from. However, the
people are now scared to bathe here. The vic-
tims have been sucked under. He asked me my
opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
[123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith,
because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu
if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere.
They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head
alone").

622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

We.
778 notable little stone with lots of agricultural
789 power. The objects which are possessed by the
614 suku and ama have no magic power; they are
823 only a form of wealth.

The eight kampongs of the Mudakaputu ge-
621 meente are:
832

1. Leloba
2. Wailolong
3. Lewohala
4. Lewoneda
5. Mudakaputu
6. Watuwiti
7. Riang Kamiö
8. Riang Kanali

237 Economic note: The tusks are like the stone
●583 money of Yap. They are the basis for the local
436 economy, but have little intrinsic value. The
452 non-existent tusks of Larantuka are even better, and the folklore concerning them is fantastic. They are reckoned with and theoretically exchanged when they don't even exist. They keep the marriage system going. They are parallel to pure paper credit--something like international balances.

621 The first six kampongs are the old time kam-
173 pongs. They were founded by the five sons of Lenurat or their descendants, who came out of Ili Mandiri. Thus the situation runs something like this:

Sons: (1) Belawaburak founded Leloba. (2) Keweluk founded Wailolong. (3) Kewaka founded Lewohala and Lewoneda. (4) Bampowa founded Mudakaputu. (5) Mado founded Watuwiti.

Daughters: (6) Emma married a man of Tandjung Bunga (and the folk there call the people of the Blakang Gunung region "blake," i.e., mother's brother). (7) Hingi married a man of Adonara (perhaps the people there would also

Wa

173 can be used in war, as magic, and thus perhaps
621 Mado was the war sorcerer who perhaps did the
565 magic stuff which in the last analysis scared
789 the damned Padji away. This kind of medicine is called breni.

173 I asked if all the children and other people here know this story, and he said yes. It is evidently the main legend. He said that they do not know it perfectly, but the main facts and events are clear and everyone knows the story.

443 There is a market place at Okka crossroads every Wednesday. There used to be another on the beach on the way to Larantuka (where the Padji once lived) at Delang, but it is no longer there. It was held on Friday. There is a market place in Larantuka town, and the market is held there every day. However, there is no market week system. He knows of one in Adonara. He says it is no use to hold elaborate markets because they have no surpluses to sell.

583 The only exchange here is that connected
614 with marriage. The woman-giving suku gives fish to the woman-receiving suku, and the latter gives fowl to the former. If these suku are in different kampongs, there is the exchange, but it is a matter of suku and not kampongs. And again it shows how marriage is the basis of the whole organization.

829 As a result of the last World War the hori-
[178] zons in terms of the world at large were somewhat extended. For the first time, the people here heard of Japan, the United States and other countries. This was much the same thing that took place all over Indonesia. Fifty years ago no one here knew about such countries. As for other places in Indonesia, all they knew fifty years ago was Sina Djawa, to the west. Since the war they have learned at least the names of a few other islands. This is really epochal on

797 ever, he says that this was not caused by mis-
178 fortunes. I asked about the Catholics trying to kill all of the old culture, and he said that they use no force. I gave the case of
[346] the church and the taboo on the expense of rebuilding a korke, and how the Catholics allowed for the great cost of a new church in Riang Kamië. He saw my point, but then when I asked about the sale of tusks in order to pay for the church, he said that this was a suggestion of the Riang Kamië folk themselves (no urging by the priest?) and that this was to be done only by a few families or groups which set the disastrous fire.

583 This led us on to a talk about the tusks.
452 He says that they do not need many to keep the marriage system going. Thus both in Wailolong and Leloba they have about twenty-five left today. This is enough. But they must have at least five, as this is the minimum price for a girl. As long as they have the price for one girl they can keep the system going on a credit scheme. This is amazing. It is necessary, and absolutely so, to keep five.

I told about Roworeke, which has lost all their tusks, and he said haggardly that this might possibly happen here, but he didn't want to think of the results. The minimum number of five holds for this part of the district, but in the Riang Kamië sector it is only three, so they could keep the system going with a minimum of three. The reason Roy is so firm on this matter concerning the tusks is that he insists that one cannot get married without tusks, or at least credit for tusks. There is nothing else that can be used for the bride price. Thus there are no animals, gold, money, or anything else used.

684 Error: I said before that the animals killed
231 in the incest cases were part of the bride price.

5: Kennedy--197 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

We

	Male	Female	
127 Watuwiti	127	124	
162 Mudakaputu	128	123	
Laneda	143	167	
Riang Kanale	107	114	
Lewohala	286	285	
Riang Kamiē	430	427	
Wailolong	290	288	
Leloba	272	298	
Totals	1783	1823	3606

The Christians then totaled 1973.

133 Ili Mandiri is at an elevation of 1501 meters, the highest around here.

582 Wailolong intermarries with all of the other
621 seven kampongs, a bit more with those which are
578 near than with those which are farther away. During the period after the Dutch entered (1912) there were practically no marriages with Leloba, because Wailolong was sore that Roy's father would not fight the Dutch. (The present enmity of Roy against the Dutch may be delayed reaction to this.) Since then, there has been more intermarriage, but extra-kampong marriage is relatively rare. Roy estimates that not more than ten per cent of the cases are extra-kampong marriages. This holds for both sexes.

591 If a man lives matrilocally (which is optional
●583 if no bride price is paid, or if the bride price is paid only in part), he keeps the privileges he has in his own kampong, but he works for his food with his father-in-law in the latter's kampong.

If the bride price is not paid, he may live in either kampong, and this is merely something which has to be agreed upon. Roy says that about half of such marriages follow patrilocal residence and about half matrilocal residence.

We

611 However, all children are descended patrilineally.
●583 That is, there is no ambil anak here. In any
614 case, the bride price must be paid eventually.
591 It may even take two generations to do this, but the debt is remembered and the books must finally be balanced. This eventuates as follows: If a man can't pay with tusks, he pays with a daughter. It may be any daughter, the first, second, or later daughter. If the man has no daughters, the debt remains and must be paid someday. But, she does not become a member of her mother's sib. She remains a member of her father's sib and marries as though she were a full member of it. That is, all that happens is that when she marries, her price goes to her mother's sib. This is a very peculiar arrangement, and it is purely for monetary reasons. The sons are called anak suku. The daughters are called anak gading ("elephant-tusk children"). Thus the price of a woman is either tusks or a daughter. The daughter who is given for the price may live matrilocally or patrilocally, depending on where her parents live.

582 There are some marriages between Wailolong
621 and other districts. Roy can think of cases
614 with Lewotala, Wolo, and Lewinga, and he thinks there are others. I asked him how they figure the marriage rules in such cases. He said that if there were already suku there which corresponded to those in the kampong, the situation was easily resolved. If previous marriage relations existed between the two areas, it is also a simple matter to figure out the marriage relations. If no previous marriage relations exist, it is easy to figure out anyway, as none of the rules applies. Thus Roy's brother married a girl from Roti whom he met on his travels. This was no problem, as she was far outside the
582 pattern area. What usually happens, however, is
584 that a boy, for example, sees a girl at the

We.

582 584 Larantuka market and likes her. He finds that she is from, for example, Lewotala. Then he tells his father, and the latter goes there and asks "whence her blood." If the relationship is not close, or there is a relationship but they figure it out to be all right, then they go ahead with arrangements (how these people work at their rules!) Anyway, when [583] they marry outside the area of the local pattern, they must pay a higher bride price in order "to fix it up." Thus, this is not the right thing to do, and it requires the same kind of thing in a way as a breach of exogamy. In a way, it is a breach of endogamy, in a sense that one should marry within the "adat belt."

"The Ordered World of Ili Mandiri."

582 621 Roy says that he believes that if more people traveled outside of the area there would be more marriages outside of the area. This might, I think, lead to a final confusion of the rules. To keep such a complex scheme going they have to keep the marriages from going out of bounds, where the rules are off. If the rules get far enough off they may go out of vogue.

Marriages outside of East Flores are very [484] rare, and only in a few cases has this happened. They have been local men who have traveled outside, for example, the few soldiers.

[609] There is not a single case of a marriage with foreigners.

582 178 The average marriage age used to be older. It might be even thirty or thirty-five for men. Now it tends to be anything over eighteen for girls and anything over twenty for boys. They still have the feeling against too early a marriage. They say that if the couple are too young, it is not good as the children will not be so healthy and it will not be too good for the health of the parents. Young people can marry more easily today because the children

R

624 like the marinyo of Ambon. I asked what the
465 secretary got, and he said cigarette money only. The pay is evidently very little.

583 Correction: Although he says there is no
614 case here now, he has found out that if the
611 bride price is not paid, the children are of
784 the suku of the mother. And the bride price must be paid at marriage. There is no post-marriage payment in order to get the children back. Thus there is real ambil anak here. The man remains a member of his own sib, and the wife a member of hers. Thus she assumes the "married woman" totem taboos of her own sib, not those of her husband's sib, as is the more usual thing.

346 I asked about the rumah berhala of Wolorec.
778 This group has a real house, and in it there
614 are four ana deo, two in bad repair. There is one for each of the four suku. There are no other suku in the kampong. There are also plenty of belongings in the house. It is rather large, about twelve meters on a side. There are baskets and other objects therein. This old kampong is only one kilometer off the road in the hills at kilometer 17. I may go there one day. The four suku are Mbonggi (the kepala kampong is from this), Djo'bi, Soa, and
[769] Woro. The oldest suku is Mbonggi. There is also a grave-bone shrine here, of the suku Djo'bi.

771 The folk here are now mostly Catholic, but
769 they do have an annual ancestor rite, and the Catholics attend too. The kampong Ratebedi, far off in the hills, has fewer Catholics, as is the case with the far off Bu'ube'i. The distant ones remain pagan longer.

872 Fifty years ago there was no school. It came
178 in 1921. No one went to school before this.
212 They were totally illiterate (this shows how
000 recently the schools came in here). They were

R

582 or father's father's father's sister's daughter's
835 daughter's son). However, the priests will give dispensation only with a certain amount of fuss here (unlike in Manggarai, where it is evidently easier because the Catholics are newer there and maybe they want to go slower at first).

583 A bride price must be paid for a good marriage, but the very poor folk may omit it, although they try to pay a little, and merely go and live together. The price is variana. Formerly it included tusks, money, animals (buffaloes, horses, cattle). They try to give these things now, but it is degenerating into money alone. The return gift is called tau laguana. The girl's family gives it. It usually includes properly a pair of gold earrings, gold beads, and formerly slaves. The price also formerly might have included slaves, I think. In addition, the girl's family gives a kind of "household outfitting" to the couple, including baskets, gear, food, and formerly slaves. This is like a dowry. Evidently it is also called laguana.

They say that if they did not give a return gift it would be like selling a slave.

[797] The church enforced a shift to more distant mother's brother's daughter type marriages.
[178] The price is much lower now, and this constitutes a big change in the last fifty years or
[565] so. In the old days, for a noble girl one might pay one hundred tusks, ten gold units, two slaves, etc. This depended on her rank.

582 Another change is the removal of the former
178 taboo on slave-noble marriages. In the old days,
565 an upper man might take as a concubine a slave
567 girl, but they seem pretty sure that he would
684 not ordinarily marry her, although he might do so. In the old days, however, if a slave man tried anything with a noble girl, it would mean that both of them would be put to death. This

R

582 has long since been tabooed by the government.
178 Nevertheless, I wonder if there is not a re-
565 luctance to marry a slave descendant. They
684 say that there used to be plenty of slaves
567 here and that they were obtained mainly by war.

They say that the Mohammedans have just
583 about given up the bride price here, but that the
184 Christians keep it up firmly. This is another example of the greater conservatism in some ways which the Christians demonstrate.

I wonder also if what a priest says may not be true: that the Catholic church has decided that the bride price is a good idea, as it solidifies the marriage bond, and why drive it out?

585 As for changes in the wedding procedure,
583 Migo gave me first the way a pagan marries today and the way everyone married formerly:

First the intermediaries sound out the girl's parents. If all is O.K., the parents get together and decide on the price. The wedding starts with the boy, with his best man, going to the house of the bride, and there her family kills a pig. The girl and her bridesmaid and the boy and his best man eat the pig or part of it that evening, and then the couple have their first sex relations in the girl's house. The next morning the boy goes home taking what is left of the pig and gives it to his family. That day he returns to the girl's house with his best man, leading a goat. This is presented to the girl's family and they eat it. That evening, the girl's family again kills a pig, and the four eat part of it and then the couple sleep together again. The next morning the boy goes home taking the remains of the pig to his family. He then returns with another goat and gives it to the girl's family. That evening a third pig is killed and the four eat of it and the pair sleep together. The next morning the

R

585 boy takes the remains of this pig to his family
●583 and comes back with a goat for the girl's family. Then comes up the fourth night and again the pig is killed and the next morning the boy's party comes with the fourth goat and all of the bride price stuff. Thus, in all, the boy's family has given four goats and the girl's family four pigs.

On this fourth day, the bride price is paid, and also the boy's family must bring a buffalo, which is killed. At this time both families, guests, and all notables of the kampong come to the feast and eat the buffalo. The girl's family provides all the food and drink except for the buffalo. The day of this feast, the girl's family calls all the people to come by beating gongs and drums. If they haven't any, they borrow them. For perhaps a week the pair
[591] sleep in the girl's house. This is until their household outfit (the dowry) is all ready, and then they go to the boy's house, where they will live. They bring also the return gift as well as the outfit, and indeed, the two seem to be parts of the same thing, the tau laguana, or return gift.

585 This rite is still observed by the pagans,
583 but the Catholics do it differently now. First
178 they pay the bride price. Then the priest announces banns for three Sundays. The date is set, and the day before, the two families each have a separate feast for their own guests at their own houses. The boy stays at his and the girl at hers. The two parties do not mix. The next day they all go to church for the wedding, and then, in procession, with music and dancing, they all go to the girl's house. There they have a big feast, provided by the girl's family. They dance, sing, eat, sing pantun, drink and have a good time. For perhaps a week the pair stay at the girl's house. This

R

585 is to get the outfit ready. The outfit is
● 583 provided by the girl's family. Then they go
178 to the boy's house to settle down. This represents a big change. Elopement was never an established custom here, and it does not exist today. Formerly, marriages were arranged, and the girls and boys simply obeyed. Nowadays, the young are consulted, but there is still plenty of prearranged marriage.

582 Sib exogamy is still favored in the majority,
614 by far. Formerly, this rule was very strong.
621 There are a few cases of endogamy with distant relatives, but not many. Formerly this never took place. Most marriages are inside the kampong. The only frequent exception is marriage with Watu Roga, across the street. There are plenty of marriages with Wanda suku, the main one there. Indeed, with the mother's brother's daughter arrangement, and so many Odja-Wanda marriages, it is just about a regular thing. Of course, however, there are plenty of Wanda people living in Roworeke too.

An extra-district marriage is very rare, except for Watu Roga, which happens to be in Lio, which is even in a different radjadom, although it is just across the street.

582 The average age for men at the time of mar-
178 riage is about twenty-five. Today, for women, the average age is twenty-one. And they insist that in the old days the average ages were much older. They said it was usual for a man to be well over thirty, and many women were thirty-five at the time they got married. The kapitan said that they "aged" much slower than they do today. He said that he didn't even have clothes until he was very old, relatively speak-
836 ing. I asked about virginity under these conditions, and he said that all women stayed virgins until they were married. If a husband found that his wife was not a virgin today, he would

R

614 that the exogamy taboo is off, as he still is
597 half Gusa. Also, he still must attend all suku ceremonies of Gusa, as well as those of his adopted suku Odja. Thus, indeed, he is a double-sibbed man. Note that he could become kapitan only via adoption, because only an Odja or a Rewarangga suku man can be, and this does not apply to a man of Gusa. This is a good case.

●583 In former times there was a strong force
178 behind the ruling which made a child marry anyone chosen by a father. This ruling has weakened, but still survives. The force, however, is no longer absolute. If a boy or girl remains adamant, the marriage is not forced. This is why they do not pay the bride price early any more, as they are not sure that the children will obey them when they are grown, and they stand to lose the payment for a non-fulfillment of contract. The bride price is paid, and that is all.

611 The system here is patrilineal, and there has been no shift away from this in any direction.

162 The sex ratio here is about equal, and this is approximately the same as it was before. They think this is all right.

586 There is no divorce here, and there never
583 was. They at once said, "why in the world do that, when the bride price of a woman is so high?" (A good substantiation of the priest's point that the bride price is a good thing in order to keep and strengthen the marriage bond!)

684 I asked what happens in a case of adultery. They said that formerly as well as today a man was satisfied with a fine, and gets this anyway. If the spouse catches the couple in the act, he can kill both of them. This is the same as before. The wrong party, always the man in the case, must pay the injured mate a

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684 fine. Evidence of a man adulterer is not good. I think he pays a fine to the wife, but I am not sure. Anyway, there was a case of a man in Ende who killed his wife when he caught her and a man in his room. The man escaped. The murderer got only a three months sentence.
[583] Although an injured man receives a fine, he does not get the bride price back, because he keeps the errant wife. If he kills her, he loses both the bride price and the wife, but he gets the fine anyway.

754 682 Note: This led easily into the matter of killing a suwanggi. They say that there are plenty of suwanggi here, and, although the government forbids killing them, they do it secretly. They just won't stand for them to get away with their witchcraft. The guru said that they wait until the suwanggi is alone in the garden and then kill him. And no one in the kampong will inform on them, he says. They do fear jail, however, and this reduces the number of suwanggi murders.

589 A widow may stay in the house of her husband. The children belong to his family. The same is true of a widower.

587 A very regular procedure is the levirate. There is no bride price in such a case. The brother merely takes in a widow or widows together with the children. It is a duty, and moreover they are pusaka of the family, as the old man paid for the women. I asked what the Catholics did about this, and he said this is all right if they merely take in a poor widow and her children, but they do not allow sex relations or marriage with her. Then he added slyly, but of course probably a man in such a position does have sexual relations with her secretly.

The sororate is also usual, although it is not required. However, if the pair has already

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789 unfulfillment of ancestral duties can cause ill-
753 ness too (note the illness fear theme; this is just right for these folk who are ill a good deal of the time). But there is no real kekuatan adjaib here.

567 There were many slaves here before, and this
582 applies even to twenty years ago (this is
178 probably a bit too late, I think). The regular
565 thing was for the father of a girl to include in the return gift at marriage, two slaves
[583] (like the "and two persons" still used in the formula for the bride price among the Buginese). There are slaves in the kampong now, but he thinks that only about two to three per cent of the population are so categorized. They are, and were, taken into the suku, but formerly there was little intermarriage with them, and then it was only between a higher man and a slave girl. If the reverse took place, the
[684] death punishment could be meted out. The marriage taboo is still in, but it is lessening, and even a boy of slave descent (if he is an excellent man and a good worker) may marry a higher girl. However, they are well known, and in general are still to be classed underneath. For example, they have to do certain duties (the guru said they are like "servants"; he used the Dutch word "jongens"). They live in houses with regular people, or perhaps in their own houses. Everyone knows who they are, but no mention is made of this because they reportedly get furious. This is a thing worth investigating further: exactly what are the duties, and exactly how are they thought of and what do they think of themselves, etc.? (Remember that in the United States no one really thinks of taunting Negroes with an open charge of being descended from slaves.)

565 There are few possibilities for class mo-
555 bility. There are some meager beginnings at

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565 men. He will fill these in. So far as I can see, all the "locals" of Weol are noted as "bangsawan." I must discuss this. The same thing happened in Roworeke. Evidently there is no real nobility in these places, only the eldest-son lineage, which takes the high of-
[114] fice. Maybe Linton is right in his hunch regarding the basis of Malayo-Polynesian social organization, that is, primogeniture. This checks with all the talk about the kuasa tinggi [high power] of the older branch, the kaka and
614 adi stuff, etc. As for totems, the key for
784 Weol (he uses the local totem names) is:

rutung	porcupine
kenti	a leafy vegetable
kula	a kind of big mouse
atju	dog
lusa	red bean
giro	a kind of firewood (no burning totem).

All of these are merely the main totems, but there are others. Thus Weol clan has the lusa, but also the thin bamboo taboo.

591 4. I must ask whether the men who have come
●583 to live matrilocally did so because they didn't pay the bride price. He says that this is mostly the case, but not always. He says that he will have to ask this carefully, as he can't ask men directly because they are ashamed if they have not paid the bride price. He must ask others, "Why does so and so live here with his wife?" Then the dirt will come out. These men are Nos. 40, 110, 116, 122, 123, 127, and 132. All of this led to a discussion of the situation.

217 The pagans do not have any registry of marriages. The Catholics do not have to register marriages with the government (thus no marriage

[See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

217 statistics are available for all of the people), but the pastor puts names down in the church book. There is not even a registry of births and deaths (as I think there is in Larantuka and Ende), but each year for taxes a census is taken, by asking how many children there are in a house, etc. I see that one could easily have a continuous census in most parts of Indonesia, as the units are so small, and the hierarchy of administration is so close knit. The kepala
[622] kampong knows everything in his kampong, and the kepala kampongs could report to the kepala district, and so on up.

●583 I noticed a case of a little girl of seven living in a house with her father's sister, who has a son. I asked, could this be a case of having already paid the price for this little girl? That is, has he already "taken possession of the goods"? He said that he didn't know, but said that this happens here (i.e., an early payment of the bride price for a little girl). This happens even when the girl is as young as five years. I must check on this case.

178 I talked with van Bekkum[h] about Kattenburg's
342 notion that in Manggarai, economy has advanced, but adat holds, whereas in other parts, economy has not changed but adat has changed. He thinks this is not a bad idea. And then he gave cases of how houses are rapidly becoming changed to the new type, and the old round ones are almost dying out. Also the way wet rice fields are
[241] spreading is most rapid, as is the spread of the use of the buffalo in agriculture. Note how, even in the new rectangular houses, if there is a rite held, the tuan tanah sits in the high spot, and although there is no more a center post, they put a stick up where it should be. (I can't help but think that the lodok must be linked with the center post of the old round houses, and I wonder if perhaps the wedges of

h [i.e. pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

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587 I must check on the following: If there is no levirate, must the new husband of a widow pay the full bride price, or what?

601 587 583 Note how the kinship terms reflect the levirate: the term for brother's wife is the same as for wife and for mother's brother's daughter, although the vocative terminology is different.

The sororate, although not required, is allowed. The bride price must be paid. Still, note how the kinship terms seem to reflect the sororate: the term for wife's sister is the same as for wife and mother's brother's daughter, although the vocative is different. Moreover, in regard to the levirate, the term for husband's brother is the same as for husband and father's sister's son, although the vocative is different.

Moreover, in regard to the sororate, the term for sister's husband is the same as for husband and father's sister's son, although the vocative is different.

587 583 In the case of the levirate, a token bride price is paid. I found this out the next day, and it may consist of one horse. But this is the same thing as no bride price. The brother has a special privilege on his dead brother's [262] widow. (They eat horses occasionally here.)

In the case of the sororate, however, the full bride price must be paid, as the girl is a new purchase.

601 He says there is a strong taboo against a girl calling her father's sister's son rona and a man calling his mother's brother's daughter vina. Not having any dictionary, I do not know if this is because there is an obscene connotation to these words for man and woman, but I doubt it, because they are used referentially. Evidently, it is just too forward. He said that it is cause for terrible shame if a child

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582 has several wives. (This shows the recency of
578 conversion here. Here is this smooth and smart
835 lad, almost sophisticated, one who could get
along almost anywhere in the world, whose father
is a completely benighted heathen. He says that
the family will be torn apart if one of the sons
835 does not marry the mother's brother's daughter.)

582 Then I asked what happens to the Catholics.
797 He said that usually they are given isin (dis-
[183] pensation), but the priests do not like it at
all. However, he saw the point when I said
that after all it was only one brother in a
family who had to get the dispensation, and
so maybe the church would not be too worried.

This led me to a speech, and I think the
point was not bad, and perhaps the priests
[182] think of it. If they destroy the mother's
brother's daughter marriage, the whole social
organization falls apart, as this is the keystone
all over Flores (and all through this part of
Indonesia, I think). If they do this, perhaps
the adat will fall apart and cause a breakdown
of all the good rules, from the Catholic view-
point. However, perhaps the reason is more
realistic, i.e., it is hard to get converts if
they make it too hard on the old adat.

Anyway, they can use the three generation
up and three generation down dodge to get a
classificatory mother's brother's daughter and
keep up the old system.

583 Then we got onto the records again and ran
591 into some trouble. But before that I note that
No. 167 is a girl who lives with her father's
sister. She may well be already spoken for and
even paid for, for the son of the latter. There
is a son of nearly the same age there.

There are several families in the kampongs
of outside origin in the case of both spouses
(46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62,
63, 64, 65). There are several men in Ndung

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583 who may not have paid the bride price, and that
591 is why they are living matrilocally (260, 285, 291, 296, 304, 347, and 352).

567 Then came the trouble. I saw that there
124 were no slaves on the list, yet Coolhaas[1] said there are many slaves here, especially in Rahong, this dalu. He said that this may be true, but that the people just will not tell him who might be descended from slaves. This is the trouble I get into by using a lad who is not from the kampong himself. But this brought up something else. He is very afraid of everything. Yesterday he wouldn't start work until he had permission from van Bekkum[2] in writing. Also, he worries today lest the inspector find anything wrong with his school work. And he is very much afraid of my asking embarrassing questions. I tried to get him to guess how many slaves there were in the kampong, but he would not. He wouldn't even say how many he thought there are in his own kampong. Maybe this is one of the sorest points here. Maybe it is because they themselves were so often enslaved by the kraeng and others and had to pay taxes in slaves to Bima. I tried to shame him into trying harder to give me some information on this by saying that I thought I would have to write that maybe Manggarai had few or no slaves because they were slaves themselves. This shook him, and he even admitted it in a way.

567 As far as I could get it, the system is something like this. In the kampongs Veol and Ndung there probably never were very many slaves, because these people were pretty poor before, and indeed they had to pay quite a bit in tribute to the alien rulers. It was even hard for them to keep slaves, perhaps, because they had to pay a tax in slaves (but this may not have been very much). Anyway, Cornelius[3] says there were plenty of slaves in some other places, and he

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e., pastor at Ruteng -- Analyst]
[3] [i.e., the assistant]

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533 797 [562] school[1] is overcrowded, and it is the only place where girls can rise above the lowest level in Manggarai. There were plenty of sisters around. The whole thing shows the good organization of the Catholics here.

[124] I used the last two days of work here to get through the rest of the schedule.

585 For weddings, the Christians go to church for a service as well as going through the old rites.

●583 Formerly the bride price was not payable in money, but today it is, in part. The bride price (padja) includes buffaloes, horses, and formerly copper or brass (?) boxes. There are no more of these last objects, and money has been substituted for them. Also, cattle are now used, but were not included formerly.

The return gift (vida) includes cloth, bracelets, ear ornaments, etc. Also included are small elephant teeth (used as pendants on bracelets). They are about two inches long. The bride price goes to the girl's family, and the return gift to the boy's family. Formerly the bride price was not very high. Today it is higher. An average bride price includes about five animals.

Both Catholics and pagans still pay the bride [591] price and make the return gift. If a bride [611] price is not paid, the couple must live matrilocally until it is paid. However, the children are always patrilineally descended.

582 614 The distances of mate selection are about the same as they were fifty years ago. There is a bit more marriage within the va'u, which was taboo before. However, the panga remain exogamous.

476 602 614 If the relatives-in-law live too far off, there is no real, actual mutual aid. If they are near, mutual aid is carried out between three groups: one's own va'u ana rona, and ana vina. The help comes especially in aiding a help-mate

1 [i.e., at Veol.—Analyst]

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582 people married earlier, because they got their
291 clothes earlier. Cornelius[1] says that until
178 about twenty-five years ago you could see quite old and young people going about naked. He remembers this. They do not like too young marriages (!). Also, they do not like them if the partners are too old.

[561] There are no age grades.

614 The Veol clan is very large, but there are clans which are even larger. Not a single clan has ever become extinct. However, some panga have. There is one such panga in Veol.

562 Formerly, the position of women was really
178 low, like that of slaves. Now they are a little
584 higher. Today there is a beginning in the direction of freer choice in marriage. Formerly all marriages were arranged by the elders.

611 The system here is all patrilineal, and there have been no changes.

162 In 1930, Cornelius[1] says, there were five thousand extra women in all Manggarai. I will check the records for the ratio.

587 The levirate obtains if there is a widow. If
768 there is no brother, her family must take her back, and pay one horse. The children stay with the dead father's family. If the levirate goes through, the man pays one horse.

[583] If a widow remarries to a man other than the brother of her deceased husband, the price must be paid to the family of the dead husband, and the "bonds" are "broken." The sororate is not required. The bride price is required in the case of a sororate. It is quite usual, because the sister of the deceased is accustomed to the widower and his children. The children of course stay with the father's family always.

586 There is not much divorce, but it did occur and still does.

[587] The main cause of divorce is discord, not barrenness, as in this case a man simply gets another wife.

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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585 all of the men in the kampong come on horses. The bride may not dismount nor touch the earth, but is lifted off on the saddle. At the threshold she steps off the saddle and crushes an egg under her foot. The groom enters too. Songs are sung and a pig is killed as she en-
[783] ters ("to clean her feet" meaning evidently to clean the soil of her home kampong off or to remove bonds therewith). This indeed is the rite that removes her totem taboo and makes her take on her husband's totem. It is called ela penteng pitak, which indeed means to clean off the mud. Thus she leaves the old and takes on the new tjek'i. Thus she has en-
[591] tered her husband's va'u. Then there is a feast and they live patrilocally.

583 If there is no bride price paid, the boy
591 merely goes and moves in with the girl's fam-
585 ily. There is no ceremony, or perhaps it is a
[124] little one. This is not regarded as nice (and note he says that he is afraid they might not tell him who in Veol and Ndung did not pay the bride price, as they are sensitive about this. He will send me a letter later about this and also about the percentage of mother's brother's daughter marriages). Only the poor people marry in this fashion.

When the bride price is finally paid, the real wedding ritual occurs as above. It may be ten years later. I made sure of this by laughingly saying that perhaps in such a case when they have the procession from the girl's to the boy's house their children go along too. And they said that that was correct. If the couple are Christian, they have a church wedding one day before the numpang. All the rest of the rite is the same.

864 There is no need for sex instruction, as the children see everything when they are still very young in these crowded houses. They are

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778 must give them respect and why the folk are scared
789 not to obey them. (Thus it is like the aradjang
171 in South Celebes.)

789 The guru really got going on magic power. He
721 said that they call on magic power especially
778 when they are going to war (and right now too).
769 If, for example, Wailolong were going to war tomorrow with Riang Kamiß as they did only some fifteen years ago, the respective radja tuan, kelake, and maybe even the molang would get to work the night before doing the magic stuff. Among the other things they would call on the ancestors for magic power and also go through the betel rubbing on face, bodies, etc. They would also kill animals and use gin, because blood and alcohol have power. Then, on the next morning, they would be full of magical power and would go to war. All the men would come to the "big houses" to be "treated."

778 These "big houses" of the suku and ama also
614 have sacred objects, including tusks, plates,
237 etc.

422 These tusks, all of them, are ama property.
583 If any member gains possession of one, he places it in the big house of his ama. Any man in need of some tusks for a bride price may take them. If the tusks of the ama are exhausted, he may draw on the tusks of the suku. Thus Kassi, who Vatter said had no tusks of his own, could not use any tusks because his ama no longer had any. He happened to be a member of the Hurint suku, and the guru, the kepala suku, gave him some finally from the suku store and thus he was able to get married.

583 The minimum price for any girl is five units
237 of tusks (I think this is a matter of length, that is, the small and large are reckoned up). One may pay more without limitation. It is not a matter of beauty.

584 Child betrothal is common here, but this is
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584 true no more for the Christians in Leloba. Here
184 they have only adult betrothal. In Wailolong,
however, there is still plenty of this child
betrothal business. This may take place at
the age of three to four years. They are told
of this when they are from five to six years old.
As children they think nothing of this until
584 they become older. Sometimes the tusks are paid
583 early; at other times they wait until actual
marriage. If the boy's father agrees to pay for
a girl and later the boy refuses, he must pay the
bride price anyway. In the old days, however,
a boy never refused, or almost never. The
younger brother of the guru hated the girl he
was betrothed to as a child and ran away to
Badjawa. His father paid the tusks anyway and
they were lost by so doing. Later the brother
married a woman from Roti.

621 The guru was the first man from the Belakang
582 Gunung [behind the mountain] area (consisting
of eight kampongs) who married a Larantuka woman.
His wife was from Balela. Later, the present
kakang (who is a Leloba man) married a woman from
Balela too. Balela is a foothill kampong now a
part of Larantuka town.

595 A man may have up to three wives, but no more.

The guru's father had much magic power. He
789 was the panglima perang [war leader] here. He
776 had familiar spirits who helped him and usually
178 he alone saw them. Other people would see them
825 sometimes. Thus the guru heard a noise like a
horse in front of the house one night when he
was young. He looked out and there stood a
buffalo. There are no buffaloes in this area.
He called his father and the latter told him to
shut up. This buffalo was one of his father's
familiars. Another time the guru was in the
fields with his father and heard stones rattling.
He saw a crocodile. There are no crocodiles here
either. He called his father, and again his

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000 they might try reasoning with them, they would go no further.

584 762 The same story holds for marriage. If a child does not like his parent's choice of a mate, the marriage does not occur. There have been a few cases, however, of suicide (always by hanging) on the part of both men and women, because of desperate love and mismarriage. This is interesting, and if I have the time I will try to get these cases down.

582 835 614 178 The marriage system is the thing, and it is exogamous with complicated rules. There has been no change. Even the very few cases of endogamy have not increased. The only thing that has been modified is the fact that there is no longer an allowance of blood mother's brother's daughter marriage. This is a Catholic taboo. This is true at least in Leloba, although I am not sure about Wailolong. They have to be careful to have fourth grade distance (that is, third cousins, via great grandparents). What the system allows is the choice of a mother's brother's daughter (that is, married into the suku of the man's mother) or married into one or two other suku of the ama linked with his suku by marriage. Thus a boy of Hurint Demong (the guru's may marry Belemang, Belepe Lolong A, or Waktukang Keleng. If his mother was Belemang, this would work out all right. In the old days, this would have been the best thing for him, that is, a girl of his mother's group (I want a girl just like the girl that married dear old dad). This is because of the good relations already, and anyway they like these close and reinforced linkages in suku relationships. It is not a matter of bringing back the tusks more rapidly, as one needs to make three moves anyway, and they can do this if they marry in any other group aside from the mother's. But, even in the old days, though this mother's brother's daughter

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611 However, all children are descended patrilineally.
583 That is, there is no ambil anak here. In any
614 case, the bride price must be paid eventually.
591 It may even take two generations to do this, but the debt is remembered and the books must finally be balanced. This eventuates as follows: If a man can't pay with tusks, he pays with a daughter. It may be any daughter, the first, second, or later daughter. If the man has no daughters, the debt remains and must be paid someday. But, she does not become a member of her mother's sib. She remains a member of her father's sib and marries as though she were a full member of it. That is, all that happens is that when she marries, her price goes to her mother's sib. This is a very peculiar arrangement, and it is purely for monetary reasons. The sons are called anak suku. The daughters are called anak gading ("elephant-tusk children"). Thus the price of a woman is either tusks or a daughter. The daughter who is given for the price may live matrilocally or patrilocally, depending on where her parents live.

582 There are some marriages between Wailolong
621 and other districts. Roy can think of cases
614 with Lewotala, Wolo, and Lewinga, and he thinks there are others. I asked him how they figure the marriage rules in such cases. He said that if there were already suku there which corresponded to those in the kampong, the situation was easily resolved. If previous marriage relations existed between the two areas, it is also a simple matter to figure out the marriage relations. If no previous marriage relations exist, it is easy to figure out anyway, as none of the rules applies. Thus Roy's brother married a girl from Roti whom he met on his travels. This was no problem, as she was far outside the
582 pattern area. What usually happens, however, is
584 that a boy, for example, sees a girl at the

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582 584 Larantuka market and likes her. He finds that she is from, for example, Lewotala. Then he tells his father, and the latter goes there and asks "whence her blood." If the relationship is not close, or there is a relationship but they figure it out to be all right, then they go ahead with arrangements (how these people work at their rules!) Anyway, when [583] they marry outside the area of the local pattern, they must pay a higher bride price in order "to fix it up." Thus, this is not the right thing to do, and it requires the same kind of thing in a way as a breach of exogamy. In a way, it is a breach of endogamy, in a sense that one should marry within the "adat belt."

"The Ordered World of Ili Mandiri."

582 621 Roy says that he believes that if more people traveled outside of the area there would be more marriages outside of the area. This might, I think, lead to a final confusion of the rules. To keep such a complex scheme going they have to keep the marriages from going out of bounds, where the rules are off. If the rules get far enough off they may go out of vogue.

Marriages outside of East Flores are very [484] rare, and only in a few cases has this happened. They have been local men who have traveled outside, for example, the few soldiers.

[609] There is not a single case of a marriage with foreigners.

582 178 The average marriage age used to be older. It might be even thirty or thirty-five for men. Now it tends to be anything over eighteen for girls and anything over twenty for boys. They still have the feeling against too early a marriage. They say that if the couple are too young, it is not good as the children will not be so healthy and it will not be too good for the health of the parents. Young people can marry more easily today because the children

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582 become competent earlier. They learn to work
178 earlier now. Roy[1] says that the school helps in getting them trained at an earlier age and they begin to weave and do other tasks sooner.

836 I jumped on this to see if there was much
178 premarital sex, and he said that it was extremely
684 rare. He said that as far as this is concerned there has not been much change. I pressed, and Kattenburg got the kepala kampong aside and tried to pump him. They remained adamant, however. It is just very rare. Even when a man is not married until he is thirty-five, they claim he does not engage in sexual promiscuity. There is no prostitution here and none in Larantuka either. And anyway, they never go anywhere where they might get girls. There are very strong taboos on premarital sex. (He said that the girls would lose their name, which indicates that it has happened, perhaps.)

584 But there is an exception which came out
836 when he told of two ways to get married. These are the two: (1) Prearranged and regular marriages. This type counts for most cases. (2) Boy likes girl and begins to hang around her house at night. He slips a cloth or something into her sleeping place and she asks who is there. He tells, and if she doesn't like him she tells him to go away. If she is willing to talk, they talk, and this may go on at night for as long as five years. If a girl has several such suitors, she sends all except one away, and he keeps on having dates. Perhaps the parents do not find out about this, or perhaps in singing and gossip it comes out that they are "going together." At this point a marriage may be arranged. Or, and here comes in the premarital sex practices, the girl may at least let the boy in and they have sexual intercourse. As soon as her parents discover them, marriage must take place. (Also, I suppose, if she be-

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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584 comes pregnant.) This sexual activity is about
836 the same as marriage anyway, as it leads finally to marriage. And anyway, there is no adat rite of marriage. What happened in the
584 old days and what still goes on among the
836 pagans is simply that one day, when everything
178 is all right, the girl is brought to the boy's
178 house, and the couple simply moves in. There is no ceremony.

Nowadays, with Catholicism, and with prearranged marriages, they have a church rite before they sleep together. But the other type of marriage goes on, and in this case they just confess and get married after having slept together. This is a pretty case. And even
595 prettier is the case of polygyny. In the old
178 days this was more frequent, but even now there
183 are Christians who have more than one wife. In this case the first one is married in church, but the second can have no church rites. (As he says, she has no sacramen.)

They are very prudish about molesting girls
684 (ganggu). If, for example, a boy squeezes the
832 breast of a girl, and even if she likes it and
721 says nothing, her father and brothers, if they
128 hear about it, go to his house and kill his
627 animals and break up his tusks. They get directly at his property (and that of his ama or suku too) thus, and so it hurts. He has molested their property, and they get back at him in the same way. This might lead to war, and often did in the old days. Note that he mentions as the second most frequent cause of war that of molesting women.

He gave a fine case of trouble between kam-
832 pongs resulting from such a case. In his youth
684 three girls from Leloba were molested by boys
628 from another kampong. The girls were getting water. The father and brothers of the girls became angry and smashed up the belongings of

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562 but the men have a slight edge on the women. They are more "important." In rights, privileges, etc., they are equal. There is no abuse of women, and they are supreme in their own spheres; it is just that the men's sphere seems to be a bit more important. Women scold and shout and order the men around. They are not
[593] suppressed. If, for example, a man drinks too much, his wife will simply stop fixing his food and he will quickly come around and apologize.

Formerly, most marriages were prearranged.
●584 This is less true today. Indeed, there was much
178 more forced marriage before, and I get the idea
882 that it is rare for one to show resistance when faced with a parental choice. There were cases
[762] of suicide (male and female) and running away. In the old days, the regular thing was for the parents to fix up everything by themselves. Today, more and more of the boys and girls speak up telling whom they like so that the parents learn of this before they try to fix up the marriage arrangement. Thus the initiative is shifting from the parents to the children.

I get the idea that there was quite a lot of trouble in the old days in this regard. Perhaps this was more pronounced as new ideas came in, if such an expression can be used for this stagnant place. For example, Roy's brother ran away.

764 At this point there was a funeral. The other
[177] guru had excused himself, and then we heard a low chant approaching, in the local language. It sounded like the Latin chanting the Catholics do in procession (an obvious imitation of the priests' chanting, in the local language). Then a line of people appeared, two by two, with a bamboo coffin of a little child on a litter, and behind this the guru with a sheet on, which had been made into a kind of cloak, resembling that of a priest. Behind him came the mourners. The

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842 family." This shows [a] the belligerent nature
181 of these people and [b] their distrust of most
[578] other people). Girls are good for weaving, house work, and for the bride price that they bring in. When I pressed the matter, they said that perhaps it was better actually to have a few more girls than boys, because of the money they bring in. This is different from Larantuka, and perhaps shows the greedy nature of these folk. They don't like all girls or all boys.

842 They have no knowledge or idea of limiting the number of children. As usual I told them about birth control in the United States, and they were very much surprised. They seem to have heard vaguely that there may be some sort of medicine used to prevent having children, but they never think of using it.

163 They are unclear, but they think that the
178 average number of births per woman is between five and six. This may reflect the late marriage age here. Of these, three or four live (perhaps the population here is indeed relatively stationary). They think there has been little change in this regard, and this may be true, as it seems to be about as dirty and uncared for medically as it was before, or at least there has been no great improvement. They said that a great number of children die in infancy.

855 There was a chorus of agreement to the ef-
887 fect that the mother is the important one here. The father is away working all the time. Old women help in caring for the children.

584 There is no modern courtship. Intermediaries are used.

581 Although they do not like ugly women in a showdown, the ugly worker wins over the pretty drone. In fact, they think first about her skill as a worker and second in terms of her

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624 gendang (the aradjang pattern) from the head tuan tanah of the original kampong.

166 609 [443] [335] The groups of people who visit the village more or less regularly (actually only occasionally) are as follows: (1) pastors, (2) traders to buy stock, Chinese, Arabs, etc., (3) a Chinese pedlar who comes with a coolie carrying a pack, (4) government men, and (5) specialist carpenters who come to build houses.

They stay for a short time only, except for the carpenters, who stay for about two months.

One other class is important. It comprises the outsiders who have gardens in the kampong. They come to work in their gardens, stay awhile and leave. They sleep with the kampong folk as their guests.

[584] Family relationships are definitely interrupted by migration. Usually one starts the ball rolling by marriage or by buying a garden, and then relatives follow. This is important in regard to marriage because the young folk become acquainted in this way. It is a case of "propinquity".

166 609 518 The immigrants must follow the local adat absolutely. They take part in the same rituals, pay the tributes of the land, etc. Thus there is no trouble. However, there are occasional difficulties in managing the gardens. For example, the local people become jealous of the outsiders who have big crops, or argue one way or the other. There is not much trouble, however, and usually things are quite serene.

[783] There are no specific ideas about the outside world. Still, when one returns after a long stay in some other place, they have a rite to "clean the dirt." I am informed that there is no opposition shown toward those who accept the outsiders. However, I wonder if there may not be at certain times. Evidently there is no policy of "exclusion," and my guess is that if outsiders are not welcome they are told so and that is all.

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582 people married earlier, because they got their
291 clothes earlier. Cornelius[1] says that until
178 about twenty-five years ago you could see quite old and young people going about naked. He remembers this. They do not like too young marriages (!). Also, they do not like them if the partners are too old.

[561] There are no age grades.

614 The Veol clan is very large, but there are clans which are even larger. Not a single clan has ever become extinct. However, some panga have. There is one such panga in Veol.

562 Formerly, the position of women was really
178 low, like that of slaves. Now they are a little
584 higher. Today there is a beginning in the direction of freer choice in marriage. Formerly all marriages were arranged by the elders.

611 The system here is all patrilineal, and there have been no changes.

162 In 1930, Cornelius[1] says, there were five thousand extra women in all Manggarai. I will check the records for the ratio.

587 The levirate obtains if there is a widow. If
768 there is no brother, her family must take her back, and pay one horse. The children stay with the dead father's family. If the levirate goes through, the man pays one horse.

[583] If a widow remarries to a man other than the brother of her deceased husband, the price must be paid to the family of the dead husband, and the "bonds" are "broken." The sororate is not required. The bride price is required in the case of a sororate. It is quite usual, because the sister of the deceased is accustomed to the widower and his children. The children of course stay with the father's family always.

586 There is not much divorce, but it did occur and still does.

[587] The main cause of divorce is discord, not barrenness, as in this case a man simply gets another wife.

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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586 another wife.

In the case of adultery on the part of a
586 woman, a fine must be paid to the grieved hus-
684 band. The wife pays only a little, her paramour
562 a lot. In the case of a man committing adultery, there is no fine or punishment of any sort. The wife may be angry, but that is all.

A man may divorce an errant wife, but there is no bride price return. This just about never occurs. A man is satisfied with the fine.

Adat here does not allow for killing an adulterous couple caught in the act. This may be done later, but it is still not allowed, and not condoned. The payment of a fine is the thing here.

If a divorce is requested by a man, there is no repayment of the bride price, and he must pay one horse. If a wife asks for a divorce, the price must be repaid. The children always stay with the father's family.

842 The people here like many children; the more the better. There is no set limitation. When I talk about birth control, often, all over they say about condoms that they are "like the Japanese use." He was surprised about other methods of birth control. Until now there has been no thought of limitation.

Cornelius[1] says that about ten children are
[163] born per woman, but only about half or a little more live to adulthood. Sons are more important. If a couple has only one child, they prefer a son. A few more sons than daughters are wanted. Va'u and bride price considerations are important.

868 When the children are very young the mother takes care of their education. Then the children follow the parent of the same sex and learn their roles and work.

584 There is just about no courtship. Formerly
178 marriages were all prearranged. Now, most frequently the young people tell their parents

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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584 whom they like. They always used and still use
178 intermediaries for the approach. There is never a chance for much acquaintance before marriage.

581 In marriage the main thing wanted is a good
276 worker, by both sexes. Secondly, they want good behavior and good nature. Looks are very unimportant for both. I notice this, and it may be a reason why betel mouths are of no consequence. But I do notice that the prettiest young women I see (the head guru's wife and the mandur's wife) do not use betel. Maybe they are beginning to think of their appearance a bit. I asked him if the men here think the guru's wife is pretty. He said not especially so. She happens to be a beauty. I said that in the United States she would be so regarded, and he seemed embarrassed at the whole talk. They evidently don't go into such questions very much if at all.

836 About ten to twenty-five per cent of the women here are not virgins at marriage, but he says, how can he tell? This is his guess. They do it in the dark. A girl can ruin her name in this fashion, but they do it secretly. If a bride is not a virgin, there is no fuss. He insisted that there is no special feeling about it, which seems a bit queer. He said that perhaps there is a bit more sex now, but he is very uncertain. About fifty per cent of the men are not virgins at marriage. There is not much sex with widows, mainly with those who are young girls. But there was a bit of talk about widows, and it seems that there are cases. If
[848] a bastard is born, the mother looks for a husband. If she can't find a man who is willing to marry her, the children merely enter the girl's family. Cornelius[1] doesn't know of a case in Veol.

584 An adat wedding first involves an intermediary to sound out whether the marriage will be

[1] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

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584 all right with the girl and her parents. If all is all right, the boy and his family go to the girl's house. There they exchange betel ingredients, talk around a lot, and then edge in to the essential business. They never get explicit, however. This is all done in a very circumlocutory manner. Children sitting around never know what they are talking about. Thus they talk about "needing to build a good fence." Thus the price is set. They start by saying that they need so much to build a fence, and the boy's family says so much money, up to fl. 5.00, gradually. As this is added on, the girl's family keeps on saying that they need more and more to make the fence stronger. Thus they say they need "five trees," i.e., five buffaloes or horses. The relation of the money to animals is set. For each horse
[435] the value is fl. 2.50, and for each buffalo it is fl. 5.00. The day is set for about a week hence, and it must be a "good" day (evidently they do not use professional soothsayers). Everything is prepared. Thus the family goes home, and the boy stays at the girl's house and works. However, he doesn't sleep with or talk much with the girl.

585 On the wedding day the family of the boy (but not his parents) come again, bringing animals and money. All are well dressed, and so is the boy. The bride price (patja) is paid, and then come the rites (umbur). Pigs are killed (provided by the girl's family, one for each horse or buffalo in the bride price), there is eating and there is drinking. The pigs are killed in front of the house, while the pair sit together inside. This goes on for one day and they are thus married. This rite is called numpang or atjar nao vase vunut (the latter means "fence of nao wood, with idjuk rope," i.e., "the fence is secured with rope").

582 rule. There is also a taboo on father's sister's daughter marriage.

(Lalong kampong is not far to the northeast from Weol.)

582 583 There may be a system here, but they are sure that it is not a mere three move thing like what we found in Larantuka. In fact, I asked about this, and they said that it was impossible (that is, for example, Weol women to Tjepang, Tjepang women to Lalong, and Lalong women back to Weol; this is impossible, i.e. the last move). In fact, there does seem to be a system, as he said even four moves is not possible, but five moves may be. Also, when I described the Larantuka figuring on how to get around the bride price by arranging a series of marriages, he said this type of talk is done here but that the price must always be delivered even though the books might balance in the long run. In Larantuka they can wait, but here they must make actual payment (though theoretically the same horses and buffaloes might some day come back to the original giver).

583 It is true that the bride price must be in horses, buffaloes, and money. The return gift is in women's ware, that is, pigs, cloth, and ornaments. In value, the women's ware return gifts are far less than the former. Coolhaas [114] was wrong to assume that perhaps fowls were included in the return gift.

562 181 The assistant saw the point of a male-female dualism in the whole society, but he is not sure that it is entirely so. He agreed that it is a good hunch.

231 585 At the marriage feast they kill animals. Usually about ten pigs are killed and the normal custom does not include other animals.

114 585 565 The wedding rites described by Coolhaas (page 351) are all right, but the amounts quoted are for the upper classes. The lowers have

[See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

114 We
[585] exactly the same rites and all moves are the
[565] same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas'
[784] word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate
[614] ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).
[286] In addition to the technical totem taboos given by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 614 I note on the map that place names recur often all over Manggarai, especially not far away. These are clan names, which are given to kampongs founded by split offs from the mother kampong. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 578 632 648 186 The mandur said there is criticism of the Radja today because he is not "one hundred per cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, although somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud of this Minangkabau story while at the same time it may harm them in light of Manggarai nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes says that when the Dutch were trying to select a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not a contented area and that the people there wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may see a possible chance of paying off old scores. This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where self-governing setups led to exploitation of lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may try to raise themselves up to a parity level and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask questions, and they will reply without first going through a translator. However, the reply

[See bibliography, cat. 1B--Analyst]

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581 all it is a matter of proper behavior and secondly one of good work. There are no taboos
[565] on interclass marriages. Note that slave descendants are placed in the system. Above all they do not want a lazy mate. The rank is the same for both sexes: behavior, work, and personal appearance. As the guru said, "How in hell could we have clothes if the wives were not always weaving? We can buy shirts and pants only rarely, as money is dear. Therefore, they must weave sarongs, etc." It is a simple necessity. I said, "Well then, as long as a girl is a good worker and is well behaved, you would like to marry her even if her face is like that of an animal." This literally raised the roof, and all of them laughed, including the flat-faced but attractive daughter. "Oh well," they said, "if she really has a face like a monkey, that's a different thing." They are absolutely adamant, however, that mere prettiness is not enough. If a girl is very attractive, but is bad on other points, no one wants her as a mate. They might like it, but they just can't afford it.

836 Roy said that nearly all women here are virgins at the time of their marriage (except the pairs who had sexual relations before, but these marry anyway). This goes for the men as well as the women. I asked what would happen if a man found that his wife was not a virgin. He said that he wouldn't make a fuss about it, but that the "marriage would probably not be happy." These little indications show me that there must be a lot of fooling around to give him any chance to answer at all.

585 The only marriage ceremonies here are those
177 of the church, and they are of recent origin. There is no native marriage ceremony here. This must be very unusual in Indonesia. There is not even a ceremonial meal.

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582 has long since been tabooed by the government.
178 Nevertheless, I wonder if there is not a re-
565 luctance to marry a slave descendant. They
684 say that there used to be plenty of slaves
567 here and that they were obtained mainly by war.

583 They say that the Mohammedans have just
about given up the bride price here, but that the
184 Christians keep it up firmly. This is another
example of the greater conservatism in some
ways which the Christians demonstrate.

I wonder also if what a priest says may not be true: that the Catholic church has decided that the bride price is a good idea, as it solidifies the marriage bond, and why drive it out?

585 As for changes in the wedding procedure,
583 Migo gave me first the way a pagan marries to-
day and the way everyone married formerly:

First the intermediaries sound out the girl's parents. If all is O.K., the parents get together and decide on the price. The wedding starts with the boy, with his best man, going to the house of the bride, and there her family kills a pig. The girl and her bridesmaid and the boy and his best man eat the pig or part of it that evening, and then the couple have their first sex relations in the girl's house. The next morning the boy goes home taking what is left of the pig and gives it to his family. That day he returns to the girl's house with his best man, leading a goat. This is presented to the girl's family and they eat it. That evening, the girl's family again kills a pig, and the four eat part of it and then the couple sleep together again. The next morning the boy goes home taking the remains of the pig to his family. He then returns with another goat and gives it to the girl's family. That evening a third pig is killed and the four eat of it and the pair sleep together. The next morning the

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585 boy takes the remains of this pig to his family
583 and comes back with a goat for the girl's family. Then comes up the fourth night and again the pig is killed and the next morning the boy's party comes with the fourth goat and all of the bride price stuff. Thus, in all, the boy's family has given four goats and the girl's family four pigs.

On this fourth day, the bride price is paid, and also the boy's family must bring a buffalo, which is killed. At this time both families, guests, and all notables of the kampong come to the feast and eat the buffalo. The girl's family provides all the food and drink except for the buffalo. The day of this feast, the girl's family calls all the people to come by beating gongs and drums. If they haven't any, they borrow them. For perhaps a week the pair
[591] sleep in the girl's house. This is until their household outfit (the dowry) is all ready, and then they go to the boy's house, where they will live. They bring also the return gift as well as the outfit, and indeed, the two seem to be parts of the same thing, the tau laguana, or return gift.

585 This rite is still observed by the pagans,
583 but the Catholics do it differently now. First
178 they pay the bride price. Then the priest announces banns for three Sundays. The date is set, and the day before, the two families each have a separate feast for their own guests at their own houses. The boy stays at his and the girl at hers. The two parties do not mix. The next day they all go to church for the wedding, and then, in procession, with music and dancing, they all go to the girl's house. There they have a big feast, provided by the girl's family. They dance, sing, eat, sing pantun, drink and have a good time. For perhaps a week the pair stay at the girl's house. This

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585 is to get the outfit ready. The outfit is
583 provided by the girl's family. Then they go
178 to the boy's house to settle down. This represents a big change. Elopement was never an established custom here, and it does not exist today. Formerly, marriages were arranged, and the girls and boys simply obeyed. Nowadays, the young are consulted, but there is still plenty of prearranged marriage.

582 Sib exogamy is still favored in the majority,
614 by far. Formerly, this rule was very strong.
621 There are a few cases of endogamy with distant relatives, but not many. Formerly this never took place. Most marriages are inside the kampong. The only frequent exception is marriage with Watu Roga, across the street. There are plenty of marriages with Wanda suku, the main one there. Indeed, with the mother's brother's daughter arrangement, and so many Odja-Wanda marriages, it is just about a regular thing. Of course, however, there are plenty of Wanda people living in Roworeke too.

An extra-district marriage is very rare, except for Watu Roga, which happens to be in Lio, which is even in a different radjadom, although it is just across the street.

582 The average age for men at the time of mar-
178 riage is about twenty-five. Today, for women, the average age is twenty-one. And they insist that in the old days the average ages were much older. They said it was usual for a man to be well over thirty, and many women were thirty-five at the time they got married. The kapitan said that they "aged" much slower than they do today. He said that he didn't even have clothes until he was very old, relatively speak-
836 ing. I asked about virginity under these conditions, and he said that all women stayed virgins until they were married. If a husband found that his wife was not a virgin today, he would

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527 risk, and one must tread warily and devoutly.
241 Observing all the rites and showing respect for the most important thing of all, food, is the proper thing.

[782] There are also feasts to ask for rain (held at the korke), and against widespread illness (also at the korke), for a new korke, for a new kebang, and for a new "big house."

Note that most of the agricultural rites occur in the fields.

Once in about every nine to ten years they have a great thanksgiving feast, if the crops are good.

[851] A small feast is given when a child is born, but there is no animal sacrifice. If twins are born, however, an animal is cut. Note the gladness displayed at the increase or income of any kind whatsoever, including an additional human being.

●[585] There is no marriage feast at all in the old adat.

The biggest feasts are those held at harvest, for a new korke, and the thanksgiving feast.

[171] Note that the Toradja have the thanksgiving feast too, and I saw the start of it there.

[346] The new korke feast is now given when they have a new church!

346 Note the way that the church links with the
614 old cult. I remember almost the first thing I
177 heard here was from the priest who said that the new church is being partly paid for by selling the tusks of the families whose carelessness caused the fire which burned the old church. He also said in the church, both in the old and the new, there are the signs of the four main suku. They have their place in the church. And I suppose they will cut up animals for the new church too. If so this sort of takes the wind out of the argument against constructing a new korke, namely, that it would cause too much of a waste of animals.

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536 the rites of the agricultural cycle, etc., are highly dramatic). Weaving is probably the
286 most active art.

There are three kinds of dancing.

The hard work in this area is done from Janu-
221 ary to March. This is the growing season. They
784 work hard and steadily in the gardens and are tired at night and have to sleep early. Also, there is a taboo on making noise during this time. It is the time of "work and quiet." This links with beliefs about rice, corn, etc. souls, which must be handled carefully. But then, in July, August, September comes the big time for feasts, dancing, singing, especially at the time of full moon. Then they have lots of fun. After that the quiet time starts again after a tapering off.

They know just about nothing about foreign
20 sports, etc. My theory is that the lack of movies is the main reason for this. There are also no books, magazines or papers. There is no way of finding out about such things. There
533 is plenty of riddling and song games, like
538 pantun. This is done especially in forms which are sung. The same holds for stories. They are told especially by singing. The stories are sung during the great thanksgiving feasts that come perhaps once every nine or ten years. One story may last a month. Every incident in a past period will be told, with all persons indicated by name, their relationships with other people involved, and everything that happened in every kampong, etc. These are evidently true epics on a small-distance scale. These are "local epics." Such a tale may tell everything that happened over a period of twenty generations. Most tales are told about the ancestors (the sistim again; it permeates everything).

585 I forgot to say that Roy says that marriages
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585 come mainly in the "free months" after harvest,
[221] that is, July, August, September. (Note here
796 that the tuno wudjo fasting period comes in,
261 which he said lasts for about six months. It
just jibes with the quiet time.)[1]

Head-hunting was done formerly for a feast
721 for a new korke (they can't do it for the new
346 church; too bad!). I have already mentioned
178 how they would give the new posts of a korke
782 some food if the posts did not fit into the
rafter holes. This showed that they were hungry. Formerly the food given was human heads. They were hung in the korke. (I suspect there was more of this than Roy[2] says, but he is honest, and perhaps this simply was not done during his time.)

[241] I asked about the blood and the heads needed for making the land fertile and the crops plentiful, etc. He was very vague about this, and my guess is that it is not native in this area. Still, I note the tuno wudjo myth. But this may indeed be a Lio importation. Anyway, they know the connection between blood, human sacrifice, and "fat land." There must be a link here.

226 He says there is no cannibalism here. He
727 says Seegeler[3] was wrong to suspect that they ate parts of the human beings killed in human sacrifice. In fact, he says they didn't even have the human sacrifice. But then he hedged a bit when I reminded him how the Keweluk had forbidden the killing of the Padji women. Then he corrected my previous version of this tale and said that when they had these wars, they didn't, as I thought, kill half the defeated at once and bring the other half back to the kampong and there kill them. He said that actually what they did was to kill only one person and bring the head back. Thus, in the Padji case, they killed one woman and brought her head back. It

[1] [i.e., January-June; see category 116, p. 276, #2 --Analyst]
[2] [the assistant] [3] [a former Controleur --Analyst]

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533 797 [562] school[1] is overcrowded, and it is the only place where girls can rise above the lowest level in Manggarai. There were plenty of sisters around. The whole thing shows the good organization of the Catholics here.

[124] I used the last two days of work here to get through the rest of the schedule.

585 For weddings, the Christians go to church for a service as well as going through the old rites. 583 Formerly the bride price was not payable in money, but today it is, in part. The bride price (padja) includes buffaloes, horses, and formerly copper or brass (?) boxes. There are no more of these last objects, and money has been substituted for them. Also, cattle are now used, but were not included formerly.

The return gift (vida) includes cloth, bracelets, ear ornaments, etc. Also included are small elephant teeth (used as pendants on bracelets). They are about two inches long. The bride price goes to the girl's family, and the return gift to the boy's family. Formerly the bride price was not very high. Today it is higher. An average bride price includes about five animals.

Both Catholics and pagans still pay the bride [591] price and make the return gift. If a bride [611] price is not paid, the couple must live matrilocally until it is paid. However, the children are always patrilineally descended.

582 614 The distances of mate selection are about the same as they were fifty years ago. There is a bit more marriage within the va'u, which was taboo before. However, the panga remain exogamous.

476 602 614 If the relatives-in-law live too far off, there is no real, actual mutual aid. If they are near, mutual aid is carried out between three groups: one's own va'u ana rona, and ana vina. The help comes especially in aiding a help-mate

1 [i.e., at Veol.—Analyst]

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476 to obtain the bride price, but also in such
602 cases as the building of a new big house. The
614 va'u helps with the costs of a wedding feast.
[585] The rona get animals for their women, and the vina give animals for theirs. The return gifts go in the opposite direction: the rona give the gifts and the vina receive them.

I get the impression that there is more to it than just this simple roundabout exchange. Thus, a family has several relations of rona and vina, and the same ones will not always be involved in a given marriage. The ones not directly involved evidently help out, or can be called upon to help in a marriage in which they are not directly involved. But this is not too clear to me. Cornelius[1] says that the whole thing is quite a burden, as when they are called upon they must give this aid. The nearer the groups live, the more they are called upon. If they are far off, this is not too much of a burden.

582 There are no marriages here with foreigners,
563 but in other places a few Manggarai women have married Chinese men. These are definitely not liked. They are "lost." They are outside the adat and the magic circle.

582 At the time of marriage, local males are six-
291 teen (some are fifteen to twenty-one years old.
178 The majority fall within the age groupings sixteen to seventeen. Females, at the time of their marriage, are fourteen to twenty years old. Formerly they married later. The youngest was about nineteen (I think this was for males). He says that this was because they "got clothes" when they were older. The boys did not even wear loincloths until about the age of sixteen. The girls wore only a little cloth from about the age of twelve on. This was because it was so hard to get clothes. They married only two to three years after getting clothes. The rich

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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584 all right with the girl and her parents. If all is all right, the boy and his family go to the girl's house. There they exchange betel ingredients, talk around a lot, and then edge in to the essential business. They never get explicit, however. This is all done in a very circumlocutory manner. Children sitting around never know what they are talking about. Thus they talk about "needing to build a good fence." Thus the price is set. They start by saying that they need so much to build a fence, and the boy's family says so much money, up to fl. 5.00, gradually. As this is added on, the girl's family keeps on saying that they need more and more to make the fence stronger. Thus they say they need "five trees," i.e., five buffaloes or horses. The relation of the money to animals is set. For each horse [435] the value is fl. 2.50, and for each buffalo it is fl. 5.00. The day is set for about a week hence, and it must be a "good" day (evidently they do not use professional soothsayers). Everything is prepared. Thus the family goes home, and the boy stays at the girl's house and works. However, he doesn't sleep with or talk much with the girl.

585 On the wedding day the family of the boy (but not his parents) come again, bringing animals and money. All are well dressed, and so is the boy. The bride price (patja) is paid, and then come the rites (umbur). Pigs are killed (provided by the girl's family, one for each horse or buffalo in the bride price), there is eating and there is drinking. The pigs are killed in front of the house, while the pair sit together inside. This goes on for one day and they are thus married. This rite is called numpang or atjar nao vase vunut (the latter means "fence of nao wood, with idjuk rope," i.e., "the fence is secured with rope").

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●585 Numpang merely means "wedding." The old men say prayers to the ancestors, wish the pair luck, etc. In the prayers they call the empo to come. Then the boy's group gives fl. 25.00 "to clean the bridal chamber." Other small amounts are paid too, ritually up to Fl. 100.00 to fl. 200.00. That night everyone sleeps in the girl's house. In the morning they go home. However, the boy stays for about a week.

Then the pair, mounted on horses, go to the boy's house. The girl's parents, however, do not go along. The family of the girl brings along palm wine and food. Halfway there the boy's relatives begin to join the procession and bring along money. They stop once on the way to eat and drink, and the boy's family pays money, while the girl's family provides food and drink. Whenever they come to a river, the girl's group asks what river it is, and they say that they have never seen it before, etc. The boy's family tells them, and they say, "Oh, is that so. You must give us a bukti." The boy's group pays money. At every river this is done. At every crossroad, the girl's group goes the wrong way, as they "do not know the way." They say they must be given money "to open their eyes." Thus if it is really far off, for example, in Todo, the boy's group has to pay plenty. I think perhaps the halfway meeting is if the group comes from far away, and perhaps if the boy's group is nearby, his family goes all the way. But it still may be halfway, and I seem to remember that van Bekkum[1] said so. Clearly, there is a money penalty on far-off marriages.

Once they have arrived at the boy's kampong, the girl's group act as though they do not know where it is, as if it had never seen the place before or heard of it, and they have to be given bukti. As the party approaches the boy's house,

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng --Analyst]

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585 all of the men in the kampong come on horses. The bride may not dismount nor touch the earth, but is lifted off on the saddle. At the threshold she steps off the saddle and crushes an egg under her foot. The groom enters too. Songs are sung and a pig is killed as she en-
[783] ters ("to clean her feet" meaning evidently to clean the soil of her home kampong off or to remove bonds therewith). This indeed is the rite that removes her totem taboo and makes her take on her husband's totem. It is called ela penteng pitak, which indeed means to clean off the mud. Thus she leaves the old and takes on the new tjek'i. Thus she has en-
[591] tered her husband's va'u. Then there is a feast and they live patrilocally.

583 If there is no bride price paid, the boy
591 merely goes and moves in with the girl's fam-
585 ily. There is no ceremony, or perhaps it is a
[124] little one. This is not regarded as nice (and note he says that he is afraid they might not tell him who in Veol and Ndung did not pay the bride price, as they are sensitive about this. He will send me a letter later about this and also about the percentage of mother's brother's daughter marriages). Only the poor people marry in this fashion.

When the bride price is finally paid, the real wedding ritual occurs as above. It may be ten years later. I made sure of this by laughingly saying that perhaps in such a case when they have the procession from the girl's to the boy's house their children go along too. And they said that that was correct. If the couple are Christian, they have a church wedding one day before the numpang. All the rest of the rite is the same.

864 There is no need for sex instruction, as the children see everything when they are still very young in these crowded houses. They are

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782 Drums, etc. are set up.
231 (5) A new ordinary house. There is a small
[342] feast, and pigs are killed.

(6) If there is an epidemic, a big feast is
[731] held, like the tjutji kampong of Ambon. The
[783] mbako decides when it is needed. It is called
[756] kaba erba golo, which means "buffalo (kaba) makes young or renews (erba) the kampong (golo)." Thus the word for young seems to have the sense of making young or cleaning or renewing. There is a buffalo sacrificed, I suppose at the tjompang.

[697] (7) When a man returns from jail. A buffalo is sacrificed.

●[585] (8) A wedding. For such rites only pigs are sacrificed. Buffaloes which are killed at this time are for food only, not for ritual use.

[764] (9) Funerals. If such a rite is for an up-
[565] per, a buffalo is sacrificed; if a funeral is for a lower, only a pig is sacrificed.

(10) Birth. A bigger ceremony is held for
[844] a first child, and all the kampong folk attend. Later children are given smaller rites, and only the family attend. Pigs or fowls are sacrificed. Such ceremonies are held five to ten days after birth. There is no special touching the ground rite. However, at this time the baby's hair is cut and a name is given.

844 This led to a discussion of birth. In each
[756] kampong the mbako are also midwives, i.e., at least some of them. A male mbako may be a midwife, and Cornelius says that some are very clever at this. Evidently all mbako are medicine givers and sorcerers and soothsayers, etc., but not all of them are midwives.

843 There are no food taboos for pregnant women, but there are restrictions. If a pregnant woman goes out at night, she must carry a knife (like Ambon). An expectant father may not make bamboo water holders. Neither parent may work at the graves or go to funerals

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764 bells in the chapel tolled and the service was held. The body was buried in the cemetery.

Roy has been full of life since I gave him
124 some medicine for his asthma. He jokes and
123 laughs. He had a meeting of the Red Cross yesterday, and the Radja and Dr. Sutomo and other notables were there. He knocked them out with the new words he has learned from me (sistim, desas-desus, kekuatan adjaib, etc.). They asked how this came about, and he said that the American professor was responsible. He told the priest that I was better than Vatter,[1] as we talk over each point at length, and I tell him details too, and then we discuss everything. Also, he says, everything is told to me and nothing is hidden, as he puts it. He tells the people, even in front of me, that I am like a suwanggi, because I learn so fast and come with material that an outsider should not know, and because I anticipate things that are not yet told. At one point, he said that I could join up and become a member of the Kottang sib.

The ratio between men and women here is about
162 fifty-fifty. They think this is all right.
793 Perhaps only two per cent of the women never
589 marry, and it is exceedingly rare to find an old bachelor. There are no nuns or priests in Wailolong yet. Leloba has one nun now. There is a case in Lewohala at the present time of a father making a terrific fuss because his daughter wants to become a nun and his son wants to go to a seminary. (Is he a pagan?)

●586 Formerly there was no divorce according to
178 adat. There are two pagan cases in Wailolong and this is considered new.

684 I asked about adultery, and Roy said that in the old days if there was a case of adultery, the woman remained the man's wife, but a fine had to be paid. Or, if the couple were found

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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614 that the exogamy taboo is off, as he still is
597 half Gusa. Also, he still must attend all suku ceremonies of Gusa, as well as those of his adopted suku Odja. Thus, indeed, he is a double-sibbed man. Note that he could become kapitan only via adoption, because only an Odja or a Rewarangga suku man can be, and this does not apply to a man of Gusa. This is a good case.

583 In former times there was a strong force
178 behind the ruling which made a child marry anyone chosen by a father. This ruling has weakened, but still survives. The force, however, is no longer absolute. If a boy or girl remains adamant, the marriage is not forced. This is why they do not pay the bride price early any more, as they are not sure that the children will obey them when they are grown, and they stand to lose the payment for a non-fulfillment of contract. The bride price is paid, and that is all.

611 The system here is patrilineal, and there has been no shift away from this in any direction.

162 The sex ratio here is about equal, and this is approximately the same as it was before. They think this is all right.

586 There is no divorce here, and there never
583 was. They at once said, "why in the world do that, when the bride price of a woman is so high?" (A good substantiation of the priest's point that the bride price is a good thing in order to keep and strengthen the marriage bond!)

684 I asked what happens in a case of adultery. They said that formerly as well as today a man was satisfied with a fine, and gets this anyway. If the spouse catches the couple in the act, he can kill both of them. This is the same as before. The wrong party, always the man in the case, must pay the injured mate a

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582 people married earlier, because they got their
291 clothes earlier. Cornelius[1] says that until
178 about twenty-five years ago you could see quite old and young people going about naked. He remembers this. They do not like too young marriages (!). Also, they do not like them if the partners are too old.

[561] There are no age grades.

614 The Veol clan is very large, but there are clans which are even larger. Not a single clan has ever become extinct. However, some panga have. There is one such panga in Veol.

562 Formerly, the position of women was really
178 low, like that of slaves. Now they are a little
584 higher. Today there is a beginning in the direction of freer choice in marriage. Formerly all marriages were arranged by the elders.

611 The system here is all patrilineal, and there have been no changes.

162 In 1930, Cornelius[1] says, there were five thousand extra women in all Manggarai. I will check the records for the ratio.

587 The levirate obtains if there is a widow. If
768 there is no brother, her family must take her back, and pay one horse. The children stay with the dead father's family. If the levirate goes through, the man pays one horse.

[583] If a widow remarries to a man other than the brother of her deceased husband, the price must be paid to the family of the dead husband, and the "bonds" are "broken." The sororate is not required. The bride price is required in the case of a sororate. It is quite usual, because the sister of the deceased is accustomed to the widower and his children. The children of course stay with the father's family always.

● 586 There is not much divorce, but it did occur and still does.

[587] The main cause of divorce is discord, not barrenness, as in this case a man simply gets another wife.

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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586 684 562 In the case of adultery on the part of a woman, a fine must be paid to the grieved husband. The wife pays only a little, her paramour a lot. In the case of a man committing adultery, there is no fine or punishment of any sort. The wife may be angry, but that is all.

A man may divorce an errant wife, but there is no bride price return. This just about never occurs. A man is satisfied with the fine.

Adat here does not allow for killing an adulterous couple caught in the act. This may be done later, but it is still not allowed, and not condoned. The payment of a fine is the thing here.

If a divorce is requested by a man, there is no repayment of the bride price, and he must pay one horse. If a wife asks for a divorce, the price must be repaid. The children always stay with the father's family.

842 The people here like many children; the more the better. There is no set limitation. When I talk about birth control, often, all over they say about condoms that they are "like the Japanese use." He was surprised about other methods of birth control. Until now there has been no thought of limitation.

Cornelius[1] says that about ten children are [163] born per woman, but only about half or a little more live to adulthood. Sons are more important. If a couple has only one child, they prefer a son. A few more sons than daughters are wanted. Va'u and bride price considerations are important.

868 When the children are very young the mother takes care of their education. Then the children follow the parent of the same sex and learn their roles and work.

584 178 There is just about no courtship. Formerly marriages were all prearranged. Now, most frequently the young people tell their parents

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

582 firm in stating that one had to marry within the
565 same class, of which there are three: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata hoö, but I forget the terms for the others.
[587] They say that a lower man may never marry up,
[567] but that a higher man may marry down for a second wife. They are more open here about slavery than I have found elsewhere.

142 The people are quite handsome and many of
144 them are of the proto-Malay type. There are relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay element predominates, and the East Flores Negroid types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars. There is also a great difference in the color of the skin, many people being quite light-skinned
[515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here
[197] say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not the Soa folk.

291 The clothes of the local people are shabby and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are
304 universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears.
[276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments
[301] in their ears today. Only the holes are noted. We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most men have their names or initials as well as figures tattooed on their forearms. This name
[177] tattoo is quite general.) (Perhaps this is the secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy tattoo.")

764 The burials here, I think, and certainly in
565 Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners, but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

632 The districts here are called kepala mereschappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan. This one is evidently Naru.

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684 fine. Evidence of a man adulterer is not good. I think he pays a fine to the wife, but I am not sure. Anyway, there was a case of a man in Ende who killed his wife when he caught her and a man in his room. The man escaped. The murderer got only a three months sentence.

[583] Although an injured man receives a fine, he does not get the bride price back, because he keeps the errant wife. If he kills her, he loses both the bride price and the wife, but he gets the fine anyway.

754 682 Note: This led easily into the matter of killing a suwanggi. They say that there are plenty of suwanggi here, and, although the government forbids killing them, they do it secretly. They just won't stand for them to get away with their witchcraft. The guru said that they wait until the suwanggi is alone in the garden and then kill him. And no one in the kampong will inform on them, he says. They do fear jail, however, and this reduces the number of suwanggi murders.

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● 587 A very regular procedure is the levirate. There is no bride price in such a case. The brother merely takes in a widow or widows together with the children. It is a duty, and moreover they are pusaka of the family, as the old man paid for the women. I asked what the Catholics did about this, and he said this is all right if they merely take in a poor widow and her children, but they do not allow sex relations or marriage with her. Then he added slyly, but of course probably a man in such a position does have sexual relations with her secretly.

The sororate is also usual, although it is not required. However, if the pair has already

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587 moved out of the girl's house, a man must pay another price for her sister. If they have not yet moved out (for example, the guru still lives in the house of his wife's father, the head guru), no bride price is paid, and the father gives a sister free.

601 587 835 Now, note the beauty of the kinship terms here. I had wondered why the terms ari and ka'e were restricted to: brother (man speaking), sister (woman speaking), sister-in-law (man speaking), brother-in-law (woman speaking), wife's sister (man speaking), husband's brother (woman speaking), brother's wife (man speaking), and sister's husband (woman speaking). The fact is that the terms mean, not really sibling, but these relations and these linkages only. The connotation is that one can marry his or her ari or ka'e, while the real brother and sister terms (nara, veta) mean a marriage taboo. Thus the levirate and sororate are beautifully reflected in these terms. Where the terms are used for persons of the same sex, they cause no trouble, because marriage here is impossible anyway. Perhaps the truth is that they mean brother and sister, in a way, but since they have to have other terms to indicate ones who cannot be married, they have also the terms nara and veta. The edja and ipa terms, the other ones for cousins, make no difference, as they also are used for persons of the same sex.

842 578 181 The belief here is that the more children one has the better it is. They are sad if they have only a few children. They like children of both sexes for different reasons. Boys are good to work in the gardens (and can develop new land) and are good in standing up for their father (a relic of the old war days, but even now in an argument it is good to have a big gang, and as they say, "You can trust only your

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581 behavior. Looks are a mere by-matter. The same holds for women. They like good workers for husbands (men must keep at the gardens); and as far as I could see, that is about all. I wonder if men should be decent (I doubt that looks are thought of much if at all), as long as they work. These people are way beneath any aesthetic stuff in love (but it may be there in its own way!).

836 [848] They insist that there is not one case of a bastard in their memory. However, yesterday I got the impression that boys have a chance with, for example, widows sometimes. But evidently the girls just stay virgin. They hammer on this; it is and always was a one hundred per cent rule, and that a girl would try to fool on this is considered a terrific thought.

177 797 595 587 582 In the family the Catholics have tried to stop: (1) polygny (but this goes on), (2) levirate and sororate (but this goes on), (3) mother's brother's daughter marriage (they do this with more distant relatives in order to keep up the form). This is interesting.

789 753 [565] In regard to the nobility, I can get no reaction on ideas of magic power, and they say that even the Radja of Ende does not have any. They say that he is new anyway. He is just a big man from the Djari Djawa suku (but the radja must come from this, but I got the idea that Nggobe might get in too). I asked if maybe the mosa laki had any, and they said no. If they do not obey they just become angry, and it is better to stay on their good side as they control the land and they are the big men anyway. There is no magic punishment. Thus they are different even from Larantuka. The only things which have magic power are taboo places, for example, the rumah pemali, the grave-bone shrines, and the old ancestor places. Breaking such taboos can cause illness, and the

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601 to'a — a niece or nephew of different sex from the speaker, when the child of a sibling of the speaker is of different sex, i.e., "cross-nephew-niece."

kae--ase — a sibling of the same sex, or a man or woman whom a man or woman may marry in levirate or sororate (a possible mate, if not of the same sex).

ipar — a woman who must marry a woman's brother (woman speaking), or a husband's sister (woman speaking). If a sister wants to find out if a girl likes her brother, she calls her ipar, and if the girl replies ipar, it shows that they are ready to be brother's wife and husband's sister to each other.

kesah — a man who must marry a man's sister (man speaking), or a wife's brother (man speaking). If a brother wants to find out if a boy likes his sister, he calls him kesah, and if the boy replies kesah, it shows that they are ready to be sister's husband and wife's brother to each other.

587 The levirate is required. This gets into trouble with Catholicism, but Cornelius shrugged his shoulders when I said this. I told him that the Ende Catholics say that it is all right for a man to take his brother's widow into his house and care for her and her children, although they should not have sexual relations with each other. Of course they can't marry. He laughed when I said that the Ende guru remarked that although they are supposed not to have sex relations with a brother's widow, what can they do when she is in the same house?

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587 I must check on the following: If there is no levirate, must the new husband of a widow pay the full bride price, or what?

601 587 583 Note how the kinship terms reflect the levirate: the term for brother's wife is the same as for wife and for mother's brother's daughter, although the vocative terminology is different.

The sororate, although not required, is allowed. The bride price must be paid. Still, note how the kinship terms seem to reflect the sororate: the term for wife's sister is the same as for wife and mother's brother's daughter, although the vocative is different. Moreover, in regard to the levirate, the term for husband's brother is the same as for husband and father's sister's son, although the vocative is different.

Moreover, in regard to the sororate, the term for sister's husband is the same as for husband and father's sister's son, although the vocative is different.

587 583 In the case of the levirate, a token bride price is paid. I found this out the next day, and it may consist of one horse. But this is the same thing as no bride price. The brother has a special privilege on his dead brother's [262] widow. (They eat horses occasionally here.)

In the case of the sororate, however, the full bride price must be paid, as the girl is a new purchase.

601 He says there is a strong taboo against a girl calling her father's sister's son rona and a man calling his mother's brother's daughter vina. Not having any dictionary, I do not know if this is because there is an obscene connotation to these words for man and woman, but I doubt it, because they are used referentially. Evidently, it is just too forward. He said that it is cause for terrible shame if a child

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582 people married earlier, because they got their
291 clothes earlier. Cornelius[1] says that until
178 about twenty-five years ago you could see quite old and young people going about naked. He remembers this. They do not like too young marriages (!). Also, they do not like them if the partners are too old.

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[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

5: Kennedy--432 E-5 (1949-1950) 1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

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595 Case No. 207 40: 37, 30, 25.
771 The 2d is a Catholic, the others
614 are pagan.
212 All three are from different clans.
All are gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 235 30: 27, 30, 30.
The 1st is Catholic, the others pagan.
All three clans are different.
1 is mangko pitu, the others are gelarang.
The husband has finished three grades; the wives are illiterate.

[587] (Note: The 2d wife lives in another house with her children. Because the children are of the same clan as her present husband, and she is a widow, this is perhaps a case of levirate.)

Case No. 307 30: 25, 25.
Both wives and husband are Christian.
Both clans are different.
Both are gelarang.
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632 most extinct, with only about twenty members.
614 The kapitan is elected by the orang besar of the eighteen kampongs in the kapitanschap.
634 The Radja of Ende is also elected, in this case by the orang besar of the whole state. This means that he is elected evidently by the kapitan. I must inquire further about this matter.
632 The present kapitan is a nephew of the former
578 kapitan. He was chosen because the son of the former kapitan was not satisfactory. I noted that as I asked about this there seemed to be some embarrassment and I wonder if perhaps there was not a little fuss attached to the selection of a new kapitan even in the past. This seems to bear out the evidence for a feud pattern of which I see so much at first glance in Flores. Anyway, both the radja and the kapitan are elected with a tendency to heredity in the male line. They are elected by the officers of the sections of their domain. It is similar to the electors of Goa.
583 They say that the bride price is necessary
614 for marriage, and that the price is really high.
476 They say that some people go bankrupt in order to pay the bride price. Nevertheless, everyone
237 in the suku helps the man pay his bride price and in turn all helpers are later helped. This bride price is a clan affair. Formerly the price had to
[436] be paid in elephant tusks and in gold pieces called wea. Now most of the tusks are gone be-
[727] cause they have been sold or stolen (during the Japanese time). There are still quite a few of the gold pieces left, however. There were hundreds of thousands of tusks in Flores before. Sikka used only very long ones, but in this area they evidently used both long and short tusks. They are remarkable and I must learn more about them.
614 Marriage is exogamous as far as suku are con-
582 cerned and residence is patrilocal. They did
[591]

621R
578 nature of these people. He said there are many
632 boundary disputes and have been many in the past.
144 Now I see the truth of the racial mixture zone here. All types are represented.

614 I get the impression that the suku were originally localized largely if not entirely. This is still so. Thus one part will be all or nearly all Odja, another similarly Wanda, another Tibo, etc.

●591 I met a lad in Roworeke proper who is from a kampong which is rather far off. They said he had married a woman of Roworeke, and I thought perhaps this might be a case of ambil anak. This is not the case, however, and he had merely come there for a day, because his wife has land here. They live in his kampong. Residence is patrilocal usually. Kattenburg remarked that in
178 material culture and in level of living the young
578 people are not much different from the old. They
561 do wear different clothes, however, and as he says, in general outlook, religion, knowledge of and adherence to old thoughts and ways and religion, they differ. There must be an intergenerational conflict here, especially as they are so disputatious anyway. I must check on this.

The next day we[1] set out early and got them to
349 let us work in the office. This is an amazing
217 place, with cocoanut stalk walls and a dirt floor.
124 In one room (they are all empty of furniture), scattered on the floor, are the "files" of the kapitanschap. Some of them are in paper boxes and others are just on the dirt. They call the kapitanschap the "gemeente." We sat on the front "porch" on chairs that almost collapsed and at a table that leaned loosely at an alarming angle and slowly leaned more and more until it seemed impossible that it would keep from collapsing.
124 With us was the giri tumba of Rewarangga and later the kepala kampong (ata nggaeh nua) of Woro-

[1] [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg --Analyst]

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All
727 of them were sold or taken during the Japanese
436 time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese
563 time too, but new ones are being made by
326 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and families. They had been in the mountains making wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They use the natives' gold. Much silver is now mixed in with the gold. They both had complete
[142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large, and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they
611 use money and animals for the bride price, but
● 591 they may also work it off, although it is not
237 really a case of ambil anak because the children follow the father's suku anyway. The girl must stay with the parents until the bride price is paid. Also, residence remains matrilocal until the bride price is paid. Thus we have an illustration of this in the case of a Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several children, because the bride price has not yet been paid. The children belong to his suku, however. Thus there is bride service, matrilocal residence, but the descent remains patrilineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally, has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to get the assistant to say that they still had tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the
624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before
632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evidently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases
[691] are concerned only with land and marriage questions.

Weo

614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the relationships linking the individuals in this area became more and more distant. Thus they gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed, since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols, showing the effect of having worked with van Bekkum.[1] The priests try to discourage mother's brother's daughter marriages, but they always give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get the idea that the priests here are less firm regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka. This is probably because it is a relatively new field, and the Catholics go slowly and gradually in destroying what is old. The dodge they use here is special dispensation. This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price, is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with his wife's family until the bride price is paid. This may take ten years or he may never pay the bride price, but the children belong to his va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
177

[1] [pastor at Rutong; see also bibliography, cat. 113 — Analyst]

R

614 assumed taboo.

784 (3) Personal totem taboos. These apply to
262 individuals only, not to a wife or husband or
753 child or anyone else. This is a kind of "allergy." These are pire se'imu (the latter term means "individual"). Thus the kapitan's wife got sores and decided (dukun consulted?) that it was because she had eaten buffalo meat. Now she eats none. If she wishes to lift her taboo, she must give a feast with animal sacrifice. The kapitan and his child may eat buffalo.

614 The kapitan's wife thus has the taboos of
784 the kapitan's suku and her own personal one
583 too. She was also of Odja, but until she mar-
562 ried did not have the Odja taboos. Migo's wife has Odja suku taboos (she was from the suku Wanda) and also Migo's household taboo. The kapitan has no taboos, but Migo has his household taboo. It is notable that if a man
● [591] pays no bride price and lives matrilocally, his wife does not take on his suku's taboos, but assumes the taboos of the women who marry into her own sib. That is, she is a married woman, and thus must follow suku taboos. But since the bride price has not yet been paid she is not a member of her husband's suku, and so she merely takes on her own suku's taboos as though she were a woman married into her own suku. When the bride price is finally paid, she takes on her husband's suku's taboos, and of course they move into his house. Thus one can say that the totem of the suku hits women only, but only women married into the suku, not women of the suku. Lineage taboos are coming in all the time, and they apply to all household members and may pass on down from generation to generation. Personal taboos are for individuals only. This is queer, and I am sure that I have not yet got the whole story.

5: Kennedy--197 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
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We

	Male	Female	
127 Watuwiti	127	124	
162 Mudakaputu	128	123	
Laneda	143	167	
Riang Kanale	107	114	
Lewohala	286	285	
Riang Kamiß	430	427	
Wailolong	290	288	
Leloba	272	298	
Totals	1783	1823	3606

The Christians then totaled 1973.

133 Ili Mandiri is at an elevation of 1501 meters, the highest around here.

582 Wailolong intermarries with all of the other
621 seven kampongs, a bit more with those which are
578 near than with those which are farther away. During the period after the Dutch entered (1912) there were practically no marriages with Leloba, because Wailolong was sore that Roy's father would not fight the Dutch. (The present enmity of Roy against the Dutch may be delayed reaction to this.) Since then, there has been more intermarriage, but extra-kampong marriage is relatively rare. Roy estimates that not more than ten per cent of the cases are extra-kampong marriages. This holds for both sexes.

•591 If a man lives matrilocally (which is optional
583 if no bride price is paid, or if the bride price is paid only in part), he keeps the privileges he has in his own kampong, but he works for his food with his father-in-law in the latter's kampong.

If the bride price is not paid, he may live in either kampong, and this is merely something which has to be agreed upon. Roy says that about half of such marriages follow patrilocal residence and about half matrilocal residence.

Wa

611 However, all children are descended patrilineally.
583 That is, there is no ambil anak here. In any
614 case, the bride price must be paid eventually.
591 It may even take two generations to do this, but the debt is remembered and the books must finally be balanced. This eventuates as follows: If a man can't pay with tusks, he pays with a daughter. It may be any daughter, the first, second, or later daughter. If the man has no daughters, the debt remains and must be paid someday. But, she does not become a member of her mother's sib. She remains a member of her father's sib and marries as though she were a full member of it. That is, all that happens is that when she marries, her price goes to her mother's sib. This is a very peculiar arrangement, and it is purely for monetary reasons. The sons are called anak suku. The daughters are called anak gading ("elephant-tusk children"). Thus the price of a woman is either tusks or a daughter. The daughter who is given for the price may live matrilocally or patrilocally, depending on where her parents live.

582 There are some marriages between Wailolong
621 and other districts. Roy can think of cases
614 with Lewotala, Wolo, and Lewinga, and he thinks there are others. I asked him how they figure the marriage rules in such cases. He said that if there were already suku there which corresponded to those in the kampong, the situation was easily resolved. If previous marriage relations existed between the two areas, it is also a simple matter to figure out the marriage relations. If no previous marriage relations exist, it is easy to figure out anyway, as none of the rules applies. Thus Roy's brother married a girl from Roti whom he met on his travels. This was no problem, as she was far outside the
582 pattern area. What usually happens, however, is
584 that a boy, for example, sees a girl at the

R

585 boy takes the remains of this pig to his family
583 and comes back with a goat for the girl's family. Then comes up the fourth night and again the pig is killed and the next morning the boy's party comes with the fourth goat and all of the bride price stuff. Thus, in all, the boy's family has given four goats and the girl's family four pigs.

On this fourth day, the bride price is paid, and also the boy's family must bring a buffalo, which is killed. At this time both families, guests, and all notables of the kampong come to the feast and eat the buffalo. The girl's family provides all the food and drink except for the buffalo. The day of this feast, the girl's family calls all the people to come by beating gongs and drums. If they haven't any, they borrow them. For perhaps a week the pair
● [591] sleep in the girl's house. This is until their household outfit (the dowry) is all ready, and then they go to the boy's house, where they will live. They bring also the return gift as well as the outfit, and indeed, the two seem to be parts of the same thing, the tau laguana, or return gift.

585 This rite is still observed by the pagans,
583 but the Catholics do it differently now. First
178 they pay the bride price. Then the priest announces banns for three Sundays. The date is set, and the day before, the two families each have a separate feast for their own guests at their own houses. The boy stays at his and the girl at hers. The two parties do not mix. The next day they all go to church for the wedding, and then, in procession, with music and dancing, they all go to the girl's house. There they have a big feast, provided by the girl's family. They dance, sing, eat, sing pantun, drink and have a good time. For perhaps a week the pair stay at the girl's house. This

We

423 by the radja tuan), suku, ama, and family. Houses are categorized in the same fashion.

Houses, however, are strictly speaking owned by the family or lineage. The eldest [428] son inherits the house, and other sons build their own houses or may live in with the eld- ●[591] est son and his family. The women have no houses, as residence is patrilocal except in unusual cases.

462 The only specialization here is by sex.

426 He says there is no lending of money. They may borrow food, and the interest on such accrued during the following year is from fifty to one hundred per cent.

465 The only wage earners are the gurus. There are no other paid jobs. (How about the three kepala kampongs? I suppose they get eight per cent of the taxes as usual?) There is not one commercial enterprise here.

622 The chiefs, says Roy, are regarded as fathers.
789 The genealogical organization is strong here. Indeed, their posts depend on hereditary descent entirely. The people here obey them because they are in the place of their fathers. The curse of a father is a terrible thing, and this goes for the chiefs too. It should be remembered also that the chiefs have magic power, derived from the sanction of the ancestors and visibly shown by the stone fetishes in front of the chiefly houses.

567 The nipatale intermarry with other people, although they originally were slaves. Thus there is a slave class, but it is integrated with the others, and it has only a few marks.

[555] The only ones who have risen are the gurus.
554 And those in Wailolong are from some other area. There are no visible signs of status except that of living in a chiefly house, belonging to a "big house" suku, and having the stones of status in front of the house. I note also that

565 men. He will fill these in. So far as I can see, all the "locals" of Weol are noted as "bangsawan." I must discuss this. The same thing happened in Roworeke. Evidently there is no real nobility in these places, only the eldest-son lineage,[1] which takes the high of-
[114] fice. Maybe Linton is right in his hunch regarding the basis of Malayo-Polynesian social organization, that is, primogeniture. This checks with all the talk about the kuasa tinggi [high power] of the older branch, the kaka and
614 adi stuff, etc. As for totems, the key for
784 Weol (he uses the local totem names) is:

rutung	porcupine
kenti	a leafy vegetable
kula	a kind of big mouse
atju	dog
lusa	red bean
giro	a kind of firewood (no burning totem).

All of these are merely the main totems, but there are others. Thus Weol clan has the lusa, but also the thin bamboo taboo.

●591 4. I must ask whether the men who have come
583 to live matrilocally did so because they didn't pay the bride price. He says that this is mostly the case, but not always. He says that he will have to ask this carefully, as he can't ask men directly because they are ashamed if they have not paid the bride price. He must ask others, "Why does so and so live here with his wife?" Then the dirt will come out. These men are Nos. 40, 110, 116, 122, 123, 127, and 132. All of this led to a discussion of the situation.

217 The pagans do not have any registry of marriages. The Catholics do not have to register marriages with the government (thus no marriage

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

582 has several wives. (This shows the recency of
578 conversion here. Here is this smooth and smart
835 lad, almost sophisticated, one who could get along almost anywhere in the world, whose father is a completely benighted heathen. He says that the family will be torn apart if one of the sons
835 does not marry the mother's brother's daughter.)

582 Then I asked what happens to the Catholics.
797 He said that usually they are given isin (dis-
[189] pensation), but the priests do not like it at all. However, he saw the point when I said that after all it was only one brother in a family who had to get the dispensation, and so maybe the church would not be too worried.

This led me to a speech, and I think the point was not bad, and perhaps the priests
[182] think of it. If they destroy the mother's brother's daughter marriage, the whole social organization falls apart, as this is the keystone all over Flores (and all through this part of Indonesia, I think). If they do this, perhaps the adat will fall apart and cause a breakdown of all the good rules, from the Catholic viewpoint. However, perhaps the reason is more realistic, i.e., it is hard to get converts if they make it too hard on the old adat.

Anyway, they can use the three generation up and three generation down dodge to get a classificatory mother's brother's daughter and keep up the old system.

583 Then we got onto the records again and ran
● 591 into some trouble. But before that I note that No. 167 is a girl who lives with her father's sister. She may well be already spoken for and even paid for, for the son of the latter. There is a son of nearly the same age there.

There are several families in the kampongs of outside origin in the case of both spouses (46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65). There are several men in Ndung

We.

583 who may not have paid the bride price, and that
591 is why they are living matrilocally (260, 285, 291, 296, 304, 347, and 352).

567 Then came the trouble. I saw that there
124 were no slaves on the list, yet Coolhaas[1] said there are many slaves here, especially in Rahong, this dalu. He said that this may be true, but that the people just will not tell him who might be descended from slaves. This is the trouble I get into by using a lad who is not from the kampong himself. But this brought up something else. He is very afraid of everything. Yesterday he wouldn't start work until he had permission from van Bekkum[2] in writing. Also, he worries today lest the inspector find anything wrong with his school work. And he is very much afraid of my asking embarrassing questions. I tried to get him to guess how many slaves there were in the kampong, but he would not. He wouldn't even say how many he thought there are in his own kampong. Maybe this is one of the sorest points here. Maybe it is because they themselves were so often enslaved by the kraeng and others and had to pay taxes in slaves to Bima. I tried to shame him into trying harder to give me some information on this by saying that I thought I would have to write that maybe Manggarai had few or no slaves because they were slaves themselves. This shook him, and he even admitted it in a way.

567 As far as I could get it, the system is something like this. In the kampongs Veol and Ndung there probably never were very many slaves, because these people were pretty poor before, and indeed they had to pay quite a bit in tribute to the alien rulers. It was even hard for them to keep slaves, perhaps, because they had to pay a tax in slaves (but this may not have been very much). Anyway, Cornelius[3] says there were plenty of slaves in some other places, and he

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e., pastor at Ruteng -- Analyst]
[3] [i.e., the assistant]

We

533 797 [562] school[1] is overcrowded, and it is the only place where girls can rise above the lowest level in Manggarai. There were plenty of sisters around. The whole thing shows the good organization of the Catholics here.

[124] I used the last two days of work here to get through the rest of the schedule.

585 For weddings, the Christians go to church for a service as well as going through the old rites.

583 Formerly the bride price was not payable in money, but today it is, in part. The bride price (padja) includes buffaloes, horses, and formerly copper or brass (?) boxes. There are no more of these last objects, and money has been substituted for them. Also, cattle are now used, but were not included formerly.

The return gift (vida) includes cloth, bracelets, ear ornaments, etc. Also included are small elephant teeth (used as pendants on bracelets). They are about two inches long. The bride price goes to the girl's family, and the return gift to the boy's family. Formerly the bride price was not very high. Today it is higher. An average bride price includes about five animals.

Both Catholics and pagans still pay the bride [591] [611] price and make the return gift. If a bride price is not paid, the couple must live matrilocally until it is paid. However, the children are always patrilineally descended.

582 614 The distances of mate selection are about the same as they were fifty years ago. There is a bit more marriage within the va'u, which was taboo before. However, the panga remain exogamous.

476 602 614 If the relatives-in-law live too far off, there is no real, actual mutual aid. If they are near, mutual aid is carried out between three groups: one's own va'u ana rona, and ana vina. The help comes especially in aiding a help-mate

1 [i.e., at Veol.—Analyst]

We

585 all of the men in the kampong come on horses. The bride may not dismount nor touch the earth, but is lifted off on the saddle. At the threshold she steps off the saddle and crushes an egg under her foot. The groom enters too. Songs are sung and a pig is killed as she en-
[783] ters ("to clean her feet" meaning evidently to clean the soil of her home kampong off or to remove bonds therewith). This indeed is the rite that removes her totem taboo and makes her take on her husband's totem. It is called ela penteng pitak, which indeed means to clean off the mud. Thus she leaves the old and takes on the new tjek'i. Thus she has en-
● [591] tered her husband's va'u. Then there is a feast and they live patrilocally.

583 If there is no bride price paid, the boy
591 merely goes and moves in with the girl's fam-
585 ily. There is no ceremony, or perhaps it is a
[124] little one. This is not regarded as nice (and note he says that he is afraid they might not tell him who in Veol and Ndung did not pay the bride price, as they are sensitive about this. He will send me a letter later about this and also about the percentage of mother's brother's daughter marriages). Only the poor people marry in this fashion.

When the bride price is finally paid, the real wedding ritual occurs as above. It may be ten years later. I made sure of this by laughingly saying that perhaps in such a case when they have the procession from the girl's to the boy's house their children go along too. And they said that that was correct. If the couple are Christian, they have a church wedding one day before the numpang. All the rest of the rite is the same.

864 There is no need for sex instruction, as the children see everything when they are still very young in these crowded houses. They are

5: Kennedy--427 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

Wa

Clans

162
614

Veol	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol Clan	17	7	70	94
Other Clans	6	28	12	46
Total	23	35	82	140

Ndung	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol Clan	18	17	57	92
Other Clans	21	39	54	114
Total	39	56	111	206

Total				
Veol Clan	35	24	127	186
Other Clans	27	67	66	160
Total	62	91	193	346

[591] I can see that Veol keeps to the patrilocal rule, and that there is a great preponderance of the Veol clan. This is more evident in Veol than in Ndung, where there are lots of matrilocal couples, and also many outsiders. In regard to the marriage pairs, this can be seen below:

Marriage Pairs (including Widows)

582
614
162

	Veol	Ndung	Total
Man (Veol)--Woman (Other)	23	22	45
Woman (Veol)--Man (Other)	4	10	14
Other--Other	4	15	19
Man (Veol)--Woman (Veol) (different panga)	3	6	9

582
124

There is no use working out every marriage pair, because I can see that there is no system of marriage classes here. I note quite a few clearly mother's brother's daughter (tungku)

We

582 [124] marriages, and the assistant will send a letter to me about this later.

[591] He will also send me a letter about how many of the matrilocal residence cases are because of a failure to pay the bride price.

162
614

Clan Membership or Derivation: Veol

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol	17	7	70	94
Paka	3	0	6	9
Leda	1	2	2	5
Leko	1	1	2	4
Poka	0	3	0	3
Papang	1	0	2	3
Kepe		2		2
Laru		1		1
Kole		1		1
Ling		1		1
Taga		2		2
Dalo		2		2
Nulang		1		1
Ndadjung		1		1
Tuke		1		1
Watang		1		1
P. Leok		2		2
Ndehes		2		2
Kuleng		1		1
Tjumbi		1		1
Adjang		1		1
Tjarep		1		1
Nanu		1		1
Total	23	35	82	140

We. The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof,
are easier to keep clean and are better in
general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the
kampong, and even fewer move out of or into
the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration
from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas
beyond Larantuka.

20 The kakang has the only telephone here.
There is no telegraph. There is no mail ser-
vice. There is no postman. The priest has a
battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië.
Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not
Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to
change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few
people have much knowledge about the world.
This is really the lowest place I have been in
yet. Most of the people are strongly attached
to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is
very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong
is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they
had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at
war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an
enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

We

592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more people in many of the houses. The complex ar-
243 rangement of rice fields stretches out far below and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but perhaps this is done merely by flooding. I must ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly situated on rises and they are small, for example, Weol has only about thirty houses in it. The priest says that there are many of the stones in kampong Ruteng located about 1½ km. outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each day, and the guru will bring the table and chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel. The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary, which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
177 houses were introduced here by a priest. The guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the
515 folk here, including the priests. Bathing is not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the relationship between partners is distant enough. Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans, called panga, and one may marry within these in the same way, according to the guru. I must find out more about this and also get the kin system. We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in the center of the town where they were playing football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

614 maybe it is a matter of the older and younger
582 lines. I must check on this. The mandur said
[624] there was no tuan tanah in Ruteng kampong.
Later the assistant said they must have one.

124 In the evening the assistant came to the pasanggrahan and talked with us. He seems to be the best one yet. He knows plenty about the old customs, and Christianity has not caused him to scorn the old ways. He is so enthusiastic that it was hard for us to stop him. We got onto the question of Weol.

178 He said that in the old days there was only
342 one large round house per kampong. The diameter
614 was perhaps twenty meters. If you saw two
624 houses, it meant that there were two va'u. And
582 up until twenty years ago (1927) all tuan tanah
778 lived in round houses. After that, however, a
801 change took place. For example, the tuan tanah of Weol now lives in a rectangular house. In the old clan house there were nine posts, in rows of three. The very center pillar was the main one and here sat the tuan tanah at religious rites. Others ranged around the walls in the front half of the house. The rear section of the house was for the tuan tanah and his family. Other panga had sections around the walls. In the center, behind the main post, was the kitchen. Later, when more than one round house was built in a single kampong, the tuan tanah occupied the main house, and here the main pillar of all was located. This pillar is especially holy, and the setting of it in place requires certain rites, sacrificial animals, etc. Other round houses had nine pillars too. Each house was inhabited usually by one panga, and in each there was a kepala panga, and smaller rites were held at each main pillar.

243 The circular rice field arrangement shows
782 certain similarities here. He says that even
778 now when they begin planting or have some other

000 only technical changes have occurred here.

592 I noted that as we were walking out of Weol, and I asked the priest how many families there were per house, he asked a man and the fellow said there were five in one of the big round houses nearby. Another man rebuked him and said no, there were only three in it. The priest said this is because the government has the law that only three families may live in a house, for health reasons. However, the folk secretly manage to have more. The first man was giving the folk away.

541 697 I forgot to say that at the whip fights (main tjatjih)[1] there was a band of extra gay fellows who did a lot of the sideline chanting and chorusing. They had red and white banners and at one time when we were taking photographs they came dancing en masse and singing across the field like a slow moving army. At 5 P.M. they raised the banners, singing lustily, and marched off. I asked who they were, and the Radja said that they were the prisoners of the jail, who had been given the day free, and that they were now marching back to jail!

463 462 231 The assistant says that all or nearly all men in Weol are farmers. Some, but very few, have specialist skills, but even those farm too. Not one woman has any other job than that of helping in the fields and making mats or weaving in her spare time. Nearly every man has a few to many horses, and some have other animals.

354 A bad feature of the old houses is the smoke from the fire which coats everything with soot and makes for additional darkness, but on the good side is the warmth which comes with the smoke.

769 718 342 173 614 <u>Theory on reading Coolhaas</u>:[2] The Ngada nadu which is for the male ancestors is a small replica of the conical houses of Manggarai. The small bhaga houses of the female houses are

[1] [See pp. 91-92, cat. 116 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

565 632 624 622 of Meler, the main kepala kampong of the Ndung complex, lives in Meler. The dalu came in about 1870. They were put in by Bima, and the tuan tanah said that they were of Bima origin. (Does this mean that no native chiefs were made dalu? Evidently.)

622 624 592 There is no native term for the kepala kampong. The tuan tanah is the tu'a tenu. In each house there is a house chief, the tu'a mbaru. The latter word means house. He is chosen by the men of the house.

623 592 693 The kampong council, which must be called together for each case, includes the tuan tanah, the kepala kampong, and the tu'a mbaru of their own houses. If the case involves adat, the tuan tanah is the chairman. An example of this would be a case concerned with land. If the case is concerned with administration, for example, with theft, the kepala kampong acts as chairman. In all cases, however, all of the members of the council are present.

614 624 The clans are divided into subclans called panga. Each of these has a chief, the tu'a panga. In Weol there are three panga and three tu'a panga. Two of these are also the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong. There are two panga and two tu'a panga in Ndung. The tuan tanah there is also tu'a panga of his panga and tu'a mbaru of his house.

614 173 I asked about the origin of the panga. The original ancestors, Vako Dangka and Ine Karas, had two sons: Lando Kakor and Naloholles. They married wives of another va'u and between them had seven sons (their daughters were forgotten, a reversal of the Ngada story, where the daughters of Djawa are remembered and the sons forgotten). Each of these became an ancestor of a panga, and in the course of time their descendants split into many more panga. New panga may be formed at any time, even now, as the old ones

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614 get larger and split. Thus there are many panga
173 in the va'u Weol (are they grouped under the original seven sons?).

614 The three panga of Weol kampong are: Lambar
621 (the tuan tanah is chief of this), Rinteng (the
592 kepala kampong is chief of this), and Rundu. It happens that there are two houses in each of the three panga in Weol, making six houses in all. Thus each tu'a panga has two houses under
342 him. The houses of the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong are built in the new style, as
178 are two of the others. There are then two old round houses, one with old non-wood walls. Most of the present round houses have wood walls and are built with nails. The roof does not reach the floor as in the real old time houses. The new style houses are all the same pattern, which was introduced by a certain priest. This is the only new style they know, and all new ones are exactly the same.

592 Often the whole panga will live in one house.
621 Ndung, which originally was linked with Weol, is
614 now a separate kampong and is even located in
624 another gelarang. The border is the mound above the small house area of Weol. They are
[778] continuous, but each has its own sacred tree. The kepala kampong of not only Ndung and Meler, but of the other four kampongs in the gelarang as well, lives in Meler. Thus there is only one kepala kampong for all the six kampongs. But each kampong must have a tuan tanah. The tuan tanah besar, however, lives in Ndung, just as the tuan tanah besar of Weol gelarang lives in Weol (this is our host). The big kepala kampong and the big tuan tanah of each gelarang has the rank of gelarang. In the gelarang Weol there are three kepala kampongs only, for the seven kampongs. Thus the Weol kepala kampong is also kepala kampong of Tjantjar.

614 The Ndung folk are all of the va'u Weol and
784 have a taboo on lusa.

000 614 592 342 178

have a taboo on lusa. There are two panga here: Rosong and Nggurus. Each panga has two houses, and thus there are four in all. There are more houses, however, and these are of the non-Wol newcomers, especially those from Ruteng. In addition to the four old houses of which two are built in the old style and one in the new style, there are: one round house belonging to the newcomers, mixed; three new style houses of newcomers, mixed. The reason that there are only three original houses is that one of the pangas has people living in a temporary, awful long tumbledown shack, wherein live also some newcomers. This is to be torn down as soon as two new style wooden houses, now under construction, are finished. In one of these will live the newcomers of the shed, and in the other the panga folk now living in the shed. Thus the houses are:

1. Tuan tanah house, new style, panga.
2. Round house panga.
3. Round house panga.
4. Small shed with one family who should live in number 3. It is beside the latter.
5. Round house newcomers.
6. New style newcomers.
7. New style newcomers.
8. Small shed newcomers.
9. Long shed mixed panga and newcomers.

Number 9 will split when the two new houses are finished, and the newcomers will go to one and the panga folk to the other.

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I asked about the roof ornaments. The horns are pretty clearly a sign of the tuan tanah's house. The other type, the straight upright rod, is an ordinary decoration. Some of the horns have a bird head in the middle, and I have seen birds on the horn tips, but not here. The tuan tanah of Ndung has the horns, but in the center there is a human face.

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624 In the house of the tuan tanah of Weol there
342 are four households. The tuan tanah has a sec-
592 tion to one side, since the old place in the
554 rear, as in the round house, is impossible be-
534 cause the rear door is located there. He keeps the gong-gendang, which is the symbol of his being tuan tanah. One might even call the tuan tanah house the drum house. These drums are important, as they are used in agricultural rites.

778 There are no holy stones (yet see later) in the kampong here. I hear that there are some in kampong Ruteng, which I must see. In each kampong there is a tree (the Weol one died some time ago and was replaced; the new one is rather small). Around these trees (the assistant knows nothing of the significance of the tree) are placed stones. He says they have no magic power, but in sacred rites animals are sacrificed there below the tree. In the cleansing of the kampong rite these stones are rearranged nicely.

178 Nowadays it is possible to marry in or out
582 of the clan. It is also possible to marry
614 within or without the kampong, and the kampong
[621] usually consists of one clan. But even now one may not marry in the same panga. Thus there is lineage exogamy.

Formerly clans too were exogamous, but in special cases one might marry in, for example, if the girl became pregnant. Evidently there were other cases too. But since about fifty years ago endogamous marriages within the clan have been possible. Nevertheless, most marriages are outside of the clan. The first case of clan endogamy in Weol kampong involved the parents of the present tuan tanah. This occurred fifty yeargs ago. He said that they cannot remember what trouble was caused if any. The assistant has heard tales of evil following such cases of endogamy. I must follow this up. What has

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784 dants of suku". (Evidently related to the
262 adat kepala kampong, the ata ngguäh nua ["man
614 suku descendants kampong."]) I must ask what
562 the suku membership variation in adat kepala kampong are; here he is an Odja. These taboos apply not to men nor to children of the suku but to women who marry into the suku only. This is very unusual, in ethnography. In the Odja suku these apply to the tomato, dog, eggs, and four other kinds of food. The males of Odja and the children may eat everything, but the wives may not. Thus if a Wanda woman marries into Odja, these are her taboos. If she eats
[753] any of these, she gets terrible sores, and they always point to their arms, just as the Ambonese say that sores on their arms are caused by the same thing. The Wanda taboos are the tomato, eggs, a kind of maize (djagung Solor), and ripe coconut.

784 (2) Family or household taboos. These are
262 called pire sa'o teenda (sa'o teenda means
753 family). These are set by the father (and by
● 592 the mother too?) on all the members of the
614 household, including the man, wife and children. Thus the assistant had bad sores two years ago and asked the dukun why. The latter diagnosed the cause as buffalo meat (the horns stuck through the skin). Whereupon Migo declared that buffalo meat was taboo to himself, wife, and children. Such a taboo stays in the direct line (thus a kind of lineage totem) until some head of a line decided it is needed no longer, and then a feast is given together with an animal sacrifice to lift the taboo. Thus Migo
[773] has started a taboo, and perhaps fifty years hence, unless it is lifted, they will have a story in his family about the origin of the taboo. The suku taboos have more ancient legends to explain their origins. These taboos of household restrictions are thus a kind of assumed taboo.

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592 The oldest man is the head of the house, and his eldest son succeeds him. This is invariable. The eldest woman is the manager (nu'a luka rumah tangga). The eldest son's wife succeeds her.

783 673 It is interesting to note that both adat sins and church sins are kept track of.

509 We left Larantuka on Tuesday, January 9, and stopped that night in Maumere, so that Kattenburg can get his plane to Makassar on Wednesday.

286 On Wednesday I went on to Ende, and this took six hours, because I went to Sikka (didn't quite get there because the road had been torn up, although I did see Lela, which is near it). Sikka is really isolated, and the road leading there is poor. I noticed all along the road that there were women under or beside the houses weaving. This is true all over Flores. I noticed the drying of threads after dyeing, the looms, the wheels, the piles of cotton, etc. I note the same thing in Roworeke, Wailolong, Leloba, and everywhere.

634 661 439 789 769 I heard much about the radjas' shady business practices (led by the Radja of Sikka, but Larantuka is in on it too) in regard to the surplus distribution sold in Makassar and the copra smuggled into Singapore, etc. The Chinese are in on the deal. Some day these radjas will be out, and this will be better for everyone. I talked with Arriens[1] about them and he was doubtful that they have much magic power here, but I think there is quite a bit. It is perhaps not so directly electrical as in Celebes, but the respect hangs heavy, and they are the apex of the whole ancestor cult. This is true of Larantuka, and I suspect it is true of the other areas.

632 634 Arriens said there has been much trouble in Tana Ai, because they want their own kapitan, but Sikka evidently has his own ideas. Until

[1] [i.e., Controleur at Ende -- Analyst]

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778 The negri lama of the suku Odja is about one-
753 half kilometer outside Ratebedi in the distant hills. No one lives there now, but there are stones, etc. (I think he said images too.) The Ratebedi folk give offerings there. This was the kampong of the great ancestor Odja Djata (the father of Odja was Djata). There are many such old places which are dangerous, for example, the assistant went to one such place near Pamudjera, and he got sick at once.

[784] There is always talk of danger in fooling around with old places and old rules. Thus, not long ago two men of Watu Roga set a stone boundary marker in the earth, but this is taboo. In three days one was dead and in three months the other died.

If I could get all of the information about
174 each kampong and suku I could rebuild the whole history of migrations, etc. And although most of the people have lost these stories, there are a good number of old men in Volofea and Bu'ube'i who could tell everything.

The assistant says he will try to get infor-
115 mation on all these things as he does his "control" work in his job as secretary of the gemeente. He asks for a good notebook and a briefcase to do this work! I don't trust him, that's all. He plots, and the story is that when I come back years from now he will have all the facts. Thus he put together my interest in these things, my statement that I might return to do more work here, and out of hopes to get a notebook and case fabricated his plan.

423 The land is family-owned (maybe lineage-
614 owned is a better way of phrasing it). The
●592 eldest son is the manager of the family land. Others work on it. If there are no sons, the
428 eldest daughter runs it, or maybe the deceased father's brother. The father may split up his estate among his sons, or give each one of his

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423 sons a parcel before he dies. Also, he may split
428 up his land among the brothers as the group gets
614 too large. When a group is really too large
● 592 for the estate, some may go to the mosa laki
[622] mere and get consent to develop a new piece of
waste kampong land. Also, if there are too
many people for the estate, the men or some of
them may work on their wives' families' land.
This is considered all right.

428 As for houses, the eldest son takes over
592 the paternal house, and if there is room enough
614 all brothers and families may live there too.
Some may move off into new houses. Thus the
present kepala kampong, Pala, is the eldest
brother of the assistant, Migo. Their father
was Pega. They are of the Pega lineage. Pala
occupies the old house, Migo a new one. If
Pala dies, Migo will take over the house and
management of the family land. The eldest son
is the big man all through the system, and
posts descend via the eldest branch all the way
down. The younger branches are always under-
neath. Nevertheless, they may set up a new line-
age at any time. Thus there could be a branch-
off with Migo, and his sons would be the mem-
bers. However, they may keep the unit Pega for
several generations, before splitting.

422 There is also the matter of the family
428 ritual possessions. These go down from eldest
614 son to eldest son all the way. Thus Migo has
none, because in his family the pusaka belongs
to his brother Pala. However, a father may
divide it up before he dies.

The family or lineage is the important
property unit. Small articles, for example,
clothing, may be individually owned, and the
suku and even the kampong has property. But
the crucial unit is the great family.

462 There is not such a strong division by sex
here. The women work at agriculture just like

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124 kampong, Tjantjar, and there the guru and the other person and a pastor from Maumere were found. The guru had received no letter from van Bekkum, and was afraid to start work until he had it. Also, there was an inspection of schools today. I got angry, and threatened to leave the place. Then we decided to go to Ruteng to van Bekkum, and when there it turned out that the latter had sent the leave papers to Pau, the guru's kampong, one-half kilometer from the mission, but it never reached there, or something happened. Anyway, we finally got things straightened out and we began work at the pasanggrahan. Tomorrow I will be at Weol.

We started by inspecting the records, which, though they have been filled out, have many holes. His map is good, but needs touching up. I don't know yet how his answers are. As for the questionnaire, I got as far as the end of the Weol names, but not onto the Ndung names. The following are some of the holes:

592 1. In exactly which houses do the various
582 households live? There are only six houses in
595 Weol (nine houses in Ndung). Incidentally, I note much polygamy. The kepala kampong has six wives. There are plenty of extra-kampong marriages, as there must be if there is kampong exogamy. But there are some endogamous va'u marriages. So far there are no endogamous panga marriages. Each house has a tu'a mbaru, and if in a house there is a tu'a panga he is also the tu'a mbaru. But there is one house, that of tu'a tenu, which has the latter for the tu'a mbaru, but there is another tu'a panga therein. There are tu'a mbaru who are not tu'a panga.

2. Religion is not noted.

565 3. The assistant did not note the class and clan and totem of those who married into the kampong, who were mostly women, but some were

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178 the fields might not have been arranged like the
342 places of the various panga or families in the old round houses. If so, it is beautiful.

The assistant says that in the old days when
592 perhaps all of one kampong lived in a single
614 house, the panga were like families therein. That is, since then the panga have expanded into subclans.

632 I asked if perhaps, before 1870, the tu'a
622 tenu gelarang might not have been the highest
152 chiefs except for the alien Bima sultan. He thinks that this is probably so, as there was no dalu until 1870. Then I asked if maybe even yet the tu'a temu gelarang might not really be more of a real head to the people than the dalu. He said that in the district, in all adat matters, especially land cases, the tu'a temu was indeed supreme. And even the dalu would not dare to tread on his power in these respects. Then I asked if the dalu were all of Bima origin. He said he thinks so, but that the people are afraid to say so. I asked if any of them have family trees, and he said they must have them. Then I caught him, as I reminded him that his wife was of the "dalu" bangsawan! I asked if her ancestors were aliens. He, embarrassed, said yes, they are said to have been. She is of the Rahong dalu bangsawan. I pressed the case by asking whether her ancestors came from Bima. He said that it is said they were from Pulo Rintja! This is a practically uninhabited island between Flores and Komoda!

This remark about being afraid to say anything about the dalu led me to remark that Manggarai seemed to be a part of Flores which was always under alien rule. He looked a little startled, but saw the point. Evidently, any mention of these "imperialist" matters causes a fear reaction. This came out when I asked if perhaps the tuan tanah was really more powerful

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342 old type, because it has low wooden walls, where-
178 as the old ones had the walls to the floor. The first change was thus, and within ten years the rectangular house is sweeping the country.

342 Inside this house (and before we entered the
[592] man worried as he said perhaps I would tell the police that there were more than three families living in it; indeed there were eight! and the law says only three), everything was dark, and several fires were burning on the floor and smoke was everywhere. There were a couple of low windows in the low walls, but even these were lacking before. All over men, women and children were sitting or reclining. The planks of the flooring were roughly worked with big cracks in between, but they were worn smooth by years of bare feet. In the rear was the apartment of the tu'a mbaru, set off by a low wall. Other spaces were not set off until night, when mats were hung up between them. There is not much privacy here. Looking up I saw the intricate network of rafters, with ropes binding the whole thing. And above this were the big mat holders for food. Long rows of ear corn, unshucked, were hung on the beams. The main post was the center of everything, but I did not see the food shelf for the naga, as I did not hear about this until later.

342 The conical roof is beautiful. This was an
531 ordinary house, with merely an upright stick
178 above the tip. Formerly, only the tuan tanah house could have horns, but I note that now many houses, rectangular ones (but I haven't seen any round ones that use the horns illegally) use horns illegally. Some horns are accompanied by birds. One set here has a bird in the middle and a bird on the tip of either horn. Another has a human head with horns like arms (looked like the human figure atop the Ngada ngadu).

614 I found that the Tjepang va'u is the main one

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621 rang Veol was run between the two kampongs. This was because if it had included in the Veol gelarang all the kampongs inhabited by va'u Veol, it would have been very large. And Bima wanted to have as many gelarang as possible, because thus a greater tax yield was made certain.

342 Fifty years ago all houses were round.
● 592 There were three of them, two in Veol and one
656 in Ndung. These houses were about two times
178 as large as the present round ones, that is, about twenty meters in diameter rather than about twelve meters in diameter. In one such house there might live up to three hundred people!

The assistant until about five years of age lived in a house in Pau with three hundred people. There were only two in the Pau kampong, one for each of the two va'u there. Then, in 1926, came a law stating that not more than three families could be housed in a single dwelling. It took some time before the houses became smaller.

In 1927, came a law stating that all houses had to be rectangular, not round (the paternalistic Dutch!). The people were willing to make their houses smaller, but they refused to make them rectangular. Also, they didn't know how to build a rectangular house. They had to call in specialists, carpenters. It is notable here that a really complex style of building, the round house type, was known to the primitive folk, but not the simpler rectangular type! Anyway, the law about having to build rectangular houses was rescinded after three hopeless years. Since then, houses until very recently were mostly round but smaller.

342 The next change was to have low walls on
178 round houses, and also they began to use nails (I noticed that in the new rectangular house

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166 578 affect mainly the younger branches of panga. The older ones are too important to leave.

[592] Most of the people who leave go as households, except for the men who marry out.

166 574 621 527 Those who leave never come back, as far as the assistant knows, but there have been returnees in other kampongs. They do come back, however, for the big feasts in the mother kampong. There are five kinds of festive returnees: (1) for kampongs in the gelarang Veol, all must come to Veol for the big feast, and so must Veol go to the tjabang kampong feasts. (2) for kampongs in the dalu Rahong, but in other gelarang, if there is a big feast, a delegation must be sent to the mother kampong, and vice versa. These kampongs have their own tuan tanah in the new Veol kampongs, whereas type (1) kampongs have only a tjabang tuan tanah. (3a) For kampongs outside the dalu Rahong, they may come if they want to, but they need not do so, and vice versa. They have their own tuan tanah. (3b) Isolated Veol families which live in kampongs among other va'u always come back, as otherwise there is no ritual life for them in relation to the ancestors, etc. (4) The Ndung and Veol folk, because they are nearby and of the same va'u, always come to each other's big feasts. (5) The Ndung area kampongs (Ndung gelarang) come to the Ndung feasts. Any of them may come to the Veol feasts too, and vice versa. The pattern in the gelarang Ndung is not so complex, as it is actually a branch of Veol.

527 574 756 The big feasts so treated are: (1) "New Year" which comes in November or December. It is not on any set day, but takes place when the gardens are all set and growing. The work is then over; (2) the building of a tuan tanah house; (3) a "buffalo feast," i.e., a cleansing of the kampong, a time decided by one of mbako, who decides that

342 this area which are round, because the rectan-
574 gular ones last longer and the people like
123 them on this account, because all of them
must pay for a new one). They gave me roasted
bits of pork (tough and with plenty of fat),
and the palm beer, which was milky and strong.
I took photographs of them and they were
amazed.

342 This is a new kampong, and is merely named
[103] six (Anam). There are plenty of round houses,
but all of them with partly wooden walls. The
assistant says that there are still a fair
number of the real old style round houses with
no walls, especially in Tjibal.

574 In the afternoon I went to the mandur's house,
● 592 where he served a fine dish of ear corn, fresh
from the garden, and also some corn cooked by
steam in the leaves. We also had rice, etc.
He is a real host, and his old father talked
some. I took photographs of the family, inclu-
ding his handsome wife. She is from Pongkor.
Plenty of her sisters seemed to be about, and
he said something about how this is quite usual
for a wife's sisters to live with her.

114 Finally we pulled out of Ruteng in the morn-
ing on January 31, expecting to ship out of Reo
that day. I stayed in Reo waiting two days.

[487] Going down the mountains I noticed that the
567 land was largely empty. The road led through
the dalu Tjibal. Down this road used to come
the slaves for shipping to Bima from Reo.
They were sold especially for firearms. Many
Manggarai descendants must be all over Indonesia,
because so many slaves were exported. Thus
there is a section "Manggarai" in Batavia. And
of course there are plenty in Bima.

114 In Reo, which is a poor place, I went to
Kedindi, the port, or rather the beach with
sheds of palm. There was no ship. Therefore
I went back to Reo and stayed at the pasanggra-

000 formerly in Minahasa.

There are many sellers of ikat cloth here.

The high center parts of the roofs here are special Sumba signs.

Halmahera: Oudehand was in the Tobela and Galela area of North Halmahera. There are no sibs there now, but he thinks there were before. He says, however, that there is no bifurcation of kin, and so I doubt it. He says that these people are on the coast, and he thinks they came from Ternate. They are proto-Malay entirely, he thinks. The mission is strong there. There are no kampongs in the interior, except for a bit in Kau, where there is a road. There, however, in the center there are many remote kampongs. The mission has been a great influence in setting up kampongs. Formerly they had only temporary settlements.

On the ship from Reo to Batavia I got around to the tabulations which follow:

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WAILOLONG

Males	344	Children (all)	450
Females	344	Houses	100
Total Population	688	Children to House	4.5
Sex Ratio	100	Households	112
		Children to Household	4.0
		Children to Adult	1.8

Children under 15	270
Children under 15 to Adult	0.63
Children under 15 to House	2.7
Children under 15 to Household	2.4
Population per House	6.9
Population per Household	6.1

5: Kennedy--408 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

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614 IIIa2. The last two are taboo. Letter to
582 him.

IIb: Ic1; IIIa1 (4); IIIa2; IIIb (2). All OK.

IIc: IIIa1; IIIb; IIIc. All OK.

IIIa1: Ic1; Ic2; Va; Vb (2); Leloba Kottang Waktukang; Ib; IVa1. The last two are taboo. Letter to him.

IIIa2: Ia; IIIa2; IVc. All these are taboo. Letter to him.

IIIb: IIa (4); Vb (3); Leloba Kottang Waktukang; outside; IVa. The last is taboo. Letter to him.

IIIc: IIa (4); IIb; IIIa (see note); IVc (3); Vb; outside (3); IIIc (2). The last two cases are taboo. Letter to him. (note: This is the "precedent" incest case. See notes on this.)

IVa1: IIIc. OK.

IVa2: IIIb. OK.

IVb: Ic1; IIa; Leloba Kottang. All OK.

IVc: Ia; Ic1; IIb (2); IIc. All OK.

Va: IIb. OK.

Vb: Ia; IIa (2) IIb (2); IIc.

(Note: The assistant told me that the Nipatale group in IV was IVc2, but in the records his cases are noted as IVa2. Letter to him.)

Outside: outside. OK. 1 case, the guru.

621 The assistant's map gives "wards" of the five
614 clans, although he marks one place as "mainly
582 Hurint, but mixed," and another is the Riang
● 592 near Leloba, mainly if not all Leworita or Lewodoreng. According to his "wards," these are out of place:

5: Kennedy--409 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
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	House	Suku	"Ward"
621	8	Datong (wife Hurint	Hurint
614	15	Lewodoreng	Hurint
582	17	Outside (guru)	Lewodoreng
592	18	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	21	Datong (wife Hurint	Hurint
	25	Hurint	Datong
	31	Hurint	Datong
	33	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	37	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	41	Leworita	Lewodoreng
	42	Datong	Lewodoreng
	45	Leworita (wife Datong)	Datong
	47	Leworita	Lewodoreng
	55	Lewodoreng (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	62	Hurint	Leworita
	65	Lewato	Leworita
	66	Hurint (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	67	Leworita (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	68	Lewodoreng	Lewato
	73	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	74	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	75	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	78	Datong	Lewato
	79	Leworita	Lewato
	80	Hurint	Leworita
	81	Hurint (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	82	Hurint	Leworita
	83	Datong (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	87	Leworita	Lewato
	89	Hurint	Leworita

Thus, out of 100 houses, 30 are "out of place." Of these, however, the wife belongs to the "ward of residence" in fourteen cases. This leaves only sixteen cases which are really "out of place."

624 I tried to fill in the offices and ran into
124 some trouble. By using the records and the map
614 on which he indicated the houses of the officials,

5: Kennedy--414 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
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	Male	Female	Total	Sex Ratio	Houses	Households	Population per House
I	80	73	153		12	27	13
II	25	33	58		7	10	8
III	25	24	49		5	11	10
IV	9	12	21		2	5	11
V	18	13	31		2	8	16
VI	19	18	37		7	8	5
VII	21	19	40		8	8	5
VIII	15	26	41		8	10	5
IX	13	17	30		5	7	6
X	37	38	75		10	14	8
XI	34	31	65		16	17	4
XII	19	26	45		9	10	5
Total	315	330	645	95.2	91	135	7.1

	Children	Children under 15	Children to Adult	Children to Household	Children under 15 to Adult	Children under 15 to Household
I	92	82				
II	37	35				
III	28	28				
IV	12	9				
V	18	17				
VI	19	14				
VII	20	18				
VIII	24	24				
IX	18	18				
X	44	39				
XI	29	28				
XII	27	23				
Total	368	335	1.3	2.7	1.1	2.5

R

565 ranks. There is really no nobility here, only persons who are in line for posts. As for slaves, the assistant gives only the following: No. 183, male, 40, a Gusa, and a pagan. Something is probably queer here.

624 614 771 871 The only offices the assistant gives are:

1. Ata nggaeh nua: No. 1, 60, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
2. Giri tumba: No. 62, 45, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
3. Guru agama: No. 81, 25, Odja, Christian, 4 grades.
4. Kepala kampong: No. 135, 40, Odja, Christian, illiterate.
5. Kapitan: No. 350, 30, Odja, Christian, 3 grades.
6. Djurutulis: No. 509, 40, Odja, Christian, 5 grades.
7. Mandur djalan: No. 532, 40, Ndoru, Christian, 5 grades.
8. Hadji: No. 554, 40, Bangova (Nggobe), Mohammedan, 3 grades.

Odja has the most posts. The pagans seem to keep the adat posts.

Wu

162 621 592

VEOL--NDUNG

	Male	Female	Total	Houses	Households	Children	Children under 15
Veol	70	70	140	6	25	82	69
Ndung	89	117	206	9	44	111	105
Total	159	187	346	15	69	193	174

5: Kennedy--425 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
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	Sex Ratio	Population per House	Children per Adult	Children under 15 per Adult
Veol	100.0	23.3	1.4	0.97
Ndung	76.1	22.9	1.1	1.04
Total	85.0	23.1	1.3	1.01

	Children per House	Children per Household	Children under 15 per House	Children under 15 per Household
Veol	13.7	3.3	11.5	2.8
Ndung	12.3	2.5	11.8	2.4
Total	12.9	2.8	11.6	2.5

	Households per House (The law requires that the maximum ratio shall not be over 3:)
Veol	4.2 (5, 8, 2, 4, 3, 3)
Ndung	4.9 (3, 7, 4, 3, 6, 6, 1, 4, 10)
Total	4.6

Population per House

Veol		Ndung	
No. 1	38	No. 7	11
2	46	8	32 (round)
3	9	9	20
4	11	10	10
5	19	11	25 (round)
6	17 (round)	12	28 (round)
		13	6
		14	19
		15	55

5: Kennedy--431 E-5 (1949-1950) 1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

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614 Size of Pangas: Veol: 25, 30, 37--62
592 Ndung: 36, 44-80

The houses are usually mixed as far as clans are concerned.

Polygyny: Veol (3 cases)

595
771 (Numbers refer to ages)
614
212 Case No. 1 50: 46, 45, 30, 25, 20, 20.
The 5th is Catholic, the others are pagan.
2 are of the same clan, the others from different clans.
1 is sekontun, 1 mangko pitu, 1 lampang, 1 dalu, and 2 gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 7 50: 46, 30
The 2d is a Catholic, the first pagan.
They are from different clans.
1 is mangko pitu, 1 dalu.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 12 45: 40, 40.
Both are pagan.
They come from different clans.
One is dalu, 1 gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Polygyny: Ndung (4 cases)

Case No. 27 50: 47, 30.
Both are pagan.
They are from different clans.
Both are gelarang.
All are illiterate.

We.

665 The thought of a political career is absolutely absent. No one has it, not even the guru.

204 The one local paper, the mission bi-weekly
203 "Bentara" (herald), is received by only one
212 guru in Leloba and two guru in Wailolong. It is read by perhaps ten other individuals in each place. It is very important, as it is the only paper here. The people are now in the habit of asking the guru what is in the paper. Thus the word of mouth is the main vehicle, but the feeble paper is an important item. The only books here are school books and religious books. Adults read only the latter, and not for fun. However, they love stories, and he is sure that a library would be deluged with readers. Literate adults over thirty or forty are rare. Younger people are mostly literate. There is
[207] no radio here at all.

582 There have been no changes in the marriage
●593 system to speak of in the last half century.
858 Roy says there have been few changes in the
888 family either. I tried to ask if the children are less respectful or obedient now, but he said no. I tried to get this by the religious conflict, but he is adamant that it never split up families. Even here there was never a loss of respect for the elders, even though they were pagans and the children were Christians. And the elders, although their hearts were sick, never tried to force their children to follow them. They were just not violent. There was never a case of disowning. He said a parent would be ashamed forever if he had done so, and indeed it was quite unthinkable. They love children so much that, though they might try to talk with them, if a child remained firm always a child would get its will. The parents would be ashamed of any open or loud conflict. They might have troubled hearts, but that's all. Although they might try reasoning with them, they would go no further.

562 but the men have a slight edge on the women. They are more "important." In rights, privileges, etc., they are equal. There is no abuse of women, and they are supreme in their own spheres; it is just that the men's sphere seems to be a bit more important. Women scold and shout and order the men around. They are not
[583] suppressed. If, for example, a man drinks too much, his wife will simply stop fixing his food and he will quickly come around and apologize.

Formerly, most marriages were prearranged.
584 This is less true today. Indeed, there was much
178 more forced marriage before, and I get the idea
882 that it is rare for one to show resistance when faced with a parental choice. There were cases
[762] of suicide (male and female) and running away. In the old days, the regular thing was for the parents to fix up everything by themselves. Today, more and more of the boys and girls speak up telling whom they like so that the parents learn of this before they try to fix up the marriage arrangement. Thus the initiative is shifting from the parents to the children.

I get the idea that there was quite a lot of trouble in the old days in this regard. Perhaps this was more pronounced as new ideas came in, if such an expression can be used for this stagnant place. For example, Roy's brother ran away.

764 At this point there was a funeral. The other
[177] guru had excused himself, and then we heard a low chant approaching, in the local language. It sounded like the Latin chanting the Catholics do in procession (an obvious imitation of the priests' chanting, in the local language). Then a line of people appeared, two by two, with a bamboo coffin of a little child on a litter, and behind this the guru with a sheet on, which had been made into a kind of cloak, resembling that of a priest. Behind him came the mourners. The

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551 I asked about personal names and found that the suku name is not used as a personal family name. What they do is the same as the Scandinavians and Arabs and old Jews. They indeed usually employ only their own names preceded by their Christian names, if any. But if asked, they will also give their father's name after their own name. Thus my assistant is Migo. His church name is Adrianus. His father's name was Pega. Usually he calls himself Adrianus Migo, but if pressed he will say Adrianus Migo Pega. The same holds for the kapitan, who is Mani and whose father was Api. The giri tumba is Raki, and his father Dura. Thus in full, Migo is Adrianus (Church) Migo Pega of suku Odja. They
197 said that no one in the kampong could speak Dutch, and perhaps only a little more than ten per cent could speak Malay. There is one man
[212] (Bapa Ketjil of Aiutu, an old man who chews betel and has almost no teeth) who can write in the Ende script. They call it tulisan lontar. They say that in Ende town alone it is well known, but outside of the town it is rare.

595 The wife of the Controleur says that the
183 Radja of Manggarai is a Catholic, although he has two wives. This is a nice problem. The former Radja of Lio was brought back from exile by the Japanese during the war. Later he was executed by the Dutch because he murdered so many Dutch, Australians, etc. But he also killed many children for the fertility of the rice fields. Nevertheless, he was a Catholic. The Radja of Sikka has had several wives, even at the same time, and many concubines. At one time he had a Mohammedan wife and also a Mohammedan concubine. Each time he confesses and reenters the mother Church, to the rejoicing of the priests.
793 The priests here are evidently worse than death
178 for the old adat, much worse than the Protestants
797 in Ambon, and the people are scared of them, for

No
584 true no more for the Christians in Leloba. Here
184 they have only adult betrothal. In Wailolong,
however, there is still plenty of this child
betrothal business. This may take place at
the age of three to four years. They are told
of this when they are from five to six years old.
As children they think nothing of this until
584 they become older. Sometimes the tusks are paid
583 early; at other times they wait until actual
marriage. If the boy's father agrees to pay for
a girl and later the boy refuses, he must pay the
bride price anyway. In the old days, however,
a boy never refused, or almost never. The
younger brother of the guru hated the girl he
was betrothed to as a child and ran away to
Badjawa. His father paid the tusks anyway and
they were lost by so doing. Later the brother
married a woman from Roti.

621 The guru was the first man from the Belakang
582 Gunung [behind the mountain] area (consisting
of eight kampongs) who married a Larantuka woman.
His wife was from Balela. Later, the present
kakang (who is a Leloba man) married a woman from
Balela too. Balela is a foothill kampong now a
part of Larantuka town.

595 A man may have up to three wives, but no more.

The guru's father had much magic power. He
789 was the panglima perang [war leader] here. He
776 had familiar spirits who helped him and usually
178 he alone saw them. Other people would see them
825 sometimes. Thus the guru heard a noise like a
horse in front of the house one night when he
was young. He looked out and there stood a
buffalo. There are no buffaloes in this area.
He called his father and the latter told him to
shut up. This buffalo was one of his father's
familiars. Another time the guru was in the
fields with his father and heard stones rattling.
He saw a crocodile. There are no crocodiles here
either. He called his father, and again his

769 or ngadu. These and the bhaga, which I could
346 not see clearly but which are evidently merely minature rectangular houses for female ancestors, are notable features in just about all of the Ngada kampongs. Arndt[1] says the bhaga are empty, but I wonder. These two sorts of structures are erected by the prosperous folk to show respect and honor to their dead ancestors. Each one is given the name of the ancestor. Evidently, a person may build one for himself.

They are always built in pairs, one male and one female.

159 The very fat Radja of Ngada came to the
634 pasanggrahan in a uniform with shoulder epau-
224 lets, four stripes, and above this a cluster
[292] looking like a sunburst. The uniform was white and not unlike that of a KPM captain. He can't write, and is still a pagan, but he says that his children are Christian. He is very jolly and although tolerant I can see that he thinks little of the missions. He also criticized the forced labor which the Dutch demanded for road work when he was young. He said that anyone who wouldn't follow orders, including the radjas, was jailed or deposed. He is the man who joked about the Dutch and the "modern"
[595] Florenese. He never does much in administration, but likes to hunt and has many wives. He told us that he has many children and grandchildren. He gets in trouble with the government for burning the vegetation in deer hunts. He said it is necessary to kill deer as otherwise they would hurt the gardens. This land has practi-
311 cally no trees on it, but consists mostly of
[137] [133] rolling naked hills as a result of overburning.
[224] Maybe the priest was right who said that he thought they were a hunting folk before and in those days they burned off the whole area in
[241] deer drives. Now they burn off the vegetable

[1] [See pp. 366-69 of Arndt as cited in bibliography, Cat. 113 -- Analyst]

We
842 too uncommon. If relatives help out in this
583 matter,[1] they must be repaid. The assistant
[602] said that if there are no children or if there
[597] are very few children, it often happens that a man buys a child, who then becomes one of his own. (From whom does he buy?)

565 The ranks are:

582
595
1. Radja bangsawan
2. Dalu bangsawan (he says, since 1880) (Kraeng)
3. Gelarang bangsawan
4. Leke (commoners)
5. Mendi (slaves)

The first three may intermarry, either way. The last two may intermarry, also either way. Polygamist marriages are possible, and this goes even for the Christians who do so in order to have more children. He talked as though polygamy, if done for this purpose only, was not so bad. He is of the gelarang and his wife of dalu. The children are of gelarang.

624 Then we got onto the subject of the social
621 organization of Weol. He said that there is a
342 tuan tanah and also a second man, whom he will
534 explain later, as it is a long story. There is also a medicine man, and he is important in ceremonies. He will give me the posts of the kampong later on the sheets.

Weol has two offshoot kampongs. One is Tjantsia (where he lives) and the other is Tjara, on the next hill. The former has a tuan tanah tjabang (a branch tuan tanah). Incidentally,
[178] the present tuan tanah of Weol lives in a rectangular house, which was an unknown thing here before ten years ago. Even in this rectangular house, there is a main post or rather a place which serves as a main post, and here the tuan tanah sits as the center of rituals. The tuan tanah must have in the house a gong and a gendang

[1] [i.e., meeting the bride price --Analyst]

609 belebang. It means "not known," in the sense of being a stranger." In the case of whites, etc., this is very clear. In dealing with other Indonesians, they know the people in their own kampong so well that they can spot a stranger immediately. They can spot this also because of his clothes and hairdo. Thus as we rode along today we were asked to stop by the guru. He said that there was a Tandjung Bunga man whom he had spotted. He was a tall pagan with a long bob and wearing red beads. He was fine looking. He could be identified as a Tandjung Bunga man even in the way he walked. And if he speaks, one can tell immediately. This is especially true here, where the pho-
[194] netics are hard, even for the Larantuka folk. The Radja has a hard time getting the sounds right. I asked whether the pastor was belebang, and they said that they were so used to him that he was not considered such. It is a matter of use and acceptance.

173 There is, of course, a long story connected with the cosmological meaning of the social
621 organization. There seems to be a vague rank-
● 595 ing according to the relative age of the brothers who founded the kampongs. Leloba was the oldest brother, Wailolong the second oldest, etc., and Watuwiti was the youngest. But this is not strictly the case. Nevertheless, if they have a great rite for the building of a new korke in a kampong when all kampongs gather and animals are cut, the head, feet, cutting and betel passing functions show something in regard to rank. He is uncertain as to the ranking and functions involved, but will try to find out more about this.

This led to a long story without much point to it except that it told about the negri lama and the migrations of the brothers outward. The story starts with the oldest negri lama,

584 comes pregnant.) This sexual activity is about
836 the same as marriage anyway, as it leads finally to marriage. And anyway, there is no
584 adat rite of marriage. What happened in the
836 old days and what still goes on among the
178 pagans is simply that one day, when everything is all right, the girl is brought to the boy's
178 house, and the couple simply moves in. There is no ceremony.

Nowadays, with Catholicism, and with prearranged marriages, they have a church rite before they sleep together. But the other type of marriage goes on, and in this case they just confess and get married after having slept together. This is a pretty case. And even
595 prettier is the case of polygyny. In the old
178 days this was more frequent, but even now there
183 are Christians who have more than one wife. In this case the first one is married in church, but the second can have no church rites. (As he says, she has no sacramen.)

684 They are very prudish about molesting girls
832 (ganggu). If, for example, a boy squeezes the
721 breast of a girl, and even if she likes it and says nothing, her father and brothers, if they
128 hear about it, go to his house and kill his
627 animals and break up his tusks. They get directly at his property (and that of his ama or suku too) thus, and so it hurts. He has molested their property, and they get back at him in the same way. This might lead to war, and often did in the old days. Note that he mentions as the second most frequent cause of war that of molesting women.

832 He gave a fine case of trouble between kam-
684 pongs resulting from such a case. In his youth
628 three girls from Leloba were molested by boys from another kampong. The girls were getting water. The father and brothers of the girls became angry and smashed up the belongings of

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832 those rascals. They scolded them, saying that
684 if they wanted women, they should ask about
628 them, and speak up about it. That is, they were willing to hear a request, but it had to be done through regular channels without chiseling. ("If you had come to us decently, etc.")

582 In regard to the relative ages of the couple when marriage takes place, the ideal is to have a couple whose ages are nearly the same. If either is older it is better for a boy to be a bit a girl's senior. If there is too great a discrepancy in age, it is not good.

●595 His grandfather had four wives. I note that
183 he does not seem to regard polygyny as very bad, even now. And he does not hesitate to tell me that other Christians do this. It is simply that they do not get the sacramen for the second, or third, or even later wife. That's all. Dispensation is called isin.

582 He says that the people in Tandjung Bunga
836 marry when they are very young, and that they begin their sex life as early as nine years old.

178 In the old days, the boys in Leloba and Wailo-
513 long slept regularly in the korke or sebuang
882 (the ama korke, and this is a correction:
[346] sebuang does not refer to the barns of the ama,
[614] but to the cult houses). A I think he said that this is not done any more in Wailolong. It was not required, but they just did it. This took place after a boy reached the age of about sixteen. Roy did it himself. They liked this because it was more fun. They could talk, sing, discuss girls, etc. (I think it was practically a rule, and I wonder what they would have said if a boy did not go there.)

What has happened now is peculiar. The boys
178 sleep together in groups, wherever it seems
513 good. They get in the habit, for example, of
882 sleeping on the benches of a certain house, or
171 in a vacant house, etc. (Thus I see that the

A [See cat. 116, p. 166 -- Analysis]

R

771 families which are split (e.g., Migo has Mohammedan relatives, including a hadji) talk very little about religion except for such things as how was the trip to Mecca, etc.

582 This led to the matter of marriage. Migo
797 said that there might be trouble with religious differences in marriage, but there had not been much fuss yet. There are two or three cases of Catholic men who became Mohammedan in order to marry Mohammedan girls. There is no case yet of a Mohammedan becoming a Catholic in order to marry.

This led to a discussion of a case where a Catholic married a pagan. Usually the pagan agrees to a church wedding, but there are some cases where the pagan will not agree, and then they just live together.

595 Then I got some real data: There are Catho-
183 lic men who have two wives. They marry the first wife in the church, and just live with the second. The second wife is often a pagan. Thus the kepala kampong has a second wife, and she is the young beauty who was among the crowd who got into the jeep one time going to Ende. I tried to speak to her, but she was wide-eyed and said nothing. She looked like a wild animal. She is illiterate and one hundred per cent pagan. Thus he admitted that there are still young pagans (are they mostly men or women?). She was perhaps twenty years old. I asked if the pastors nag about this, and he said no. Evidently the pastors are not concerned about these people. They just preach that it is not right (but evidently they go easy on such cases, because they are afraid that they might turn some of the individuals against the church. Thus, how could they excommunicate the kepala kampong?) As for the children of mixed pagan-Catholic marriages, he said that there are some arguments. Evidently, here again the whole level is so low that it does not amount to much.

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581 behavior. Looks are a mere by-matter. The same holds for women. They like good workers for husbands (men must keep at the gardens); and as far as I could see, that is about all. I wonder if men should be decent (I doubt that looks are thought of much if at all), as long as they work. These people are way beneath any aesthetic stuff in love (but it may be there in its own way!).

836 They insist that there is not one case of
[848] a bastard in their memory. However, yesterday I got the impression that boys have a chance with, for example, widows sometimes. But evidently the girls just stay virgin. They hammer on this; it is and always was a one hundred per cent rule, and that a girl would try to fool on
179 this is considered a terrific thought.

797 In the family the Catholics have tried to
595 stop: (1) polygny (but this goes on), (2)
587 levirate and sororate (but this goes on), (3)
582 mother's brother's daughter marriage (they do this with more distant relatives in order to keep up the form). This is interesting.

789 In regard to the nobility, I can get no re-
753 action on ideas of magic power, and they say
[565] that even the Radja of Ende does not have any. They say that he is new anyway. He is just a big man from the Djari Djawa suku (but the radja must come from this, but I got the idea that Nggobe might get in too). I asked if maybe the mosa laki had any, and they said no. If they do not obey they just become angry, and it is better to stay on their good side as they control the land and they are the big men anyway. There is no magic punishment. Thus they are different even from Larantuka. The only things which have magic power are taboo places, for example, the rumah pemali, the grave-bone shrines, and the old ancestor places. Breaking such taboos can cause illness, and the

We
124 kampong, Tjantjar, and there the guru and the other person and a pastor from Maumere were found. The guru had received no letter from van Bekkum, and was afraid to start work until he had it. Also, there was an inspection of schools today. I got angry, and threatened to leave the place. Then we decided to go to Ruteng to van Bekkum, and when there it turned out that the latter had sent the leave papers to Pau, the guru's kampong, one-half kilometer from the mission, but it never reached there, or something happened. Anyway, we finally got things straightened out and we began work at the pasanggrahan. Tomorrow I will be at Weol.

We started by inspecting the records, which, though they have been filled out, have many holes. His map is good, but needs touching up. I don't know yet how his answers are. As for the questionnaire, I got as far as the end of the Weol names, but not onto the Ndung names. The following are some of the holes:

592 1. In exactly which houses do the various
582 households live? There are only six houses in
●595 Weol (nine houses in Ndung). Incidentally, I note much polygamy. The kepala kampong has six wives. There are plenty of extra-kampong marriages, as there must be if there is kampong exogamy. But there are some endogamous va'u marriages. So far there are no endogamous panga marriages. Each house has a tu'a mbaru, and if in a house there is a tu'a panga he is also the tu'a mbaru. But there is one house, that of tu'a tenu, which has the latter for the tu'a mbaru, but there is another tu'a panga therein. There are tu'a mbaru who are not tu'a panga.

2. Religion is not noted.

565 3. The assistant did not note the class and clan and totem of those who married into the kampong, who were mostly women, but some were

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609 presence too. They are always apprehensive. They are afraid of new things, such as schools (at least when they first came in). They are an apprehensive lot, and their history offers a good explanation. I can see this even in the assistant. Also, as the Maumere pastor says, they are extremely respectful. They hold one hand to receive a cigarette, and the tuan tanah [576] and others, when they leave me, bend way over. Sikka, he says, is different.

576 171 These people remind me of the "oppressed" and noble-ridden Buginese and Makassarese, and indeed through their contact with Bima they came under the same system of respect and the like. The pastor says that fifteen years ago they crept before a superior. How different they are from the Ambonese, or even to some degree different from the Larantuka and Ende people, although the latter are more this way (but how much less!). The Toradja were much different too. They were not hit so hard by the Buginese slave raids evidently. And it must be remembered that Buginese administration never really penetrated Toradja land.

797 The church does not mix in politics here.

The Catholics entered here about 1922. They went slow, and they are still not moving at a very fast rate. About fifty per cent of the population here now is Christian, says the assistant. In getting information for the records [595] the assistant found it difficult to get information on polygamy. 124 I note that there are several interesting cases. For example, the tuan tanah of Veol rode to Ruteng with me today, with his second wife, who is young. She is a Catholic, but they were not married in church. The kepala kampong has six wives, and number five is Catholic, but there was no church wedding in this case either. However, there are other troubles in getting information, and he

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771 should not pray. Also, a Catholic may not
788 initiate ceremonies by himself, for example,
183 house rites. I wonder what happens to a Catholic who lives in a house with the little hanging shelves for the naga. There the shelf is over their heads, and I wonder if they do not give offerings. If I had the time I would like to trail a Catholic around; my guess is that most of them do not worry too much about orthodoxy. There is still a lot of friction here.

875 There is a guru agama for Veol and Ndung,
793 but he lives in Rai. Usually there is a guru agama for each kampong, but these are twins. Usually one pastor serves one or two dalu. Rahong has the Maumere man, who lives in Tjantjar.

797 Most conversions are made of the young through the school. There are no cases of children converting their parents. There are relatively few direct adult converts. The school does the trick. A convert must first be a catechumen and learn the ropes. This lasts for one to two years.

797 The priests worry a lot here about what to
183 do, because adat is so dependent on the old
578 ceremonies. In Larantuka they have tried to
595 Christianize the pagan rites, etc. Right here there is a real problem, as the heir apparent of the big tuan tanah of Veol is Catholic. The assistant says van Bekkum[1] has discussed what should be done with him. Then too there is the matter of polygamy, which is very strong here. Most of the outright opposition to Catholicism comes from men or women who, because of a plural marriage, are not looked upon favorably by the
[783] church. There is no possible idjing (dispensation, according to Oudehand's version)[2] for this. This is a head-on conflict, especially because they desire so many children. The polygamists

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]; [2] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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797 are the ones who most often get lost to the
183 church, and they are the ones who fight bitter-
578 ly against the church. Perhaps here Mohamme-
595 danism might have an advantage, but the pig necessity at ceremonies would stop it cold. These people can get along without more than one wife, but without pigs the whole ritual life would be unthinkable. Thus each church has its weakness.

634 The first Radja of Manggarai, Baruk, was
595 put in by the church, actually. He was a
797 Catholic. The present one has two wives, one
578 of them a Minahasan. The mission is worried.
183 This is why the radja is only a deputy or acting radja and not a full radja. The mission runs Flores and will not agree to let him become a real radja as long as he remains a polygamist. The mission is on the spot. Probably the present man will never get the full status. This is checked by Degens, the Controleur.

Later, in Waingapu, Oudehand, the former Controleur in Larantuka, told me that the Radja of Larantuka also has several wives and keeps them, although he is "Catholic." One of them, the head one, is the daughter of the Sikka Radja.

This is all beautiful material in regard to acculturation and Catholicism. The Catholics are as tolerant as they can be, but they can't accept polygamy.

554 Note: The title nyora (from Portuguese sen-
177 hora) is used here as in Ambon for the guru's
171 wife. I don't know whether it is also used, as in Ambon, for a chief's wife.

771 There is no Mohammedanism here, and no tendency toward Mohammedanism. Polygamy would work out all right, but the pig taboo would be very difficult indeed.

162 Degens says that the population of Manggarai is about one hundred and ninety thousand. Of these, about ninety thousand are Christian.

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162	Odja--Gusa	3--3	Djawa--Gusa	2--0
614	Odja--Reandona	2--0	Wadja--Odja	3--0
582	Odja--Woro	2--1	Reandona--Ndoru	2--0
	Gusa--Wanda	3--0	Penawuri--Baoru	2--0
	Gusa--Soa	2--0		

Thus, of the 15 frequencies, 11 are not reversed; 4 are. This might look a bit like mother's brother's daughter marriage. Note that Wanda never marries into any of the Big 5; but perhaps this does occur in Watu Rota (?).

To get anywhere in this area on the subject of marriages, one would have to collect this sort of data for all cases or from many kampongs. My guess is, whatever the original system was, that there are no marriage classes. However, there probably is a lot of mother's brother's daughter marriage.

595 162 Polygyny cases: (numbers refer to ages)

(1) 38: 30, 20 (sisters); Odja-Meo; pagan; illiterate; No. 5.
(2) 30: 25, 20; Odja-Ndoru, Meo; Christian, Christian, pagan; illiterate, 3, illiterate; No. 8.
(3) 50: 50, 50; Odja-Reandona, Wanda; pagan; illiterate; No. 24.
(4) 40: 30, 20; Ndosi-Wanda, Odja; Christian, pagan, pagan; illiterate; No. 54.
(5) 45: 45, 45, 45; Odja-?, Wanda, ?; pagan; illiterate; No. 62 (giri tumba)
(6) 50: 50, 35; Wadja-Odja; pagan; illiterate; No. 313.
(7) 30: 20, 18; ?-Rewarangga; Christian; 3, 3, illiterate; No. 426.
(8) 40: 30, 40; Bangova-Wanda, ?; Mohammedan; 3, illiterate, illiterate; No. 554.

565 There is not much to say about classes and

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614 Size of Pangas: Veol: 25, 30, 37--62
592 Ndung: 36, 44-80

The houses are usually mixed as far as clans are concerned.

Polygyny: Veol (3 cases)

595
771 (Numbers refer to ages)
614
212 Case No. 1 50: 46, 45, 30, 25, 20, 20.
The 5th is Catholic, the others are pagan.
2 are of the same clan, the others from different clans.
1 is sekontun, 1 mangko pitu, 1 lampang, 1 dalu, and 2 gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 7 50: 46, 30
The 2d is a Catholic, the first pagan.
They are from different clans.
1 is mangko pitu, 1 dalu.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 12 45: 40, 40.
Both are pagan.
They come from different clans.
One is dalu, 1 gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Polygyny: Ndung (4 cases)

Case No. 27 50: 47, 30.
Both are pagan.
They are from different clans.
Both are gelarang.
All are illiterate.

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● 595 Case No. 207 40: 37, 30, 25.
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212
The 2d is a Catholic, the others are pagan.
All three are from different clans.
All are gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 235 30: 27, 30, 30.
The 1st is Catholic, the others pagan.
All three clans are different.
1 is mangko pitu, the others are gelarang.
The husband has finished three grades; the wives are illiterate.

[587]

(Note: The 2d wife lives in another house with her children. Because the children are of the same clan as her present husband, and she is a widow, this is perhaps a case of levirate.)

Case No. 307 30: 25, 25.
Both wives and husband are Christian.
Both clans are different.
Both are gelarang.
The husband has finished 3 grades, the wives are illiterate.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Gorontolo OG4 Mori-Laki OG7 Atjehnese OD4
Flores OF9 Javanese. OE5

In earlier times, the desa elders were the most important functionaries throughout the entire domain of the life of the community, but today they seem to have atrophied in most regions. JE 623 624

There are a number of "free" desa (perdikan, pekunchen, mijen, pesantren), which received special immunities and privileges from the native princes in the past and whose special character has been recognized by the Dutch Government. JE 621

Communities of Christians are not desa in the native sense, but simply communities of Christians belonging to a desa and possessing their own property (church and funds) and autonomy.

12. *The territorially-based community in Atjeh.*—The autonomous communities of Atjeh are also exclusively territorial. This is true for the large regional communities, as well as the villages. Patrilineal clans (kawon) still have some measure of importance in the highlands, but they do not enter into the structural organization of the territorial community. At 621 614

Atjeh is broken up into a hundred or more regional communities for which there is no native term, and which today exist as territorities or sub-divisions of territories under autocratic, hereditary governors (uleebalang or chiq), and in the directly governed territory, native communes. At the head of each village is a village chief (keuchiq or peutua), a man formerly appointed by the regional chief, but now the holder of an hereditary office. He is "the father of the village." Beside him stands the male "mother of the village," the spiritual ruler who attends to religious and Islamic affairs. Assisted by a council of elders (ureueng tuha), these two rule the village. At 621 622 793 623 Gr F I

13. *Additional territorially-based communities.*—The last group of peoples to be listed as having purely territorial communities are those on the islands of Bangka and Billiton, and in the Malayan territory of Borneo and the East Coast of Sumatra, in addition to which are the "subdistricts" of Gorontolo, and the villages of Bolaang Mongondow. 621

The natives of the Banggai Archipelago live scattered over their islands without any form of political union. Such chiefs as do exist appear to be foreign intrusions established by the native princes. The Ngada people, who live on the island of Flores, are also without community organization. The small family groups, which make up the population, live entirely independent of each other, without any higher community organization. ML [361] F [596]

The various types of community, which we have now outlined, 000

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842 too uncommon. If relatives help out in this
583 matter,[1] they must be repaid. The assistant
[602] said that if there are no children or if there
[597] are very few children, it often happens that a man buys a child, who then becomes one of his own. (From whom does he buy?)

565 The ranks are:

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595
1. Radja bangsawan
2. Dalu bangsawan (he says, since 1880) (Kraeng)
3. Gelarang bangsawan
4. Leke (commoners)
5. Mendi (slaves)

The first three may intermarry, either way. The last two may intermarry, also either way. Polygamist marriages are possible, and this goes even for the Christians who do so in order to have more children. He talked as though polygamy, if done for this purpose only, was not so bad. He is of the gelarang and his wife of dalu. The children are of gelarang.

624 Then we got onto the subject of the social
621 organization of Weol. He said that there is a
342 tuan tanah and also a second man, whom he will
534 explain later, as it is a long story. There is also a medicine man, and he is important in ceremonies. He will give me the posts of the kampong later on the sheets.

Weol has two offshoot kampongs. One is Tjantsia (where he lives) and the other is Tjara, on the next hill. The former has a tuan tanah tjabang (a branch tuan tanah). Incidentally,
[178] the present tuan tanah of Weol lives in a rectangular house, which was an unknown thing here before ten years ago. Even in this rectangular house, there is a main post or rather a place which serves as a main post, and here the tuan tanah sits as the center of rituals. The tuan tanah must have in the house a gong and a gendang

[1] [i.e., meeting the bride price --Analyst]

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ema father, father's brother, mother's sister's husband.
nde mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.
amang mother's brother, father's sister's husband.
inang father's sister, mother's brother's wife.
empo grandparent.
weta sister, father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter.
kae older brother; ase--younger brother. Also father's brother's son, mother's sister's son.
kesah father's sister's son, mother's brother's son.
wina mother's brother's daughter, wife.
rona father's sister's son, husband.

114 Coolhaas[1] is all right on cross-cousin mar-
582 riage, too. Only one of a set of brothers mar-
583 ries a mother's brother's daughter. Other
565 brothers may not do so. In this event it can
614 be any of the brothers, not only the eldest.
597 But it is essential that one must and the others must not. However, if another brother wants to after one brother has, he must pay a horse in addition to the usual bride price. This is probably for a common man, and the extra price may be expected to be higher for a noble. This is done only if the father of the boy is unwilling to let him be adopted by another. The latter is another means to the same end. Thus, if the second brother wants to marry a mother's brother's daughter too, the father can let him be adopted by another man. However, the latter must be of another panga. Then the bride price is kept at the usual size.

114 Note an error in Coolhaas on page 348! Two
582

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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513 less pondok where in the daytime I see women
882 weaving. They call the boys' houses "kuwu." There are no girls' houses. The girls sleep with their parents, or rather each grown girl has a separate apartment in the parental house.

562 Males are more influential, and they give most
178 of the orders, but women will revolt if men do not behave. They will not give the men food, they will scold the men, etc. They act up, however, only if the men misbehave. And they are not afraid of doing so. The girls nowadays are a bit freer than before in regard to talking up, etc., but there is very little change, in general. The old folk are not too pleased about having the girls in school. They can't see the use of this.

614 Correction: It suddenly turned out that
● 597 there are two ata nggaeh nua in this kampong, Bapa Ketjil, for the Odja suku; and the brother (older) of the kapitan for the Gusa suku. If the suku is large enough, it has such an adat expert in a kampong. These are the only ones large enough here. Then the true story of the kapitan came out. He is not classified as a member of Odja, but actually he was born a Gusa. The former kapitan adopted him. He became a foster child, or ana gave (the g here is pronounced like the French uvular r). I asked if this was what Wouden[1] called ndueh, and they were surprised. It turns out that ndueh means "to have two wives." (How could Wouden's source have made this error?)

Such a foster child becomes a member of his foster father's suku. There is no ceremony; he just moves in. He takes on a new set of relatives, but also keeps his own. He becomes a kind of "double-suku" man. Thus the kapitan calls his real brother kaka, and also uses this term for his new brothers in Odja. But I note that he married an Odja woman, and it seems

[1] [See pp. 20&85 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -Analyst]

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614 that the exogamy taboo is off, as he still is
597 half Gusa. Also, he still must attend all suku ceremonies of Gusa, as well as those of his adopted suku Odja. Thus, indeed, he is a double-sibbed man. Note that he could become kapitan only via adoption, because only an Odja or a Rewarangga suku man can be, and this does not apply to a man of Gusa. This is a good case.

583 In former times there was a strong force
178 behind the ruling which made a child marry anyone chosen by a father. This ruling has weakened, but still survives. The force, however, is no longer absolute. If a boy or girl remains adamant, the marriage is not forced. This is why they do not pay the bride price early any more, as they are not sure that the children will obey them when they are grown, and they stand to lose the payment for a non-fulfillment of contract. The bride price is paid, and that is all.

611 The system here is patrilineal, and there has been no shift away from this in any direction.

162 The sex ratio here is about equal, and this is approximately the same as it was before. They think this is all right.

586 There is no divorce here, and there never
583 was. They at once said, "why in the world do that, when the bride price of a woman is so high?" (A good substantiation of the priest's point that the bride price is a good thing in order to keep and strengthen the marriage bond!)

684 I asked what happens in a case of adultery. They said that formerly as well as today a man was satisfied with a fine, and gets this anyway. If the spouse catches the couple in the act, he can kill both of them. This is the same as before. The wrong party, always the man in the case, must pay the injured mate a

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162 614 582

Penawuri:	Baoru	2
Bangova:	Wanda	1
	Unknown	1
Foa:	Wanda	1
	Unknown	1
Soa:	Ndoru	1
Wai:	Reandona	1
Mboti:	Wadja	1
Mbonggi:	Unknown	1
Kora:	Gusa	1
Outside:	Outside	2
	Odja	1
Unknown:	Unknown	13
	Rewarangga	2
	Gusa	1
	Baoru	1
	Total	17

Remarks on marriage: Of the six evidently endogamous marriages, one is not really endogamous, because the kapitan was born into Gusa but [597] adopted into Odja. Of the four Gusa endogamous pairs, three, in Kopo Edo, he maintains are distant. The other two are unexplainable: 1 Gusa and 1 Djawa.

These are pairs having frequency above 1:

Odja--Wanda	7--0	Gusa--Gusi	2--0
Odja--Ndoru	4--4	Wanda--Reandona	2--0
Odja--Meo	4--0	Ndoru--Wanda	4--1

114 As Vatter[1] says, there are taboos of a totemic
784 sort. Ama Hurint has a taboo on a kind of
614 vegetable. Others are as given by Vatter. Vatter has a real error, however, in that there are only five suku, not six, because Marang is within Kottang.

582 Marriage with one's father's sister's sister
835 [father's sister's daughter?] is taboo, as are
177 marriages between parallel cousins. Mother's brother's daughter marriages are preferred, and this occurs regularly. It was interesting to note that the mother's brother's daughter marriage is considered taboo in Catholic communities. This was admitted, and no longer do Catholics
[836] here marry their real mother's brother's daughter unless the girl has become pregnant (this is evidently a fairly common occurrence, as it is mentioned freely). However, because of the classificatory system, it is possible to marry a mother's brother's daughter relative through the grandparents. Such a relative must be at least a fourth grade cousin to suit the Catholics. Thus they manage to maintain the old system and suit the Catholic demand.

601 Kinship terms are as follows:

father:	bapa
father's brother:	bosu
father's sister:	nona, kaka (male speaking); nona kaka, tia (female speaking) (Tia means mother-in-law)
father's brother's son:	kaka aring (male speaking); na'a (female speaking)
father's brother's daughter:	bine (male speaking); kaka aring (female speaking)

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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father's sister's son:	naduk, opu (male speaking); mure'bereung (female speaking) (The latter means "may marry.")
father's sister's daughter:	opu kesi(ng) (male speaking); nada (female speaking)
mother:	mma'
mother's sister:	bosu
mother's brother:	blake (this means father-in-law [male speaking])
mother's sister's son:	kaka aring (male speaking; na'a (female speaking)
mother's sister's daughter:	bine (male speaking); kaka aring (female speaking)
mother's brother's daughter:	mure'bereung (male speaking) (This means "may marry.") nada (female speaking)
mother's brother's son:	naduk, (opu?) (male speaking); dading (female speaking)

(At one point he said that dading means mother's brother, in addition to the term blake; maybe it is mother's brother [female speaking]? However, he said it is used by either male or female, so perhaps it is as in the situation involving the father's sister, where the terms nona and kaka are used by both males and females, but the special term tia, or mother-in-law, is used by a woman referring to her mother-in-law.)

601

Father's sister's husband:	tiu (female speaking) (This is exactly right for the husband of the father's sister in a cross-cousin marriage.)
mother's brother's wife:	tia (male speaking) (This is mother-in-law for a man speaking, and is exactly right for the wife of a mother's brother in cross-cousin marriage.)
father-in-law:	blake (male speaking; tiu tiu (female speaking)
mother-in-law	tia
husband:	lake
wife:	kawai(ng)
brother:	na'a
sister:	bine
grandfather:	nene
grandmother:	nene
older brother or sister:	woru'i(ng)
younger brother or sister:	tukan dore(ng)
middle brother or sister:	tuho wutung

Other terms came out during the agonized questioning, and I will merely mention them here. Most of them are wrong, I am sure, but I had better keep note of them:

Another term for mother's brother was dading. At one point mother's sister was given as nona (male speaking), kaka (female speaking). Father's brother's daughter was once given as kaka adi (male speaking), bine (female speaking). At one

•601 point he said that all on one's father's side are called blake; and all on one's mother's side are called bosu; which is clearly wrong, because the father's brother is called by this term. Also, at one point, mother's brother's sister was given as blake (father-in-law), and this for a man speaking, which isn't bad. Also, the term naduk was given for mother's brother's sister (male speaking). At one point he also gave for mother's sister's son [HCC: ?] the term naduk (male speaking) or dadi(ng) (male speaking); opu or naduk (female speaking). He also gave, at one time, the term na'a (male speaking) for mother's sister's daughter, which is impossible, because this means brother. Evidently, kaka aring is merely kaka or adi.

Taking all the terms, they run:

nene:	grandfather, grandmother
bapa:	father
mma':	mother
lake:	husband
kaway(ng):	wife
nona:	father's sister (at one point, mother's sister [male speaking])
kaka:	father's sister (at one point, mother's sister [female speaking])
bosu:	father's brother, mother's sister
kaka aring:	father's brother's son (male speaking), mother's sister's son (male speaking), father's brother's daughter (female speaking), mother's sister's daughter (female speaking)
na'a:	brother, father's brother's son (female speaking), mother's sister's son (female speaking)
bine:	sister, father's brother's daughter (male speaking), mother's sister's daughter (male speaking)
naduk:	father's sister's son (male speaking)

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	mother's brother's son (male speaking), (at one point, mother's sister's son)
opu:	father's sister's son (male speaking) (at two points, mother's sister's son [probably not] [female speaking], and mother's brother's son [male speaking])
opu kesi(ng):	father's sister's daughter (male speaking)
nada:	father's sister's daughter (female speaking), mother's brother's daughter (female speaking)
dading:	mother's brother's son (female speaking), (at two points, mother's brother and mother's sister's son [male speaking])
blake:	father-in-law (male speaking), mother's brother (at one point, mother's brother's son [male speaking])
tiu:	father-in-law (female speaking), father's sister's husband (female speaking)
tia:	mother-in-law, father's sister (female speaking), mother's brother's wife (male speaking)
mure'bereung:	mother's brother's daughter (male speaking), father's sister's son (female speaking)
woru'i(ng):	older sibling
tukan dore(ng):	younger sibling
tuho wutung:	middle sibling

583 He said in regard to the circulation of the
582 marriages that the mother's brother's daughter
614 marriage is the thing that keeps the system going. It is this plus the exchange of the tusks. The sibs, subsibs, and sub-subsibs gear in too. There is much indirect exchange of wives, but it can't

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567 a stage where they were taken into the clan of
565 the master. The slaves who were paid as a tax
114 (taki) to Bima in Reo were not longtime ones,
[651] but newly bought ones. This is because long standing slaves were used to the house and would not run away. If they were sold and then had to be replaced, this would mean breaking in new slaves. Most slaves were owned by nobles, but some rich commoners had them too.

567 The ata lampang, slaves of the sultan or
565 dalu who used to live in separate kampongs,
621 are now living in mixed kampongs, although there
114 is not much mixture. That is, other people have moved into their kampongs, and they also have moved into other kampongs. It is remembered, however, that they are descendants of slaves. In regard to what Coolhaas[1] says on page 346, he is right about the kind of slaves called sekontu. They were directly under the kraengs of Todo and Pongkor, and had special duties. Their descendants are still numerous in their kampongs: Tengka, Levur, and Levat (i.e., these are the Rahong ones). There has not been much mixture.

567 The mangko' pitu are so called because they
565 are located in seven kampongs. The name means
651 seven cups or dishes. Their duties are to see
621 that rice, etc., are delivered if the kraeng of
114 Todo or Pongkor are on a trip, and also they must provide supplies for law cases on tour. Their kampongs are Tjera, Lerong, Se'ing, Ngadjok, and three others. These are now mixed. These kampongs are not under either the dalu or gelarang, but are under the direct rule of Todo and Pongkor (until fifteen years ago). They are now assimilated just about to commoners, but they still remember their descent.

114 Coolhaas[1] is all right on page 348.
●601 Coolhaas's[1] kin terms are O.K.:

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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601 114

ema father, father's brother, mother's sister's husband.

nde mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.

amang mother's brother, father's sister's husband.

inang father's sister, mother's brother's wife.

empo grandparent.

weta sister, father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter.

kae older brother; ase--younger brother. Also father's brother's son, mother's sister's son.

kesah father's sister's son, mother's brother's son.

wina mother's brother's daughter, wife.

rona father's sister's son, husband.

114 582 583 565 614 597

Coolhaas[h] is all right on cross-cousin marriage, too. Only one of a set of brothers marries a mother's brother's daughter. Other brothers may not do so. In this event it can be any of the brothers, not only the eldest. But it is essential that one must and the others must not. However, if another brother wants to after one brother has, he must pay a horse in addition to the usual bride price. This is probably for a common man, and the extra price may be expected to be higher for a noble. This is done only if the father of the boy is unwilling to let him be adopted by another. The latter is another means to the same end. Thus, if the second brother wants to marry a mother's brother's daughter too, the father can let him be adopted by another man. However, the latter must be of another panga. Then the bride price is kept at the usual size.

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Note an error in Coolhaas on page 348[h]? Two

h [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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000 does not amount to much.

178 When new things first came in there were
578 certain troubles, but now most of that is over. Nowadays when the old men get drunk they flare up about the old days, but otherwise they keep quiet.

166 The next day the kapitan said that the young men are now starting to talk about going off and becoming sailors or policemen. He has discussed this with the Radja, because he fears that if this goes on too much, the district will be drained of its present population (!). The Radja told him that he would allow only police trainees to leave. Does this mean that the people here have no freedom of movement? Perhaps an impelling factor in this talk is that the kapitan's younger brother recently left here after a vacation. He is a policeman and is being transferred to Sumba. It would take only a few examples to get the wanderlust going perhaps.

601 After a terrific struggle I got the kin terms, and as closely as I can figure them out they go as follows:

father	baba
father's brother	baba susu
father's sister	no'o
father's brother's son	ari, ka'e (male speaking); nara (woman speaking)
father's brother's daughter	veta (man speaking); ari, ka'e (woman speaking)
father's sister's son	edja (man speaking); aki (woman speaking)
father's sister's daughter	veta (man speaking); ipa (woman speaking)

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601 mother	ine
mother's sister	ine susu
mother's brother	ada
mother's sister's son	ari, ka'e (man speaking); nara (woman speaking)
mother's sister's daughter	veta (man speaking); ari, ka'e (woman speaking)
mother's brother's son	edja (man speaking); nara (woman speaking)
mother's brother's daughter	hai (man speaking); ipa (woman speaking)

Hai also means wife or "woman."

Aki also means husband or "man."

Ari and ka'e mean older and younger brother (man speaking); older and younger sister (woman speaking).

Nara means brother (woman speaking).

Veta means sister (man speaking).

Thus we can see that the woman calls her "brother": father's brother's son, mother's sister's son, and mother's brother's son; that is, all except father's sister's son, who is called "husband."

A man calls the following relatives "sister": father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter; that is, all except mother's brother's daughter, who is called "wife."

A woman calls her father's brother's daughter and mother's sister's daughter "sister"; but calls her father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter "sister-in-law." The term for the former also means "husband's sister," and the same term means, in the latter application, "brother's wife."

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601 A man calls his father's brother's son and mother's sister's son "brother"; but calls his father's sister's son and mother's brother's son "brother-in-law." The term for the former also means "sister's husband," and the same term means, in the latter application, "wife's brother."

[582] Thus the terms check out exactly for mother's brother's daughter marriage, and even to the specific application to siblings-in-law as appears from the following:

sister-in-law	ari, ka'e (man speaking); ipa (woman speaking
brother-in-law	edja (man speaking); ari, ka'e (woman speaking)
wife's brother	edja (man speaking)
wife's sister	ari, ka'e (man speaking)
husband's sister	ipa (woman speaking)
husband's brother	ari, ka'e (woman speaking)
brother's wife	ari, ka'e (man speaking); ipa (woman speaking)
sister's husband	edja (man speaking); ari, ka'e (woman speaking)
father-in-law	ada (man speaking) aki no'o (woman speaking) (means "no'o-punya aki" or "father's sister's husband")
mother-in-law	ine tu'a (man speaking); no'o (woman speaking) (means "father's sister")
mother' brother's wife	ine tu'a or hai ada (man speaking); hai ada (woman speaking) (hai ada means "ada-punya hai" or "mother's brother's wife")
father's sister's husband	aki no'o (man speaking) (means "no'o-punya aki"

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●601 father's sister's husband	or "father's sister's husband"); aki no'o (woman speaking) (same meaning)

The entire thing checks out perfectly.

grandfather	ambu ata aki
grandmother	ambu ata hai

I didn't get the terms for mother's sister's husband or father's brother's wife. My guess is that they will be, respectively, baba susu and ine susu.

Correct: And this is the final check. Listing of the terms with meanings:

baba	father
ine	mother, father's brother's wife
baba susu	father's brother, mother's sister's husband
ine susu	mother's sister
no'o	father's sister, mother-in-law (woman speaking)
ada	mother's brother, father-in-law (man speaking)
ari, ka'e	father's brother's son (man speaking, father's brother's daughter (woman speaking, mother's sister's son (man speaking), mother's sister's daughter (woman speaking), brother (man speaking), sister (woman speaking), husband's brother, wife's sister, brother's wife (man speaking), sister's husband (woman speaking), brother-in-law (woman speaking), sister-in-law (man speaking)
nara	father's brother's son(woman speaking) mother's sister's son (woman speaking)

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	mother's brother's son (woman speaking), brother (woman speaking)
veta	father's brother's daughter (man speaking), father's sister's daughter (man speaking), mother's sister's daughter (man speaking), sister (man speaking)
edja	father's sister's son (man speaking), mother's brother's son (man speaking), wife's brother (man speaking), sister's husband (man speaking)
ipa	father's sister's daughter (woman speaking), mother's brother's daughter (woman speaking), husband's sister (woman speaking), brother's wife (woman speaking)
hai	mother's brother's daughter (man speaking), wife, woman
aki	father's sister's son (woman speaking), husband, man
hai ada	mother's brother's wife (man speaking or woman speaking)
ine tu'a	mother's brother's wife (man speaking), mother-in-law (man speaking)
aki no'o	father's sister's husband (man speaking or woman speaking), father-in-law (woman speaking)
ambu	grandparent
ambu ata aki	grandfather
ambu ata hai	grandmother

582 835 I can find no flaw in the system. It is exactly right for mother's brother's daughter marriage. And they say this is the right thing. Nowadays, there is some trouble with the church, and they have, canonically, to go up three generations to get the proper hai or aki (that is, mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's daughter;

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587 moved out of the girl's house, a man must pay another price for her sister. If they have not yet moved out (for example, the guru still lives in the house of his wife's father, the head guru), no bride price is paid, and the father gives a sister free.

601 587 835 Now, note the beauty of the kinship terms here. I had wondered why the terms ari and ka'e were restricted to: brother (man speaking), sister (woman speaking), sister-in-law (man speaking), brother-in-law (woman speaking), wife's sister (man speaking), husband's brother (woman speaking), brother's wife (man speaking), and sister's husband (woman speaking). The fact is that the terms mean, not really sibling, but these relations and these linkages only. The connotation is that one can marry his or her ari or ka'e, while the real brother and sister terms (nara, veta) mean a marriage taboo. Thus the levirate and sororate are beautifully reflected in these terms. Where the terms are used for persons of the same sex, they cause no trouble, because marriage here is impossible anyway. Perhaps the truth is that they mean brother and sister, in a way, but since they have to have other terms to indicate ones who cannot be married, they have also the terms nara and veta. The edja and ipa terms, the other ones for cousins, make no difference, as they also are used for persons of the same sex.

842 578 181 The belief here is that the more children one has the better it is. They are sad if they have only a few children. They like children of both sexes for different reasons. Boys are good to work in the gardens (and can develop new land) and are good in standing up for their father (a relic of the old war days, but even now in an argument it is good to have a big gang, and as they say, "You can trust only your

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•601 I then got onto the kinship system, which
[114] Coolhaas gave only in partial form. It is a real mother's brother's daughter system, and quite perfect.

[104] Note: From now on I will use the V rather than the W of the Dutch and the German to show the V sound as it is. Thus Veol, not Weol. I wonder if the Larantuka W as in Wailolong should be V or whether it is really a bilabial. It is probably the latter, but there is no question but that the V in Veol is as it should be.

father	ema
father's brother	ema
father's brother's wife	ende
father's sister	inang
father's sister's husband	amang
mother	ende
mother's brother	amang
mother's brother's wife	inang
mother's sister	ende
mother's sister's husband	ema
brother	kae (older), ase (younger)(man speaking); nara (woman speaking).
sister	veta (man speaking); kae--ase (woman speaking).
brother's daughter	anak; nana (vocative) vote (woman speaking)
brother's son	anak; nana (vocative) (man speaking); to'a (woman speaking)
sister's daughter	to'a (man speaking); anak; enu (vocative) (woman speaking).
sister's son	koa (man speaking); anak; enu (vocative) (woman speaking).

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father's brother's son	kae--ase (man speaking); nara (woman speaking).
father's brother's daughter	veta (man speaking); kae--ase (woman speaking).
father's sister's son	kesah (man speaking); rona (woman speaking; non-vocative).

(Note: As rona also means "husband" or "man," a woman is ashamed to call her father's sister's son this; she uses it in referring to him to others, instead; but to him directly she says nana, a special term meaning "son.")

father's sister's daughter	veta (man speaking); ipar (woman speaking)
mother's sister's son	kae--ase (man speaking); nara (woman speaking).
mother's sister's daughter	veta (man speaking kae--ase (woman speaking).
mother's brother's son	kesah (man speaking); nara (woman speaking).
mother's brother's daughter	vina (man speaking; non-vocative); ipar (woman speaking)

(Note: As vina also means "wife" or "woman," a man is ashamed to call his mother's brother's daughter by this term; he uses it in referring to her to others; but to her he says enu, a special term meaning "daughter.")

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● 601	husband	rona (non-vocative); the vocative term involves primogeniteknonymy: "ema of" (first child's name); before a child is born the vocative consists of the personal name of the husband; but after a child is born the wife always uses the primogeniteknonymy, unless she wishes to insult him, when she uses his personal name. This might happen in anger, implying, I suppose, that he has no child.
[851] [551]		
	wife	vina (non-vocative); the vocative uses primogeniteknonymy: "ende of" (first child's name); before a child is born the husband uses his wife's personal name; but after a child is born he always uses the primogeniteknonymy term, unless he wishes to insult her, when he uses her personal name. This may be used, for example, in anger, implying, I suppose, that she has no child.
[851] [551]		
	husband's father	amang
	husband's mother	inang
	wife's father	amang
	wife's mother	inang
	wife's sister	vina (non-vocative), kae--ase (vocative).
	wife's brother	kesah
	husband's sister	ipar

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601 husband's brother	rona (non-vocative), kae--ase (vocative).
brother's wife	vina (non-vocative), kae--ase (vocative) (man speaking); ipar (woman speaking).
sister's husband	kesah (man speaking); rona (non-vocative), kae--ase (vocative) (woman speaking).
wife's sister's daughter	anak; enu (vocative).
wife's sister's son	anak; enu (vocative).
wife's brother's daughter	vote
wife's brother's son	to'a
husband's sister's daughter	to'a
husband's sister's son	koa
husband's brother's daughter	anak; nana (vocative).
husband's brother's son	anka; nana (vocative).
son's wife	vote
daughter's husband	koa
son	anak; nana (vocative).
daughter	anak; enu (vocative).
grandparents	empo (and up to all generations).
grandchildren	empo (and down to all generations).

Taking the terms as they come, we can thus give the following meanings:

ema	father, father's brother, mother's sister's husband.
ende	mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.
inang	father's sister, mother's brother's wife, husband's mother, wife's mother.

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601 amang — mother's brother, father's sister's husband, husband's father, wife's father.

kae--ase — brother (man speaking), sister (woman speaking), father's brother's son (man speaking), father's brother's daughter (woman speaking), mother's sister's son (man speaking), mother's sister's daughter (woman speaking), wife's sister, husband's brother, brother's wife (man speaking, vocative), sister's husband (woman speaking, vocative).

nara — brother (woman speaking), father's brother's son (woman speaking), mother's sister's son(woman speaking), mother's brother's son (woman speaking).

koa — sister's son (man speaking), husband's sister's son, daughter's husband.

veta — sister (man speaking), father's brother's daughter (man speaking), father's sister's daughter (man speaking), mother's sister's daughter (man speaking).

anak — brother's daughter (man speaking), brother's son (man speaking), sister's daughter (woman speaking), sister's son (woman speaking), wife's sister's daughter, wife's sister's son, husband's brother's daughter, husband's brother's son, son, daughter.

nana — brother's daughter (man speaking, vocative), brother's son (man speaking, vocative), husband's brother's daughter, husband's brother's son (vocative), son (vocative).

vote — brother's daughter (woman speaking), wife's brother's daughter, son's wife.

to'a — sister's daughter (man speaking), brother's son (woman speaking), husband's sister's daughter, wife's

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	brother's son.
•601 enu	sister's daughter (woman speaking), sister's son (woman speaking), mother's brother's daughter (man speaking, vocative), wife's sister's daughter, wife's sister's son, daughter (vocative).
kesah	father's sister's son (man speaking), mother's brother's son (man speaking), wife's brother, sister's husband (man speaking).
rona	father's sister's son (woman speaking), husband, husband's brother, sister's husband.
ipar	father's sister's daughter (woman speaking), mother's brother's daughter (woman speaking), husband's sister, brother's wife (woman speaking).
vina	mother's brother's daughter (man speaking), wife, wife's sister, brother's wife.
empo	grandparent, grandchild, great grandparent, great grandchild, etc.

The implications of the terms are as follows:

veta	"a woman Ego may not marry" (man speaking).
nara	"a man Ego may not marry" (woman speaking).
rona	a man whom a woman should or does marry.
vina	a woman a man should or does marry.
vote	a woman who must marry a woman's son (woman speaking); a woman who must marry a man's son (man speaking).
koa	a man who must marry a man's daughter (man speaking); a man who must marry a woman's daughter (woman speaking).

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601 to'a — a niece or nephew of different sex from the speaker, when the child of a sibling of the speaker is of different sex, i.e., "cross-nephew-niece."

kae--ase — a sibling of the same sex, or a man or woman whom a man or woman may marry in levirate or sororate (a possible mate, if not of the same sex).

ipar — a woman who must marry a woman's brother (woman speaking), or a husband's sister (woman speaking). If a sister wants to find out if a girl likes her brother, she calls her ipar, and if the girl replies ipar, it shows that they are ready to be brother's wife and husband's sister to each other.

kesah — a man who must marry a man's sister (man speaking), or a wife's brother (man speaking). If a brother wants to find out if a boy likes his sister, he calls him kesah, and if the boy replies kesah, it shows that they are ready to be sister's husband and wife's brother to each other.

587 The levirate is required. This gets into trouble with Catholicism, but Cornelius shrugged his shoulders when I said this. I told him that the Ende Catholics say that it is all right for a man to take his brother's widow into his house and care for her and her children, although they should not have sexual relations with each other. Of course they can't marry. He laughed when I said that the Ende guru remarked that although they are supposed not to have sex relations with a brother's widow, what can they do when she is in the same house?

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587 I must check on the following: If there is no levirate, must the new husband of a widow pay the full bride price, or what?

601 587 583 Note how the kinship terms reflect the levirate: the term for brother's wife is the same as for wife and for mother's brother's daughter, although the vocative terminology is different.

The sororate, although not required, is allowed. The bride price must be paid. Still, note how the kinship terms seem to reflect the sororate: the term for wife's sister is the same as for wife and mother's brother's daughter, although the vocative is different. Moreover, in regard to the levirate, the term for husband's brother is the same as for husband and father's sister's son, although the vocative is different.

Moreover, in regard to the sororate, the term for sister's husband is the same as for husband and father's sister's son, although the vocative is different.

587 583 In the case of the levirate, a token bride price is paid. I found this out the next day, and it may consist of one horse. But this is the same thing as no bride price. The brother has a special privilege on his dead brother's [262] widow. (They eat horses occasionally here.)

In the case of the sororate, however, the full bride price must be paid, as the girl is a new purchase.

601 He says there is a strong taboo against a girl calling her father's sister's son rona and a man calling his mother's brother's daughter vina. Not having any dictionary, I do not know if this is because there is an obscene connotation to these words for man and woman, but I doubt it, because they are used referentially. Evidently, it is just too forward. He said that it is cause for terrible shame if a child

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601 does so. So much for the kinship system.

Then, incidentally, he said that an indis-
273 pensable item at each sacrifice must be palm
769 wine (tuak). Even if they have to travel for
778 some distance to get some (and it is hard to get in the Veol area, as not much is made locally), they must do so; and the reason is that the stone, which is the central point of all rites, must have a libation poured over it. The ancestors are explicitly called, and then the tuak is poured over the stone as though into the mouth of a person which the stone is. Thus I think these stones are the ancestors. They are real idols. Note that the Vatu Veol, and the removed Ine Amba too, are, (or were) in human form. I think that perhaps the popularity of statues in Java after the Hindu influx may have been due to the pre-existence of human form stone images. The point is, in this libation business, the stones are treated as though they were really human.

In regard to the mother's brother's daughter
582 or tungku marriage, this was formerly required,
578 at least for one son. He might be forced
835 brutally into such a marriage if he was reluc-
[753] tant. It should be the eldest son too. If this is not done, the family may be afflicted with illness. And it is wicked anyway. This rule still holds, although force is no longer used to back it up. A good case is that of the assistant himself. He didn't like his mother's brother's daughter, as he said, "she lived in the house" (what psychological overtones are there here?). So he refused, and married his wife. However, he has two other brothers, who are still unmarried, and his whole family is watching anxiously until one of them marries the mother's brother's daughter. He says that they talk about this all the time. It is true that they are still pagan. His father indeed

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124 will tell them. He says that the pastors do
[797] not like it if a guru gets too zealous. They want him to respect the old ways and go slowly. This is indeed crafty.

771 Among the thirty-nine dalu, about twenty of
565 them are Christian, says the kraeng. About
796 thirty per cent of the gelarang are Christian,
183 says the kraeng, but the assistant says that this is true only of their heirs apparent. The trouble in regard to the rites which the gelarang must lead is still to come. For example, the heir apparent of the Veol gelarang is Serai, who is about twenty-five years old and a Catholic. What will happen? The assistant says that he must lead the rites, but they will have troubles reconciling the old with the new Catholic ways. But so far everyone, including the Catholics, must go through the ceremonies, because they are so closely related to their livelihood. Agriculture, on which everything depends, is unthinkable without the rites!

●601 Larantuka: I met Oudehand, "controleur" at
[115] Waingapu in Sumba, and had a talk with him. He worked in Leloba and is writing an article for "Indonesia" about the adat there. We got onto the subject of kinship terms, and he had this to say. He says that opu is the term for affinal relationships. This goes for both sides. Thus, with the qualifier belake (my term for mother's brother) opu belake means all the relatives with whom a man is related by marriage, that is, his wife's (mother's brother's daughter) group. And on the other side, he says opu wai(ng) means all the relatives-in-law on the father's sister's side, i.e., the man's sister's relatives-in-law. The general term opu, he says, he got for mother's brother, mother's brother's son, and father's sister (all man speaking), and perhaps also father's sister's son (man speaking).

•601 Anyway, he seems to be right that opu belake indicates the relatives of a man on the mother's side, and opu wai(ng) his relatives on the father's side, or rather the persons with whom a man's sister marries. That is, the third group in the circle. And so, we can say that opu belake may mean the woman-giving group (man speaking) and opu wai(ng) the woman-receiving group. As for the opu term, I have it that at one time he said it was not only father's sister's son (man speaking) but also mother's brother's son (man speaking). If this is so, it means that the term means cross-cousin of the same sex (man speaking). The corresponding term for a woman speaking would be nada, which means father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter (woman speaking).

I should have got more terms.

I searched through Arndt's[1] grammar for terms and got another for father, ama, and another for mother, ina. He says naa (my na'a) means brother (woman speaking) and bine means sister (man speaking). These seem to mean siblings of the opposite sex, but Roy says they mean brother and sister with either sex speaking. It is possible that kaka and aring (my father's brother's son and mother's sister's son, man speaking; and father's brother's daughter and mother's sister's daughter, woman speaking) are also brother and sister, with the same sex speaking.

The term for child of either sex seems to be ana, with the added belaki(ng) for son and barakowai(ng) for daughter. Male is belaki(ng).

For uncle, Arndt has opu and belake. Putting all this together, perhaps it runs like this:

father	bapa, ama
father's brother	bosu
mother	ema (or mma'), ina

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

601 mother's sister	bosu
father's sister	nona, kaka (man speaking) nona, kaka, tia (woman speaking)
mother's brother	belake
brother	na'a (Arndt says this is only for woman speaking)
sister	bine (Arndt says this is only for man speaking)

If Arndt is right, maybe they have kaka and aring for brother (man speaking) and sister (woman speaking).

father's brother's son	kaka, aring (man speaking) na'a (woman speaking)
mother's sister's son	kaka, aring (man speaking) na'a (woman speaking)
father's brother's daughter	bine (man speaking) kaka, aring (woman speaking)
mother's sister's daughter	bine (man speaking) kaka, aring (woman speaking)
father's sister's son	naduk, opu (man speaking) mure'bereung (woman speaking)
mother's brother's daughter	mure'bereung (man speaking) nada (woman speaking)
father's sister's daughter	opu kesi(ng) (man speaking) nada (woman speaking)
mother's brother's son	naduk, opu (man speaking) dadi(ng) woman speaking)

60: father's sister's husband — tiu (woman speaking)
mother's brother's wife — tia (man speaking)
father-in-law — belake (man speaking)
tiu (woman speaking)
mother-in-law — tia

The other terms as given before can stand.

Bosu means parallel uncle or aunt.

Na'a and bine mean sibling or parallel cousin of the opposite sex, brother and sister respectively.

Kaka and aring mean sibling or parallel cousin of the same sex.

Naduk or opu mean brother-in-law (man speaking), and also mother's brother's son and father's sister's son (man speaking).

Nada means sister-in-law (woman speaking) and also mother's brother's daughter and father's sister's daughter (woman speaking).

Opu kesing and dadi(ng) mean cross-cousin, of the opposite sex, and taboo for marriage.

Tiu means father-in-law and father's sister's husband (woman speaking).

Tia means mother-in-law and mother's brother's wife (man speaking) and father's sister (woman speaking).

Belake means father-in-law and mother's brother (man speaking).

Thus tia is the only term for mother-in-law, whereas belake is the man speaking term for father-in-law and tiu is the woman speaking term for father-in-law.

The gaps or troubles here are the terms for father's sister, i.e., nona and kaka for both man speaking and woman speaking terms, and the single term belake for mother's brother for both man speaking and woman speaking. However, there seems to be nothing that can be done about these.

•601 Manggarai: I remembered in relation to the opu belake and opu wai(ng) which Oudehand[1] said were woman-giving and woman-receiving groups (man speaking) for Larantuka, that Cornelius said that the woman-giving group is ana rona and the woman-receiving group is ana vina (man speaking) in Manggarai. This checks out, as the belake and rona are comparable and the wai(ng) (or wae or kawaing, meaning wife) and vina are comparable. In Manggarai the term for the woman-giving group has a male connotation, as in Larantuka, and the woman-receiving group's term has a female connotation in both instances. The Manggarai terms are taken from the words for husband (father's sister's son) and wife (mother's brother's daughter), respectively, with ana (child) put in. Since rona and vina have the meaning of male and female, the ana rona and ana vina could mean "sons" and "daughters." However, this all seems complicated. Anyway, the Larantuka terms for the two groups are taken from the words for mother's brother and father-in-law and "female" respectively. The general idea seems clear, but there is a difference in the exact meanings.

[44] 533 797 We I got onto the last two days of work in Veol on January 29 and 30. On the evening of the former, Sunday, van Bekkum[2] had the school put on a singing demonstration for me, and it was remarkable. The songs were Manggarai, written by Manggarai gurus, and they are like Debussy, but with weird progressions and peculiar slides and part-notes. The voices are fine and very impressive in the failing light, with the hills around, and especially good were the single, sweet, girls' voices in solo form from time to time. This is very rich material. The boys stood on one side, led by three lads with ornate headcloths and sarongs; and the girls stood on the other side. The whole thing was good. The

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]
[2] [pastor at Ruteng --Analyst]

Wo.

842 too uncommon. If relatives help out in this
583 matter,[1] they must be repaid.) The assistant
[602] said that if there are no children or if there
[597] are very few children, it often happens that a
man buys a child, who then becomes one of his
own. (From whom does he buy?)

565 The ranks are:
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1. Radja bangsawan
2. Dalu bangsawan (he says, since 1880) (Kraeng)
3. Gelarang bangsawan
4. Leke (commoners)
5. Mendi (slaves)

The first three may intermarry, either way. The last two may intermarry, also either way. Polygamist marriages are possible, and this goes even for the Christians who do so in order to have more children. He talked as though polygamy, if done for this purpose only, was not so bad. He is of the gelarang and his wife of dalu. The children are of gelarang.

624 Then we got onto the subject of the social
621 organization of Weol. He said that there is a
342 tuan tanah and also a second man, whom he will
534 explain later, as it is a long story. There is
also a medicine man, and he is important in
ceremonies. He will give me the posts of the
kampong later on the sheets.

Weol has two offshoot kampongs. One is Tjantsia (where he lives) and the other is Tjara, on the next hill. The former has a tuan tanah tjabang (a branch tuan tanah). Incidentally,
[178] the present tuan tanah of Weol lives in a rectangular house, which was an unknown thing here before ten years ago. Even in this rectangular house, there is a main post or rather a place which serves as a main post, and here the tuan tanah sits as the center of rituals. The tuan tanah must have in the house a gong and a gendang

[1] [i.e., meeting the bride price --Analyst]

Wa

578 land disputes, head-hunting, and women. Or
721 perhaps the latter two should be reversed. Another cause was molesting a child if done by a neighboring kampong. There were also radja wars, in which the people served, but this was involved in high politics. Finally, there were also the early wars against the aborigines, the Padji folk.

721 The reasons for head-hunting were linked
346 with the new korke (this is still a reason for
796 the largest feast, when all kampongs come to-
782 gether. Nowadays, the feast for the new church takes over this function). When a new korke is built, if the six posts do not fit into the rafter posts, it is a sign that the posts are not happy because they are in need of food, so they are pledged food. Formerly the people then went out and got a head and hung it in the korke. Then everything was all right. Note that nowadays at such rites they give food to the posts. For example, yesterday they smeared rice on the four barn posts. The korke must have six posts.

346 The korke was the center of the war cult and
769 the ghost cult (ancestor cult). The barns were
343 the center of the agricultural cult. The little
241 kebang (barn) of the suku and the ama is called sebua.[1]

582 Relations between villages are kept up by
621 marriages. In fact, they are almost the sole
602 reason for such relations. This shows that genealogical relationship is nearly everything here. It shows also why descent is the basis for the whole organization of power, etc., and why marriage rules are so complex and strongly held to. There have even been marriage relations with Riang Kamiĕ, although they have not been too pronounced.

476 Another reason for relations with other com-
582 munities is work. That is, there is mutual aid
602
621

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 202 -- Analyst]

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582 in other areas, or working in the gardens lo-
476 cated in another kampong. Here again, it is a
602 matter of marriage. Indeed, only if marriage
621 gives a person some sort of privilege to work in the other kampong does one usually engage himself in such work.

632 Relations between districts have not changed
582 much in recent years. If there are marriages
602 between the districts involved, the same situation obtains as between the kampongs just described. Similar situations are those involving different tribes. Bonds are formed if there are marriage links; if there are no such links there are no bonds. Trade is so small a
[438] factor that it is unimportant in intercommunity relations.

186 The people here love their own kampong and
621 feel that they are lost when they are outside.
166 Figuratively and literally, they have no place in another kampong. They can see good in another kampong, however, and if they go elsewhere and return they tell about the good things there and may even adopt them themselves. Only the young people, and few of them, want to get out and see other places. Once they are married they never leave.

609 They say that if they leave their own kampong for another they become outsiders. They are then nipatale (beyond the fence). The other term used in suku terminology for outsiders is rere. It means "low." The opposite term, which also occurs among the suku, is belolong ("high").

578 All seven kampongs have been enemies of Riang
621 Kamië. The seven have remained about the same
614 in relationship to each other, but tales tell a
173 bit about the ranking among them. Riang Kamië was formed by a union of several kampongs which were separate formerly. These united into one kampong in defense against the Bai Pitu (seven

We

621 614 554 There is certainly no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village. Still, the gelarang kampongs feel a bit superior to the former slave ones, for example, sekontu and lampang. They look down a bit on Tjantjar, as it is not of the Veol va'u. But the branch kampongs which are of the va'u Veol are as good as the central kampong. Thus Ndung is just as good as Veol, and so is, for example, Sampar. They are original people too. Thus the blood bond comes first. As for outsiders who live in the kampong, if they get angry they may throw this up. For example, the assistant said it might happen to him.

He also said that no matter how long a person is away, no matter how many generations intervene, he and his descendants are still Pau people and go there as often as possible; that is, unless the case involves people who have been established as real members of an independent clan kampong elsewhere. However, they still remember the real, old ancestral kampong.

614 621 602

As yet there have been no returning villagers to tell anything about the outside world.

In inter-community relations the important thing is the blood bond. The va'u comes first, and then the kampongs or clans or families with many marriage bonds. Thus it is mainly genealogical. The gelarang is important, as generally all the kampongs in a gelarang are of one va'u. The only exception here is the unusual Tjepang kampong. Tjantjar and other kampongs here have many marriage relations with it. Ndung is close in all ways.

[622] Thus the gelarang is just about the same as a "clan district," and the tuan tanah in the central kampong is the head, and the other tuan tanah are branch-offs from him.

Beyond the va'u there are nearly no real relationships, except for the areas where va'u

Wa.

621 are established or where the people have mar-
614 riage relations. The dalu area is quite
602 secondary, as it is not genealogical. There are, e.g., three Veol kampongs in the dalu Tjibal, and these are closer than the other non-Veol kampongs nearer in distance or others in the same dalu but of a different va'u. Even though a family has lived for a long time in another kampong and has few close acquaintances any more in the old kampong, the bond is still closer than with the neighbors in the kampong
[571] of residence. This shows that residence is less important here than blood. Still, as propinquity makes for marriages, there is a tendency for a family to establish new marriage relations in the place of residence. Thus it is either the consanguineal or the affinal group that counts, in order.

There are no relations at all with other tribes or places.

[648] The Dutch stopped the wars. They say that
721 if there were no police now they would have wars
614 again soon.
578 When a war comes all the va'u kampongs help. They could also call on the vina-rona families, i.e., the affinal relatives. These might refuse, however.

Once there was a war between two places (and usually wars were thus along va'u lines, except for the dalu wars), and everlasting enmity remained between these two places. Thus the wars were va'u against va'u and dalu against dalu, not kampong against kampong, although they might start that way. And in this area, most of the wars were dalu wars. Some wars were dalu or even a va'u against Bima, and there might be quite an alliance against Bima. Once in awhile Bima lost. On the border there were many wars against Ngada.

Some dalu here fought against Todo and Pong-

We

721 578 614 were traditional enmities to some extent between dalu. For example, Ruteng was against Tjibal. Rahong usually helped Ruteng. Tjibal had allies too.

When there was a Todo war against Pongkor, the dalu here often entered, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other.

There are plenty of stories about the old wars. Thus there is the Prang Kuvu (that was against the Dutch near here); Prang Lait (against Bima, at a place near here); Prang Vake (Pongkor against Todo, and the dalus here entered), etc.

621 614 602 [423] There are definite borders here, and the people are quite sensitive about them. These exist between the dalu, gelarang, and kampongs. They are marked by stones, mountains, rivers, etc.

In every gelarang there is a central kampong, for example, Veol and branches. Only one va'u per gelarang is the original va'u. There can't be two. Each dalu has kampongs under direct dalu rule. Some dalu (e.g., Rahong) had kampongs directly under Todo or Pongkor. Aside from the va'u relations, the vina-rona (mother's brother's daughter or affinal) relationship is important. In this mutual help is expected. Thus the pattern of one's own clan and the clan of affinity (and, I suppose, by extension this, could work out to a circle of the Wouden type)[1] is found here.

614 582 However, I get nowhere with the regular marriage class system here. Nevertheless, the old tuan tanah said that there was a preferred clan, Mungges. It does not show in the record of the marriages, however. He will get the clans of the women for me.

756 789 Note: he misunderstood the "magic" here, and says that the mbako could and can make a drink or amulet, etc., to make a man strong, and such is used in war.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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533 797 [562] school[1] is overcrowded, and it is the only place where girls can rise above the lowest level in Manggarai. There were plenty of sisters around. The whole thing shows the good organization of the Catholics here.

[124] I used the last two days of work here to get through the rest of the schedule.

585 For weddings, the Christians go to church for a service as well as going through the old rites.

583 Formerly the bride price was not payable in money, but today it is, in part. The bride price (padja) includes buffaloes, horses, and formerly copper or brass (?) boxes. There are no more of these last objects, and money has been substituted for them. Also, cattle are now used, but were not included formerly.

The return gift (vida) includes cloth, bracelets, ear ornaments, etc. Also included are small elephant teeth (used as pendants on bracelets). They are about two inches long. The bride price goes to the girl's family, and the return gift to the boy's family. Formerly the bride price was not very high. Today it is higher. An average bride price includes about five animals.

Both Catholics and pagans still pay the bride [591] price and make the return gift. If a bride [611] price is not paid, the couple must live matrilocally until it is paid. However, the children are always patrilineally descended.

582 614 The distances of mate selection are about the same as they were fifty years ago. There is a bit more marriage within the va'u, which was taboo before. However, the panga remain exogamous.

476 602 614 If the relatives-in-law live too far off, there is no real, actual mutual aid. If they are near, mutual aid is carried out between three groups: one's own va'u ana rona, and ana vina. The help comes especially in aiding a help-mate

1 [i.e., at Veol.—Analyst]

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476 to obtain the bride price, but also in such
602 cases as the building of a new big house. The
614 va'u helps with the costs of a wedding feast.
[585] The rona get animals for their women, and the vina give animals for theirs. The return gifts go in the opposite direction: the rona give the gifts and the vina receive them.

I get the impression that there is more to it than just this simple roundabout exchange. Thus, a family has several relations of rona and vina, and the same ones will not always be involved in a given marriage. The ones not directly involved evidently help out, or can be called upon to help in a marriage in which they are not directly involved. But this is not too clear to me. Cornelius[1] says that the whole thing is quite a burden, as when they are called upon they must give this aid. The nearer the groups live, the more they are called upon. If they are far off, this is not too much of a burden.

582 There are no marriages here with foreigners,
563 but in other places a few Manggarai women have married Chinese men. These are definitely not liked. They are "lost." They are outside the adat and the magic circle.

582 At the time of marriage, local males are six-
291 teen (some are fifteen to twenty-one years old.
178 The majority fall within the age groupings sixteen to seventeen. Females, at the time of their marriage, are fourteen to twenty years old. Formerly they married later. The youngest was about nineteen (I think this was for males). He says that this was because they "got clothes" when they were older. The boys did not even wear loincloths until about the age of sixteen. The girls wore only a little cloth from about the age of twelve on. This was because it was so hard to get clothes. They married only two to three years after getting clothes. The rich

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

R

721 guages and thus carry on negotiations) would
[634] request soldiers. Such wars were usually
against the coastal folk on the north, that
is, Lio and Ende there. In the old days, just
721 about every outside kampong was considered
484 dangerous and it was seldom that a trip was
578 made there unless a bond of friendship existed
178 between one's kampong and the area visited.
[608] Now all of these kampongs are friendly. Still
I note that they don't like to sleep all night
outside the kampong. This is especially true
of the old folks.

829 Note on ideas concerning the "place" of the
local kampong in the world: In just about
every kampong, when I ask about the ranking of
world countries in population, they do not
know what to say (although a young boy knew
that China was the largest), but at once the
assistant and others get paper and copy down
the exact ranking from me with figures. They
evidently want to spring the question on other
people and stick them. It does show a definite
curiosity about these things.

608 The people here have a sort of pela bond
574 between kampongs, or at least they did at one
578 time in the past. They do not drink the blood
178 of each other as in Ambon, but they hold a
feast and drink the blood and eat the hearts of
the animals killed. And they eat together.
They pledge that they will not war against each
other and that they will show a certain degree
of hospitality to each other. Thus Roworeke
has such a bond with Waturoga, Waturoga with
Ndona, etc. This was all in the past, and I
didn't find out if there are any survivals.
I think there are, because the guru from Ndona
said that it is easy for him to live in Watu-
roga as his kampong had a bond with it. In
721 addition, he married in.

648 War was tabooed by the Dutch in 1908, and
656 since then there have been no wars.

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538 there are a few who are great story tellers.
533 Some stories are told with singing, i.e., real ballads, and may last as long as two days. The kapitan sang one for a bit, softly. They warmed up and began to appear to be quite proud of these songs. They insist, however that only a few are clever at these things.

They tell such stories when the rice is
[243] ripe, and they may sit all night listening. Most of the stories are about the ancestors. Thus it is the free time--rice-ripe period as usual in Indonesia. This is the time for stories, when they have plenty of time. Perhaps this is also true in the post harvest season. Anyway they do have plenty of stories. And it is not only the old people who know them. For example, there is a rather young lad named Ero who is famous for chanting long stories. These sung stories are voi.

621 They are very clear about the location of
423 boundaries in the district, kampong, and sections of the kampongs, as well as in the gardens. Markers are stone posts, trees, streams, etc.

609 There are different grades of being a for-
621 eigner. The crux of the affair seems to be
[563] people who come from other islands. Thus, though the Sikka are outsiders, they are not foreigners to the same extent that the people from Kupang are. It is a bit hard to fit into a kampong if one is an outsider, although it can be done. The Ende papalele in the huts at the lower end of the kampong are still outsiders, although many have been there since the end of the war. They have few relations with the kampong folk, and there have been few if any marriages. The community is closed.

609 I asked about the teachers and found that the
582 Ndona one found it easy for two reasons: He
● 608 lives in Waturoga, which is in Lio, and also

R

609 has a friend-bond with the kampong of Ndona;
582 and he married a Waturoga woman. The Maumere
608 teacher has a somewhat harder time, but he
married locally and this helps. (I think he
married locally, although I am not sure now.)

632 In the district, the "pusat" kampongs are
624 Roworeke and Worowai. The latter is the older
621 and the kampong of the real prime suku, that
778 of the oldest of the original brothers,
Rewarangga. There live three of the Big Four
(mosa laki mere, ndetu au, and sikesani), and
it is thus a sort of adat center. Roworeke
is newer, and it is the administrative center,
where the kapitan lives. Here also, however,
is the big giri tumba. Formerly, these two
were one kampong. In the kampong, the section
or hamlet Roworeke Asal is the oldest, and there
the grave-bone shrine of the Odja suku is located. It is the adat center. There also is
the tubu musu. Nuamere means the big village,
and this hamlet is where the kapitan lives.
Thus it is the administrative center. Still,
the ata nggaëh nua, the adat kepala kampong
(Bapa Ketjil) and his adi, the administrative
kepala kampong, live in Ae Utu (I think).

361 The present Nuamere was newly established
621 here in 1907. There had been a previous ham-
632 let Nuamere up the hill. The Dutch, however,
[648] as usual made most of the hamlets move down to
the road. Thus there is a general pattern here
that in each district there is a kind of
original kampong, and in each kampong there is
a sort of original hamlet. But it is not a
constellation arrangement as in Toradja country, where all the kampongs and hamlets spread
out from the center like a star. This is
truer of the kampongs than of the districts,
because the latter here are coming to be more
and more a coming together of independent
kampongs, some old and some younger. Thus

Wa.

693 of the three kepala kampongs, the kepala suku,
614 and the kelake. For intra-suku cases, the court consists of the kepala suku and the kelake.

608 They have blood brotherhood bonds between
721 kampongs like the pela darah of Ambon. They call this umbadja or bela badja. Badja means pledged. The bond is formed by the chiefs of the kampongs cutting their fingers and drinking each other's blood mixed in a drink. They take only a little blood. This means that the two kampongs will not wage war against each other and that there will be no infringement of recognized boundaries. It means perhaps that they will help each other in war, but this is not necessary. It is a peace bond rather than a war alliance.

About every year the umbadja kampongs (there are none here as they are brothers anyway) have a get-together like the "bikin panas pela" in Ambon. The one kampong here which they know has a bela badja is Watuwiti, which has one with the district Lewotala.

773 The whole organization and everything else
796 here has a story about it, and these stories are endless. One could fill many books with the underlying legends about one kampong here. Every single rule, relationship, rank, etc., has its legendary rationalization. And ritual keeps the belief alive. Ritual is the acting out of past events which explains and justifies the present order. The ancestors are called upon to attend these rituals.

609 To be foreign in the local sense is a matter of great concern. Anyone they do not know is treated as a foreigner. This includes anyone from another kampong, and even though they may know another kampong person, if he enters they all ask him what he is after. The communities are really closed. Persons of another district are really alien. The word for stranger is

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721 kor, e.g., Ruteng and Tjibal. But Rahong never
614 resisted Todo and Pongkor. The Dutch fought
578 here (near the pemali grove along the road).
The panglima prang who led this fight is still
living.

Va'u Veol had no traditional enemy, but might join in and help on one side or the other in a war.

There were many wars between the dalu that these kampongs entered. In other regions there were plenty of wars between va'u ("non-dalu wars") but there was not much of this here. These were caused because of borders, molesting fellows, etc. Dalu wars were over borders mainly, but might be for other reasons. The only big wars here were between the dalu. And each kampong had to send just about all of its adult men to fight in these dalu wars.

411 The weapons used consisted of spears, long knives, and shields. They did not use the bow until a few came in very recently. They had no blowguns, but recently a few have come in for hunting birds, although they use no poison darts. Shields were round or rectangular, always of rattan. Helmets were also made of
[714] rattan. Their war clothes were fancy. Feathers were placed on the helmets.

There was no head-hunting, but, for revenge,
266 they drank a little blood. However, there was
721 no war cannibalism. (Note the many things which are lacking in Manggarai which are usually found elsewhere in Indonesia.)

Still, even now from time to time there comes
721 a rumor that men are coming who will chop off their heads. These people are rumored to be coming from outside. It looks like the leftovers of a memory of an old head-hunting experience, perhaps felt from the outside.

[608] There are no traditional alliances between
721 clans or kampongs of the pela sort. But there
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609, 123

Indonesia OB1
Borneo OC1
Land Dyak OC8
Flores OF9
Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8
Ambon OH4
Ceram OH9

/For data on the reception of the foreign traveler, investigator or author by the local people, see also category 574./

R

764 It is done in one day now, because the body be-
178 gins to smell otherwise.

144 The physical types in the mountains, the Lio
361 folk (who speak the same dialect as the Ende
[197] coastal dwellers but with a different accent,
and they are really only a mountain branch of
the Ende-Lio tribe) are mainly proto-Malay, or
at least that's the way it seems to me. One
can see this especially in the women, but also
in many of the men. It seems that the more
Melanesian and Papuan types are settled along
the coast, which makes me wonder if maybe there
might not have been a reverse movement of the
black people from the Timor area into Flores,
pushing the proto-Malay people back into the
hills. There are plenty of Melanesian types, and
Papuans, and even Australoid types in the hills,
however, just as on the coast. I get the impres-
[181] sion that the mountain people are nicer, better
looking, more polite, and perhaps even a little
cleaner than the coastal dwellers.

609 I notice that these Roworeke lads, especially
197 the guru, order the Lio folk around. They seem
771 to be regarded as hillbillies. However, they
speak the same language, and many mountain kam-
pongs are one hundred per cent Catholic. In fact,
I really wonder if maybe there might not be more
pagans in Roworeke itself than in many if not
most of the mountain kampongs. Certainly there
seem to be more obviously pagans in Roworeke
than I saw offhand in the mountain kampong. I
778 asked if the mountain kampong has a rumah pemali.
They said yes, but that it is quite far off, near
the main road. I didn't have time to see it.
291 Much of the clothing here is in the form of ikat
286 work, and I can see some of this material woven
on the local back bar looms (horizontal).

Much of the cloth is plain, unattractive, dark
material. The ikat work, and also much of the
plainly woven cloth, is dark and is used mainly

We. The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof,
are easier to keep clean and are better in
general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the
kampong, and even fewer move out of or into
the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration
from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas
beyond Larantuka.

20 The kakang has the only telephone here.
There is no telegraph. There is no mail ser-
vice. There is no postman. The priest has a
battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië.
Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not
Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to
change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few
people have much knowledge about the world.
This is really the lowest place I have been in
yet. Most of the people are strongly attached
to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is
very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong
is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they
had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at
war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an
enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

609 We
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
497 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has
[778] magical power, but we didn't get into the full story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

We

721 whips. Later the mandur of the pasanggrahan,
555 a Manggarai man from kampong Ruteng, said that girls especially like a man who has knocked out another's eye with a whip.! It looks like a head-hunting pattern, but so far I have gotten no response on the subject of head-hunting, and the priests say it did not exist here even in former times. I must check on this.

[126] We took photographs, and one of them was of
634 the Radja. He was a bit drunk, and said that
273 the dancers were hot inside too. He made what
537 seemed to me to be an unnecessary speech to
● 609 the men around him to the effect that we were Americans and not Dutch and as to why we were here. Later he said he was busy as this was the day of the kampong folk. He said he would see us later so that if we needed any help we could call on him, and he could also warn us of possible dangers. The latter reference was vague, and I can't see the point. He called a lad who came with a bottle of brandy and we had drinks in front of a great crowd. He wore a songko, which is strange for a Christian radja. Evidently, from what we hear, the Radja here has been in for only a short time, and this one is both young and new, as his father died recently (maybe not his father?)

614 Then we went back to the pasanggrahan and
582 talked with the mandur who said that in the Ruteng kampong there is still plenty of the old culture. He said it is possible to marry inside the va'u (this is the correct spelling) or outside. He said marriages usually occur outside. He said something about how if one partner was from the older sibling branch of the va'u and the other from the younger sibling branch, they may marry (could it be that here we have a subclan?) The assistant says they have panga inside the va'u, and he gave his own as the first, which I think means the older branch. Thus

! [i.e., during the ritualized mock warfare games; see p.92, c.st. 116 --Analyst]

We

872 one-half years ago. Children of, for example,
[177] fifteen can't enter this school because they
are too old. This is a big reason why there is
less acculturation here than in Larantuka.
624 Also, Larantuka has lost the power of adat
622 chiefs to a greater degree, as has Ende. Here
177 they still are the most powerful leaders, and
even the kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah
family. This is clearly the area of least ac-
culturation, although in agriculture and tech-
nology they are just as advanced if not more so
than in the other areas. For example, witness
the wooden houses. But adat is stronger here,
and the mother's brother's daughter marriage
still stands. The priests still compromise
527 more with the old. There are many many feasts.
574 There are feasts at birth, death, marriage, if
796 there are many children, at planting, at har-
756 vest, when a new garden is made, when a new
755 house is erected, and on many other occasions.
Some of these are large and some are small.
Some are for the family, and some are celebrated
by larger units. Some are celebrated by the
entire kampong. The biggest is perhaps the
cleansing of the kampong ceremony. The medi-
cine man, mbako decided when one is needed.
Thus he says there is a lot of illness, etc.,
and it is time they had a "tjutji kampong."

756 There is at least one mbako in each kampong,
●609 and some kampongs have more. He learns his
trade from his father, but there are cases where
such succession is not followed. There is one
in Weol. However, they will never tell an out-
sider who the mbako is. He is secret. They all
know who he is. However, even during a rite,
he keeps in the background so that he can be
kept hidden. Query: Is this because of the
fear of the mission or the government or what?
I couldn't get much about the latter, but I
will try later. This is amazing!

We
534 drums and gongs were brought here from These several
535 kampongs. They are the real tuan tanah articles.
[624] At one time three little girls danced with their eyes downcast and with very little movement of the feet. They wore slendang and nice dresses. The oldest man, looking like a nickel
[292] head Indian, had on an amazing costume with rich embroidery, and a silver fringe under his chin like a beard. For a head decoration he had a gilded horse. He also carried two kris, and each of the other men had one.

526 Now, at 6 P.M., after all day of it, taking turns, the men are still whipping. This is a tireless business.

●609 We get the impression of real remoteness
178 here. These men are from the kampong nearby, and in this large bowl of distant mountains they are in their old dress doing the weird old practices and it has little to do with modern freedom and independence. When we go to such a place they look more at us than at the performers. We steal the show. But this is so all over Indonesia for whites. And they stare at us endlessly.

304 The tuan tanah of Weol has an elaborate set of patterns tattooed on his arms.

291 The Manggarai men often wear plaited, flat, songko-like headgear.

231 The horses here are important. Men and women
492 ride them, but mainly the former. The whole
[133] open land looks like the wild West. The priests use only horses here. They are small and spirited and bells are usually placed around their necks.

614 The next day we went again to Weol and asked
[624] if the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong were really brothers. If so, how could they belong to different panga. I found out that they are not brothers but merely distantly related.

The three panga names in Weol are the names

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538 there are a few who are great story tellers.
533 Some stories are told with singing, i.e., real ballads, and may last as long as two days. The kapitan sang one for a bit, softly. They warmed up and began to appear to be quite proud of these songs. They insist, however that only a few are clever at these things.

They tell such stories when the rice is
[243] ripe, and they may sit all night listening. Most of the stories are about the ancestors. Thus it is the free time--rice-ripe period as usual in Indonesia. This is the time for stories, when they have plenty of time. Perhaps this is also true in the post harvest season. Anyway they do have plenty of stories. And it is not only the old people who know them. For example, there is a rather young lad named Ero who is famous for chanting long stories. These sung stories are voi.

621 They are very clear about the location of
423 boundaries in the district, kampong, and sections of the kampongs, as well as in the gardens. Markers are stone posts, trees, streams, etc.

609 There are different grades of being a for-
621 eigner. The crux of the affair seems to be
[563] people who come from other islands. Thus, though the Sikka are outsiders, they are not foreigners to the same extent that the people from Kupang are. It is a bit hard to fit into a kampong if one is an outsider, although it can be done. The Ende papalele in the huts at the lower end of the kampong are still outsiders, although many have been there since the end of the war. They have few relations with the kampong folk, and there have been few if any marriages. The community is closed.

609 I asked about the teachers and found that the
582 Ndona one found it easy for two reasons: He
608 lives in Waturoga, which is in Lio, and also

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609 has a friend-bond with the kampong of Ndona;
582 and he married a Waturoga woman. The Maumere
608 teacher has a somewhat harder time, but he
married locally and this helps. (I think he
married locally, although I am not sure now.)

632 In the district, the "pusat" kampongs are
624 Roworeke and Worowai. The latter is the older
621 and the kampong of the real prime suku, that
778 of the oldest of the original brothers,
Rewarangga. There live three of the Big Four
(mosa laki mere, ndetu au, and sikesani), and
it is thus a sort of adat center. Roworeke
is newer, and it is the administrative center,
where the kapitan lives. Here also, however,
is the big giri tumba. Formerly, these two
were one kampong. In the kampong, the section
or hamlet Roworeke Asal is the oldest, and there
the grave-bone shrine of the Odja suku is lo-
cated. It is the adat center. There also is
the tubu musu. Nuamere means the big village,
and this hamlet is where the kapitan lives.
Thus it is the administrative center. Still,
the ata nggaäh nua, the adat kepala kampong
(Bapa Ketjil) and his adi, the administrative
kepala kampong, live in Ae Utu (I think).

361 The present Nuamere was newly established
621 here in 1907. There had been a previous ham-
632 let Nuamere up the hill. The Dutch, however,
[648] as usual made most of the hamlets move down to
the road. Thus there is a general pattern here
that in each district there is a kind of
original kampong, and in each kampong there is
a sort of original hamlet. But it is not a
constellation arrangement as in Toradja coun-
try, where all the kampongs and hamlets spread
out from the center like a star. This is
truer of the kampongs than of the districts,
because the latter here are coming to be more
and more a coming together of independent
kampongs, some old and some younger. Thus

582 I asked if there were many marriages between
614 Wailolong and Leloba. He said that before
177 there were many because they were allies and
578 nearby. In 1912, however, when the Dutch came
797 in, his father, who was the head man of Leloba, decided it was useless to fight. Wailolong, however, decided to resist. This strained the friendly relations which had existed before, and until recently there have not been too many marriages. I also wonder, inasmuch as he mentioned in this connection that missionaries entered the region in 1907, whether the more rapid Christianization of Leloba might not also have strained relations with the relatively resistant Wailolong.

124 After telling me that he was in fine spirits
177 because my pyribenzamine had cured his asthma,
578 he said he was also happy because he got such
123 a fine reception in Wailolong when he went from
●609 house to house getting the census material. He had been afraid of this, and thought that the people would snub him. This would have made him much ashamed. This was also why he insisted that we get the kakang to order the Wailolong folk to give the information. Now he reports that he was received with open arms and that the Wailolong folk say they are delighted that a big man of Leloba is coming among them to work, and that also big men from the United States are getting their names and their customs down on paper. They said that they felt submerged for many years (and their kampong looks a bit dingy and dispirited) and that now they are having a rise. It looks to me as though Roy really feared a bad time, and this shows that the probable relations between these two communities were really distant until we came. We may have brought peace and good
609 will to the two kampongs. It is also amusing
123 to note his remark that when we first appeared,

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123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

We discussed a certain rank which appears in
614 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
343 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
562 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala
243 suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

We also noted a possible error in Vatter.[1]
[114] He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
614 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
796 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
831 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
784 gins, but now with so few young girls still
241 pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[857] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost
[887] babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic
[797] note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

1 [See bibliography, cat 113 -- Analyst]

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582 in other areas, or working in the gardens lo-
476 cated in another kampong. Here again, it is a
602 matter of marriage. Indeed, only if marriage
621 gives a person some sort of privilege to work in the other kampong does one usually engage himself in such work.

632 Relations between districts have not changed
582 much in recent years. If there are marriages
602 between the districts involved, the same situation obtains as between the kampongs just described. Similar situations are those involving different tribes. Bonds are formed if there are marriage links; if there are no such
[438] links there are no bonds. Trade is so small a factor that it is unimportant in intercommunity relations.

186 The people here love their own kampong and
621 feel that they are lost when they are outside.
166 Figuratively and literally, they have no place in another kampong. They can see good in another kampong, however, and if they go elsewhere and return they tell about the good things there and may even adopt them themselves. Only the young people, and few of them, want to get out and see other places. Once they are married they never leave.

•609 They say that if they leave their own kampong for another they become outsiders. They are then nipatale (beyond the fence). The other term used in suku terminology for outsiders is rere. It means "low." The opposite term, which also occurs among the suku, is belolong ("high").

578 All seven kampongs have been enemies of Riang
621 Kamië. The seven have remained about the same
614 in relationship to each other, but tales tell a
173 bit about the ranking among them. Riang Kamië was formed by a union of several kampongs which were separate formerly. These united into one kampong in defense against the Bai Pitu (seven

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693 of the three kepala kampongs, the kepala suku,
614 and the kelake. For intra-suku cases, the court consists of the kepala suku and the kelake.

608 They have blood brotherhood bonds between
721 kampongs like the pela darah of Ambon. They call this umbadja or bela badja. Badja means pledged. The bond is formed by the chiefs of the kampongs cutting their fingers and drinking each other's blood mixed in a drink. They take only a little blood. This means that the two kampongs will not wage war against each other and that there will be no infringement of recognized boundaries. It means perhaps that they will help each other in war, but this is not necessary. It is a peace bond rather than a war alliance.

About every year the umbadja kampongs (there are none here as they are brothers anyway) have a get-together like the "bikin panas pela" in Ambon. The one kampong here which they know has a bela badja is Watuwiti, which has one with the district Lewotala.

773 The whole organization and everything else
796 here has a story about it, and these stories are endless. One could fill many books with the underlying legends about one kampong here. Every single rule, relationship, rank, etc., has its legendary rationalization. And ritual keeps the belief alive. Ritual is the acting out of past events which explains and justifies the present order. The ancestors are called upon to attend these rituals.

• 609 To be foreign in the local sense is a matter of great concern. Anyone they do not know is treated as a foreigner. This includes anyone from another kampong, and even though they may know another kampong person, if he enters they all ask him what he is after. The communities are really closed. Persons of another district are really alien. The word for stranger is

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●609 belebang. It means "not known," in the sense of being a stranger. In the case of whites, etc., this is very clear. In dealing with other Indonesians, they know the people in their own kampong so well that they can spot a stranger immediately. They can spot this also because of his clothes and hairdo. Thus as we rode along today we were asked to stop by the guru. He said that there was a Tandjung Bunga man whom he had spotted. He was a tall pagan with a long bob and wearing red beads. He was fine looking. He could be identified as a Tandjung Bunga man even in the way he walked. And if he speaks, one can tell immediately. This is especially true here, where the pho-
[194] netics are hard, even for the Larantuka folk. The Radja has a hard time getting the sounds right. I asked whether the pastor was belebang, and they said that they were so used to him that he was not considered such. It is a matter of use and acceptance.

173 There is, of course, a long story connected with the cosmological meaning of the social
621 organization. There seems to be a vague rank-
595 ing according to the relative age of the brothers who founded the kampongs. Leloba was the oldest brother, Wailolong the second oldest, etc., and Watuwiti was the youngest. But this is not strictly the case. Nevertheless, if they have a great rite for the building of a new korke in a kampong when all kampongs gather and animals are cut, the head, feet, cutting and betel passing functions show something in regard to rank. He is uncertain as to the ranking and functions involved, but will try to find out more about this.

This led to a long story without much point to it except that it told about the negri lama and the migrations of the brothers outward. The story starts with the oldest negri lama,

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186 This may come later. The truth seems to be that they are not "Flores-conscious" or "Larantuka-conscious."

186 798 Indeed, the only slight flare of criticism of any other section or group on Flores was Roy's statement that the Mohammedans cause a bit of trouble (but this seems to be a fear or perhaps a recognized resemblance to the previous troubles here; for example, see the history of the Mohammedan attacks on Christian settlements in Flores). They are singularly mild on all this, especially when contrasted with Ambon and the chronic "gripers" there.

648 609 578 681 The people here all knew that they were a subject group. Although they were not happy, there was no revolutionary spirit. There was some secret criticism, and everyone was sure that it would be better to be free. Roy said that one impressive thing was that the people disliked the coarse quality of the Dutch, and he said that there was too much of the "god verdomme" stuff. He imitated a coarse Dutchman swearing at the natives. And in the prewar period, all the people here would gladly have seen every single Dutchman leave, except the pastors. They liked the latter, but hated the officials. A sore point, of course, was that of taxation, but they also hated the summary way they were so easily put in jail. He keeps on saying how if a man tried to press his case with the Dutch, the latter just waved his hand and said, "To the bui with him."

648 578 609 When the guru had his famous case concerning the land, and the kepala kampong was put in jail because Roy and he would not sign the paper, twenty soldiers surrounded his house. The kampong people were so angry that they wanted to start a battle then and there. Roy dissuaded them, however, and then offered to pay a fine in order to release the kepala kampong. The

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648 Dutch said there would be no release unless he
578 signed. He signed on a promise that the case
609 would be reheard, but then after he signed the
Dutch refused to reopen the case. I get the
idea that there was real hostility to the Dutch
here, but that the people were so scared that
there was no revolt. Indeed, this is what the
Roworoke men said: at first the people resisted,
but when many of them were sent to jail, they
gave up. The Dutch came here late, and the
rough stage of colonialism was a recent one. It
came earlier elsewhere. At any rate, there is
no sorrow at all here that the Dutch have gone.
They really hated the Dutch except the pastors.
The lack of politeness of the Dutch seems to
have impressed the folk here very much. There
were radjas, however, who sided with the Dutch,
and in fact I think this was the previous line
of the radja kedua family.

829 In regard to Holland, they all thought that
648 it was a very big and powerful place. This is
why there was great muttering yesterday when I
told of the population of Holland. They regarded
the Queen as their Radja, because her head was
on the money. This is an illustration of the
primitive political views here. They also saw
that the Larantuka radja was well under the
Dutch, and his rank fell very far.

609 The pastors here are the great exception.
797 The people love them, and when Roy tries to ex-
758 plain why, the first thing he mentions is medi-
177 cine, and then comes the standard stuff in
regard to religion. This is a good example of
how religion rides in on the advanced culture's
material strength. They indeed have more power-
ful "medicine." This kind of thing seems to
have been the wedge. Then the schools would come
in, etc. That is, primitive people can see
797 quickly the obvious advantages in material and
177 job terms, etc., of the outside superior culture,

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582 Larantuka market and likes her. He finds that
584 she is from, for example, Lewotala. Then he tells his father, and the latter goes there and asks "whence her blood." If the relationship is not close, or there is a relationship but they figure it out to be all right, then they go ahead with arrangements (how these people work at their rules!) Anyway, when
[583] they marry outside the area of the local pattern, they must pay a higher bride price in order "to fix it up." Thus, this is not the right thing to do, and it requires the same kind of thing in a way as a breach of exogamy. In a way, it is a breach of endogamy, in a sense that one should marry within the "adat belt."

"The Ordered World of Ili Mandiri."

582 Roy says that he believes that if more people
621 traveled outside of the area there would be more marriages outside of the area. This might, I think, lead to a final confusion of the rules. To keep such a complex scheme going they have to keep the marriages from going out of bounds, where the rules are off. If the rules get far enough off they may go out of vogue.

Marriages outside of East Flores are very
[484] rare, and only in a few cases has this happened. They have been local men who have traveled outside, for example, the few soldiers.

• [609] There is not a single case of a marriage with foreigners.

582 The average marriage age used to be older.
178 It might be even thirty or thirty-five for men. Now it tends to be anything over eighteen for girls and anything over twenty for boys. They still have the feeling against too early a marriage. They say that if the couple are too young, it is not good as the children will not be so healthy and it will not be too good for the health of the parents. Young people can marry more easily today because the children

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436 sionally one sees a ten sen ketip.! The Japa-
727 nese took everything. They also probably melted down a lot of the coins. There is very
437 little barter here as they have so little merchandise as real surplus. If they need food badly, they may sell cloth in the mountains for some form of food.

No one has a car. No one has ever owned a
493 car here. And no one can drive. Buses are
[435] very little used. The fare to Ende is fl. 0.50.

The owner of all the land is the mosa laki
423 mere of the kampong. He is thus the tuan
614 tanah. Each family has its own house and gar-
622 den land which is inherited. The parcels are in family units. Land is not sold, bought, or rented. There is also suku land, usually too far off in the hills (where the kampong lama of the suku is) to work. Thus the Odja suku has some in Rabu, but they never use it. The suku land in the kampong is under the giri tumba. Evidently there are no kepala suku, and thus no real suku property organization. This is because the mosa laki mere was formerly the kepala suku when the suku were localized. In the kampong, most of the suku land is that of Rewarangga, and indeed if one looks back far enough, all of the land in Roworeke belonged to Rewarangga suku. Note that the mosa laki mere is of Rewarangga. The Odja folk were given land for coming in and, for example, helping the Rewarangga in warfare. Thus it is possible, and evidently indeed usual, for incoming suku to get pieces of land from the mosa laki mere who is land master of the original suku.

There is also undivided kampong land, and
●[609] this may be developed by anyone with the consent of the mosa laki mere. Even outsiders may do this, for example, the people from Ende, who live in the kampong.

! [i.e., small silver coin --Analyst]

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829 that the big radja here is in Ende, and that's all.

609 648 [197] The general attitude toward the Dutch has always been one of fear. This is not a specific fear and is not equivalent to the resentment one sees in Larantuka caused by stern rule and frequent jailing. He says that the real reason is that they do not know what they fear, and they can't even talk with or understand the Dutch. The Dutch speak only Malay, and few of the local people here speak Malay. They just tried to avoid the Dutch, and that was easy. As the status of Malay began to rise, there was a bit of a change among the young people, but there was little thought about or contact with or talk concerning the Dutch at any time.

What I have just said is even more true of the mountain areas. Whenever aliens come into the neighborhood they just run away. Thus when Migo goes there for tax work, he sees only the kepala kampong, unless he lures the adat chiefs with tobacco, and other presents. I asked him why he was afraid. After all, he could speak their language. Then he shifted ground and said nothing specific, and stated that they do not even fear taxes, but they have the attitude that any outsider should be avoided. [515] Also, he says that they are so dirty in the mountains that they are ashamed to meet outsiders. (If this is so, they at least are conscious of dirt.) Their clothes are bad and dirty, and they never bathe. The women and children are especially filthy. He says it is too cold in the mountains to bathe. The water is especially cold, even in midday. This is a queer business.

771 Religion does not mix in with politics here. There is no trouble with Mohammedanism either. They don't talk much about such things. Even

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624 gendang (the aradjang pattern) from the head tuan tanah of the original kampong.

166 609 [443] [335] The groups of people who visit the village more or less regularly (actually only occasionally) are as follows: (1) pastors, (2) traders to buy stock, Chinese, Arabs, etc., (3) a Chinese pedlar who comes with a coolie carrying a pack, (4) government men, and (5) specialist carpenters who come to build houses.

They stay for a short time only, except for the carpenters, who stay for about two months.

One other class is important. It comprises the outsiders who have gardens in the kampong. They come to work in their gardens, stay awhile and leave. They sleep with the kampong folk as their guests.

[584] Family relationships are definitely interrupted by migration. Usually one starts the ball rolling by marriage or by buying a garden, and then relatives follow. This is important in regard to marriage because the young folk become acquainted in this way. It is a case of "propinquity".

166 609 518 The immigrants must follow the local adat absolutely. They take part in the same rituals, pay the tributes of the land, etc. Thus there is no trouble. However, there are occasional difficulties in managing the gardens. For example, the local people become jealous of the outsiders who have big crops, or argue one way or the other. There is not much trouble, however, and usually things are quite serene.

[783] There are no specific ideas about the outside world. Still, when one returns after a long stay in some other place, they have a rite to "clean the dirt." I am informed that there is no opposition shown toward those who accept the outsiders. However, I wonder if there may not be at certain times. Evidently there is no policy of "exclusion," and my guess is that if outsiders are not welcome they are told so and that is all.

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000 that is all.

166 There are no rites for ordinary folk who
609 just enter the kampong. In the old days, how-
567 ever, when new slaves came in they had to have
614 rites in order to tell the ancestors that they
769 were new members of the clan. This pretty well clinches the slave entering va'u matter. They just do. This is why the former slaves are members of the clans. Only those on the inside know who is who. The longer the time gets from slavery days the more it is not brought up.

563 The only Europeans here are the pastors.
443 The traders are Chinese and Arabs and natives.
793 The business of the occasional Chinese pedlar with his coolie is quite usual here. They stay usually for only a few hours.

The pastors tell stories to the local people about Europe, etc. The Chinese who are regular
[203] pedlars have been in Manggarai for a long time, and they spread some news.

484 In these local kampongs everyone has been to another kampong. The women go outside their own kampong less often and do not go so far
[438] away as the men. Men go out to trade horses, buy tobacco, etc. During the Japanese occupation they ranged far in order to buy cloth, etc. However, all of this was within Manggarai. All have been to Ruteng.

All have been outside Rahong, as they have been to Ruteng. At least fifty per cent of the local population have never seen the sea. One person has gone to Ende, and two have gone
[167] to Kupang as soldiers. One went to Makassar to work. The Japanese took several to Riung to work, but most of the people have never left Manggarai. No one from here has ever left Indonesia. In all Manggarai, the assistant thinks only one person has ever left Flores. He is a pastor, I think.

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484 In the Japanese time trips were made to
166 seek cloth, etc., but now this is done to a lesser degree, and the people never leave Manggarai although there is quite a bit of movement
[438] within the area. The people who do this moving are the men who buy and sell horses, tobacco, etc. If they are away for long or at some distance, there is a feast when they return. The four who have left the area have not yet returned. When they do there will be a great gathering to hear their experiences. The assistant has seen this happen in Pau. Formerly there were no relations really with even nearby places like Tjumbi, except for marriages, and if they went to war in the dalu's army, or had internal wars, (which were rare). Nowadays there are many more relations within Manggarai.
[621] In the rituals the only environs mentioned are the environs of the kampong. This comprises the ritual world and the social world of yore.

484 Today they travel more than they did before,
178 but still they do not go very far. Formerly
492 any outsider was fair game for robbery and
166 murder. Thus they were afraid to go afar.
●[609] There is little in the way of transportation here. Also, the kampong is a bit too far from Ruteng to make regular trips back and forth easy. However, the horses make Manggarai people greater travelers than, for example, the inhabitants of Larantuka. Every household has
[422] at least one to two horses. They are a big thing here, and now I see why I got the impression at once that there is more internal movement here than in most of the Flores areas. It is the horses. The people are fine riders, and the horses, although small, are fast and
[562] spirited. Women used to mount carefully and the horse on which they rode was led. Now they jump on and gallop off (still, I don't see many women riding horses).

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[493] [492] 481 178 The fact that there are no buses here is a big hindrance. However, the horses help for short runs. The assistant gives the travel times on foot in the old days and now. It shows that they walk much faster now than before. The world is speeding up! It used to take a day to walk to Ruteng; now they do it in three hours!

829 789 609 In general there is no fear of the outside. In the old days they feared robbery and murder, as outsiders were fair game for such. Magical danger is only encountered in certain places which are well known.

776 784 There are many kinds of roro, or spirits, e.g., darat (tree), naga (house and kampong), potiwolo (woods). Although the others may be good or evil, the potiwolo are always wicked. They live in woods. For example, they live in the taboo grove on the way to Ruteng. Darat live there too. The potiwolo sneak up and hit their victims. Thus it is dangerous to go into the woods in such an area, and they never enter such a grove alone. The assistant tells that as a boy with his father he was afraid to enter this wooded area. These potiwolo look like men but have goat bodies. They have two arms but only one leg. They either run on all three, or hop along on the one leg. There are other local spirits, and the places where they live are avoided.

20 Formerly no letters were sent in this area at all, and even today, nearly none is written. There is no telephone here and no telegraph. There is a telephone and there are phonograms in Ruteng. There is no radio here. Letters come to Ruteng and stay there until the post office sees a man who happens to be going the right way. Then he passes the word along. A letter may take three months to be received. Even the phonogram I sent was delayed for two

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634 646 They said no, but that there was much free talk against the radjas in the parliament now!

622 646 624 888 All hereditary posts are genealogically linked. Most of the kepala kampong are still old illiterates. Parliament members are mainly middle aged people (the oldest literates, therefore). Age is of no concern for the hereditary posts, as one person merely succeeds to the post after another. In the kampong, however, the old men have the most influence, and the young people keep their mouths shut for the most part.

[562] Women may not hold hereditary posts. Until now women took no part in elections, but they may change things here.

829 666 There is still only a very restricted political horizon here, and there is little knowledge about such things. But at least they have elections. This is very important. They start with an election. As they say in Celebes, they catch on fast. Veol is the center of the gelarang, and Rahong is the center of the dalu, and Ruteng is the center of Manggarai. They think nothing about the "place" of Manggarai in Flores; the radja is just a "big man." Beyond this they know practically nothing about the daerah, negara, etc.

[614] [632]

648 Most of the people here thought the Dutch were all right and they were too uninformed to criticize them. Also, it must be remembered that they had been under the rule of Bima, and the Dutch at least drove Bima out. They did not even criticize the Japanese! They were simply not concerned. The great memory here is of Bima and slavery. They hate Bima.

● 609 Except for the pastors, everyone here knows of things and people who are Dutch only by name. Formerly they knew the local civil servants only slightly. They were always afraid of any new men who came here. This is true of my

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●609 presence too. They are always apprehensive. They are afraid of new things, such as schools (at least when they first came in). They are an apprehensive lot, and their history offers a good explanation. I can see this even in the assistant. Also, as the Maumere pastor says, they are extremely respectful. They hold one hand to receive a cigarette, and the tuan tanah [576] and others, when they leave me, bend way over. Sikka, he says, is different.

576 171 These people remind me of the "oppressed" and noble-ridden Buginese and Makassarese, and indeed through their contact with Bima they came under the same system of respect and the like. The pastor says that fifteen years ago they crept before a superior. How different they are from the Ambonese, or even to some degree different from the Larantuka and Ende people, although the latter are more this way (but how much less!). The Toradja were much different too. They were not hit so hard by the Buginese slave raids evidently. And it must be remembered that Buginese administration never really penetrated Toradja land.

797 The church does not mix in politics here. The Catholics entered here about 1922. They went slow, and they are still not moving at a very fast rate. About fifty per cent of the population here now is Christian, says the assistant. In getting information for the records [595] the assistant found it difficult to get information on polygamy. 124 I note that there are several interesting cases. For example, the tuan tanah of Veol rode to Ruteng with me today, with his second wife, who is young. She is a Catholic, but they were not married in church. The kepala kampong has six wives, and number five is Catholic, but there was no church wedding in this case either. However, there are other troubles in getting information, and he

634 Keo), and the kapitan from Gunung Rodja (the
124 southern half of Ende town). After a long sales talk, the Radja offered all of his aid and said that on the next morning the kapitan of Gunung Rodja (evidently a kind of crony of the Radja, and one who usually wears an overseas cap, even while eating) would come to the pasanggrahan and take us to Roworeke. Meanwhile I asked a-
[611] bout Tana Ai, and they knew that it was matrilineal. Then the hadji from Keo said that it was matrilineal too, which was news to me. Then I asked about Wolo Wae, and they said it was in the mountains to the north, in Ende.
614 They seemed to think it was matrilineal too. I
582 then asked about clan exogamy and they said
178 that Mohammedanism was breaking it down, just as had happened in Tulehu in Ambon. But as in Ambon, clan exogamy is kept by the Christians here.

583 Incidentally, the priest in Ndetosoko said
178 that the Catholics are in favor of keeping the
797 bride price, as it strengthens marriages.

We finally left, and the next morning the
124 kapitan of Gunung Rodja appeared without his overseas cap. We got into the jeep and went to Roworeke, but the kapitan there was again in the garden. We went to kilometer 10 and saw the kapitan with several men wading across the river to the garden on the other side. We called him back and he got in suspiciously and we then drove back to his house. There he called the kepala kampong of Watu Roga. This fellow was a relative of his, an old man with an old sarong and short betel teeth, who looked somewhat like a Toradja. Later he called the djurutulis [scribe].

I gave a long sales talk and the kapitan
124 warmed up. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja helped
634 out and was quite enthusiastic. He is evidently
632 a powerful man, but the Controleur says that the

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632 then announces the chosen candidate. He has veto
624 power, and if he says no to a candidate, it is
final. The kapitan must come from either Re-
[614] warangga or Odja suku. If all agree, and the
giri tumba also agrees, they may choose a man
from Reandona suku, but this has never happened.
[178] In the old days the kapitan happened always
632 to be from Rewarangga suku, but recent ones have
565 been from Odja. If the present kapitan dies,
614 there would be about ten eligible candidates. I
611 think this means ten from Odja. These include
171 the sons of the old kapitan plus others from
eligible families. But there are over a hundred
families in Odja. Thus only certain families
are of the bangsawan high enough to be eligible
for kapitan. I could not get it straight who
these families are, but evidently they represent
the descendants of the great ancestor of the suku
Odja in the direct male line. This is always via
the oldest son. Thus the oldest branch of the
oldest branch, etc., as in Polynesia.

I asked if there was a name for the set of
613 noble kapitan families in Odja, and they finally
565 said, after much argument, Djo'bi Bene. To this
632 "lineage" belong the present kapitan, the scribe,
and the giri tumba. The kapitan came in and gave
the family tree of the lineage. So far as I
could see, it ran:

1. Neni
2. Djata
3. Odja
4. Koru Rudja
5. Djo'bi Bene

Thus these are the next ones to Djo'bi Bene.
I must come back again and find out exactly who
Djo'bi Bene was, and where his grave is located,
etc. This was frustrating, and I could not get
[124] it straight at first. I was always worried about
the loss of time in such slow questioning.

578 wars. There is no more head-hunting (but the
721 priest in the mission thinks it still goes on secretly, especially for the main post of a new korke).

53 The arts here are poor in all ways.

583 The bride price must be paid, but ambil anak
611 can occur. In the latter case a daughter or
237 daughters are given to the family in place of the
[556] price. This is especially true for the poor. Elephant tusks are needed for things such as the bride price, but this is evidently mainly for the uppers. And Krol said that nowadays, when the tusks have become rare, they often merely make the transfer in their heads, talking all night, and never actually transferring the real tusks from one family to another. It is a kind of clearing-house procedure. The tusks may be "transferred" up to twenty times in their heads, and they balance out in the end. Thus there is no real cost. It is a matter of delayed payment and really works out to a system of woman exchange between families. The tusk transfer is fictional. Thus A will "pay" tusks to B for a girl, and B will "pay" these to C for a girl, and C will "pay" them to A for a girl, and so on. The tusks, however, may even be non-existent in a particular case, and since they balance out in the end, no one really pays.

764 I was told that they used to put the bodies of
766 the war dead (I think) in trees before burial. Newborn children were buried in the kampong in front of the house. Cemeteries here were evidently placed outside the kampong.

124 We will return to Leloba tomorrow and try to
621 get the assistant matter straightened out. It
578 is notable that the guru said he is more comfortable working in an outside kampong. If the kakang gives the order the people must cooperate. This shows that the kampongs here are fiercely separatistic and only the upper government controls this atomism.

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All
727 of them were sold or taken during the Japanese
436 time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese
563 time too, but new ones are being made by
326 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and families. They had been in the mountains making wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They use the natives' gold. Much silver is now mixed in with the gold. They both had complete
[142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large, and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they
611 use money and animals for the bride price, but
591 they may also work it off, although it is not
237 really a case of ambil anak because the children follow the father's suku anyway. The girl must stay with the parents until the bride price is paid. Also, residence remains matrilocal until the bride price is paid. Thus we have an illustration of this in the case of a Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several children, because the bride price has not yet been paid. The children belong to his suku, however. Thus there is bride service, matrilocal residence, but the descent remains patrilineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally, has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to get the assistant to say that they still had tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the
624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before
632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evidently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases
[691] are concerned only with land and marriage questions.

443 night, was pitiful. There were six gambling
[525] tables in the pasar shed,[1] and that was all.
The Radja tried to get some dancers, but the
women had left for the kampong.

525 The priest, Mommersteeg, said that they all
gamble and that there is plenty of money used
here, although there are also many one sen
stakes. We went to bed in the terrible cold.

In the morning we went to Todabelu with Mom-
114 mersteeg to meet Arndt.[2] We had met the latter
on the day before along the road. We saw an
old bearded man with a rain cape and umbrella
on a horse and asked if he knew where Arndt
was. He said that he was Arndt and that he had
ridden seven and one-half hours from Magilewa
near the south coast where he had gone for
Christmas. His parish is not there but on the
road to Boawai, off to one side. He was a
notable figure on the horse. We talked with
him about Ngada.

Arndt[2] says that there are no tribal units
614 called isi as van Staveren says.[2] There are
173 merely clans called voi. Then, inside these
●611 units are bhou, or subclans. The big ancestor
was Djawa, who had seven sons and seven daughters.
The seven sons drop out, but the seven daughters
became the ancestral mothers of seven of the
great voi of Ngada, one of which is Ngada, and
this is the name of the ancestress. There are
a lot of other voi here too, each with a female
ancestor. I asked who the seven daughters
married, and he said this is unclear, but evi-
dently there were men on earth when the seven
were born. Thus it looks like an immigration
and intermarriage with aborigines. The bhou
614 have ancestral fathers, and thus they have a
611 system where the clans look a bit matrilineal
583 and the subclans a bit matrilineal, but the
whole descent is patrilineal unless there is no
bride price paid, when ambil anak occurs. Also,

[1] [i.e., at the night market --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

611 I think he[1] said it is possible to pay Also part of
614 the bride price and then to give some of the
583 children to the mother's group. This is not so
582 important, however, as the usual marriage is endogamous. They prefer to marry within the sib. They may marry out also. They have the same term for all cousins, and may marry with any cross or parallel cousin. Descent is patrilineal. Female descent is traced too, and thus there may occur cases of double descent with patrilineal emphasis and endogamy and clans. This is remarkable.

784 They also have totemism here with animal de-
824 scent and tree descent. A member may not kill or eat the animal totem and may not cut or burn or use in any way the wood of the tree totem. Two of the latter are ficus and lontar. The
583 amount to be paid as a bride price is a matter
554 of pride. Many kampongs have only one voi,
614 but others have several.

197 The language of Ngada is related to that of
193 Ende and is very close to Nageh. Manggarai speech, however, is quite different. Arndt says there are no affixes in Ngada, but instead they use particles.

614 Correction: Not all voi have women as an-
565 cestors, but most of them do. There are four
582 classes (not three as van Staveren[2] says). These are the nobles (ata gai or gai meze), upper commoners (ata gisa or gai giza), lower commoners (azi ana), and slaves (ata hoö). An upper woman may never marry a lower man, but the reverse is all right. The peo still stand.

124 We talked about the possibility of working in a Ngada kampong, but the Soa area has already been covered, and Arndt has a book nearly ready on the sociology of Ngada. There is practically nothing on Manggarai, so we decided to go to Ruteng first. We left in the afternoon, and after a hard drive, largely in the rain, we

1 [i.e., Arndt, pastor in Ngada area--Analyst]
2 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

769 rectangular. Now, Coolhaas[1] says that in Mang-
778 garai there are two native forms, and he gives
342 the native terms. One is conical and the other
193 rectangular, or perhaps a bit oval in shape.
614 However, the latter is not related to the former. There are areas of the one and the other, and evidently some areas have both. Now, the conical ones seem older, and on any surmise because round houses are simply older in Indonesia. Note then, that Ngada legends say that Djawa had seven daughters who became the ancestral mothers of the seven main voi. And they married men of the land, aborigines, here. The men are the
[174] ancestral fathers of the bhou. Could it be that the conical male ancestor houses reflect the patrilineal aboriginal culture and the population stratum which lived in round houses, and the rectangular bhaga represent the incoming, matrilineal population and culture? If so, this says much about the double descent of Ngada, the peculiar legend, and the strange double ancestor houses. Now I think I know why there are those amazing conical male ancestor posts in Ngada.

193 The legends of Minangkabau immigration may
611 be foolish, and the priest says he thinks it is
342 built up more recently, by the younger folk who
563 hear a name of an ancestor who came in and it sounds like "Minangkabau." But the surface evidence looks as though Manggarai and Ngada are a mixture of aborigines and immigrants. And there are also many evidences of double descent. I remember now that the priests talk much of enclaves of "autochthonous" folk in East Manggarai and East Nageh. They say that the people in these places are neither Manggarai nor Nageh. The Nageh enclave is originally from Soa, says Mommersteeg. I wish I knew whether these enclaves were patrilineal. Anyway, I doubt that they were unmixed. This may be a pretty good theory and may explain the umbrella houses.

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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784 There is definite totemism here though some
614 clans have no taboos or totem ancestors. But
611 it is the usual thing. Weol may not use one
769 kind of bamboo, because the ancestors were born
562 of this bamboo. Pau may not eat a certain kind of monkey, as the ancestors were linked (this is the assistant's va'u). Women marrying out of the va'u may eat the totem of their own clan but must go through a special rite. Men may never give up the totem taboos, even if they live in an ambil anak arrangement.

574 The next day we went to Weol and up to the
273 kampong with the assistant. We brought native
276 tobacco and gin which we had bought for fl. 2.00
123 in Ruteng. As we entered the kampong, on the right we noted the house of the kepala kampong. Next to it is that of the tuan tanah, where we sat on the front porch. Both of these houses are of the new style, but are sooty because there are no chimneys. The children carried two chairs up from Tjantjar for us and later brought a table from the school. However, the assistant and the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong sat on a mat on the floor. Others were in the background. On the rise in front was a great crowd. We gave gin and tobacco to the old people and
[262] were later served first coffee and then two hard boiled eggs. Others got no eggs. The eggs came by chain-passing from the next kampong, Ndung. Evidently eggs are something special. The old tuan tanah knows everything, and his brother the kepala kampong is old and smart too. The kepala of the third panga of Weol kampong sat in the rear. He too is old.

632 The daluschap Rahong is one of the thirty-
621 nine in Manggarai. The dalu are of Bima origin, or at least this is true of most of them. There are thirty-three kampongs in Rahong. The tuan tanah knows all of them, including the constellations. They are as follows:

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614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the relationships linking the individuals in this area became more and more distant. Thus they gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed, since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols, showing the effect of having worked with van Bekkum.[1] The priests try to discourage mother's brother's daughter marriages, but they always give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get the idea that the priests here are less firm regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka. This is probably because it is a relatively new field, and the Catholics go slowly and gradually in destroying what is old. The dodge they use here is special dispensation. This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price, is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
● 611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with his wife's family until the bride price is paid. This may take ten years or he may never pay the bride price, but the children belong to his va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
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[1] [pastor at Ruteng; see also bibliography, cat. 113 — Analyst]

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611 However, all children are descended patrilineally.
583 That is, there is no ambil anak here. In any
614 case, the bride price must be paid eventually.
591 It may even take two generations to do this, but the debt is remembered and the books must finally be balanced. This eventuates as follows: If a man can't pay with tusks, he pays with a daughter. It may be any daughter, the first, second, or later daughter. If the man has no daughters, the debt remains and must be paid someday. But, she does not become a member of her mother's sib. She remains a member of her father's sib and marries as though she were a full member of it. That is, all that happens is that when she marries, her price goes to her mother's sib. This is a very peculiar arrangement, and it is purely for monetary reasons. The sons are called anak suku. The daughters are called anak gading ("elephant-tusk children"). Thus the price of a woman is either tusks or a daughter. The daughter who is given for the price may live matrilocally or patrilocally, depending on where her parents live.

582 There are some marriages between Wailolong
621 and other districts. Roy can think of cases
614 with Lewotala, Wolo, and Lewinga, and he thinks there are others. I asked him how they figure the marriage rules in such cases. He said that if there were already suku there which corresponded to those in the kampong, the situation was easily resolved. If previous marriage relations existed between the two areas, it is also a simple matter to figure out the marriage relations. If no previous marriage relations exist, it is easy to figure out anyway, as none of the rules applies. Thus Roy's brother married a girl from Roti whom he met on his travels. This was no problem, as she was far outside the
582 pattern area. What usually happens, however, is
584 that a boy, for example, sees a girl at the

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624 like the marinyo of Ambon. I asked what the
465 secretary got, and he said cigarette money only. The pay is evidently very little.

583 Correction: Although he says there is no
614 case here now, he has found out that if the
611 bride price is not paid, the children are of
784 the suku of the mother. And the bride price must be paid at marriage. There is no post-marriage payment in order to get the children back. Thus there is real ambil anak here. The man remains a member of his own sib, and the wife a member of hers. Thus she assumes the "married woman" totem taboos of her own sib, not those of her husband's sib, as is the more usual thing.

346 I asked about the rumah berhala of Wolofeo.
778 This group has a real house, and in it there
614 are four ana deo, two in bad repair. There is one for each of the four suku. There are no other suku in the kampong. There are also plenty of belongings in the house. It is rather large, about twelve meters on a side. There are baskets and other objects therein. This old kampong is only one kilometer off the road in the hills at kilometer 17. I may go there one day. The four suku are Mbonggi (the kepala kampong is from this), Djo'bi, Soa, and
[769] Woro. The oldest suku is Mbonggi. There is also a grave-bone shrine here, of the suku Djo'bi.

791 The folk here are now mostly Catholic, but
769 they do have an annual ancestor rite, and the Catholics attend too. The kampong Ratebedi, far off in the hills, has fewer Catholics, as is the case with the far off Bu'ube'i. The distant ones remain pagan longer.

872 Fifty years ago there was no school. It came
178 in 1921. No one went to school before this.
212 They were totally illiterate (this shows how
000 recently the schools came in here). They were

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614 that the exogamy taboo is off, as he still is
597 half Gusa. Also, he still must attend all suku ceremonies of Gusa, as well as those of his adopted suku Odja. Thus, indeed, he is a double-sibbed man. Note that he could become kapitan only via adoption, because only an Odja or a Rewarangga suku man can be, and this does not apply to a man of Gusa. This is a good case.

583 In former times there was a strong force
178 behind the ruling which made a child marry anyone chosen by a father. This ruling has weakened, but still survives. The force, however, is no longer absolute. If a boy or girl remains adamant, the marriage is not forced. This is why they do not pay the bride price early any more, as they are not sure that the children will obey them when they are grown, and they stand to lose the payment for a non-fulfillment of contract. The bride price is paid, and that is all.

611 The system here is patrilineal, and there has been no shift away from this in any direction.

162 The sex ratio here is about equal, and this is approximately the same as it was before. They think this is all right.

586 There is no divorce here, and there never
583 was. They at once said, "why in the world do that, when the bride price of a woman is so high?" (A good substantiation of the priest's point that the bride price is a good thing in order to keep and strengthen the marriage bond!)

684 I asked what happens in a case of adultery. They said that formerly as well as today a man was satisfied with a fine, and gets this anyway. If the spouse catches the couple in the act, he can kill both of them. This is the same as before. The wrong party, always the man in the case, must pay the injured mate a

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614 this is so too. Thus there is a kind of "kepala
624 suku" in the form of one of the mosa who is hereditary in the suku. This means, however, that there may be suku with no big man in them because there is no hereditary rank in them. Such would be the suku which had lost their privileges in the old kampong of origin and which had not obtained any office in any of the other kampongs to which they have moved.

576 A lower person must sit or squat in the
516 presence of the kapitan or mosa laki. This is respect. There are no honorific terms of address. They just call the officer by his title. Only the educated ones even know the use of the term "tuan."

789 I have been unable, even with the most extreme pressure, to get anything on magic power of individual persons here. The dukun and the bisa mari are just dreamers and clever ones with second sight and occult gifts. I can find nothing of the true magic power of office that clothes the radjas of Celebes.

611 Monday, January 16. Today I left Ende for
184 Larantuka. I stopped and asked a man in Tana Ai about the matrilineal rules and finally got it out. It happened that the place I asked about this was over the border of Larantuka, to the east of Tana Ai, and he said that here in West Larantuka the matrilineal adat of Tana Ai is also found. In fact, he spotted the border for me exactly, which represents a new find for the book. These towns are in the matrilineal part of Larantuka: Unu, Palueh Lewalalang, Sukutukang, Riangwulo (which is where he and his group were from), Kedang, Bawalatang, Duang, Tabana, and Watubuku. These represent the eastern border of Tana Ai matrilineal adat. To the east of them all is patrilineal, that is, Lewotobi (e.g., Riangbarang). This is excellent material.

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533 797 [562] school[1] is overcrowded, and it is the only place where girls can rise above the lowest level in Manggarai. There were plenty of sisters around. The whole thing shows the good organization of the Catholics here.

[124] I used the last two days of work here to get through the rest of the schedule.

585 For weddings, the Christians go to church for a service as well as going through the old rites.

583 Formerly the bride price was not payable in money, but today it is, in part. The bride price (padja) includes buffaloes, horses, and formerly copper or brass (?) boxes. There are no more of these last objects, and money has been substituted for them. Also, cattle are now used, but were not included formerly.

The return gift (vida) includes cloth, bracelets, ear ornaments, etc. Also included are small elephant teeth (used as pendants on bracelets). They are about two inches long. The bride price goes to the girl's family, and the return gift to the boy's family. Formerly the bride price was not very high. Today it is higher. An average bride price includes about five animals.

Both Catholics and pagans still pay the bride [591] price and make the return gift. If a bride [611] price is not paid, the couple must live matrilocally until it is paid. However, the children are always patrilineally descended.

582 614 The distances of mate selection are about the same as they were fifty years ago. There is a bit more marriage within the va'u, which was taboo before. However, the panga remain exogamous.

476 602 614 If the relatives-in-law live too far off, there is no real, actual mutual aid. If they are near, mutual aid is carried out between three groups: one's own va'u ana rona, and ana vina. The help comes especially in aiding a help-mate

[1] [i.e., at Veol.—Analyst]

Wac

582 people married earlier, because they got their
291 clothes earlier. Cornelius[1] says that until
178 about twenty-five years ago you could see quite old and young people going about naked. He remembers this. They do not like too young marriages (!). Also, they do not like them if the partners are too old.

[561] There are no age grades.

614 The Veol clan is very large, but there are clans which are even larger. Not a single clan has ever become extinct. However, some panga have. There is one such panga in Veol.

562 Formerly, the position of women was really
178 low, like that of slaves. Now they are a little
584 higher. Today there is a beginning in the direction of freer choice in marriage. Formerly all marriages were arranged by the elders.

● 611 The system here is all patrilineal, and there have been no changes.

162 In 1930, Cornelius[1] says, there were five thousand extra women in all Manggarai. I will check the records for the ratio.

587 The levirate obtains if there is a widow. If
768 there is no brother, her family must take her back, and pay one horse. The children stay with the dead father's family. If the levirate goes through, the man pays one horse.

[583] If a widow remarries to a man other than the brother of her deceased husband, the price must be paid to the family of the dead husband, and the "bonds" are "broken." The sororate is not required. The bride price is required in the case of a sororate. It is quite usual, because the sister of the deceased is accustomed to the widower and his children. The children of course stay with the father's family always.

586 There is not much divorce, but it did occur and still does.

[587] The main cause of divorce is discord, not barrenness, as in this case a man simply gets another wife.

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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632 then announces the chosen candidate. He has veto
624 power, and if he says no to a candidate, it is
final. The kapitan must come from either Re-
[614] warangga or Odja suku. If all agree, and the
giri tumba also agrees, they may choose a man
from Reandona suku, but this has never happened.
[178] In the old days the kapitan happened always
632 to be from Rewarangga suku, but recent ones have
565 been from Odja. If the present kapitan dies,
614 there would be about ten eligible candidates. I
611 think this means ten from Odja. These include
171 the sons of the old kapitan plus others from
eligible families. But there are over a hundred
families in Odja. Thus only certain families
are of the bangsawan high enough to be eligible
for kapitan. I could not get it straight who
these families are, but evidently they represent
the descendants of the great ancestor of the suku
Odja in the direct male line. This is always via
the oldest son. Thus the oldest branch of the
oldest branch, etc., as in Polynesia.

● 613 I asked if there was a name for the set of
565 noble kapitan families in Odja, and they finally
632 said, after much argument, Djo'bi Bene. To this
"lineage" belong the present kapitan, the scribe,
and the giri tumba. The kapitan came in and gave
the family tree of the lineage. So far as I
could see, it ran:

1. Neni
2. Djata
3. Odja
4. Koru Rudja
5. Djo'bi Bene

Thus these are the next ones to Djo'bi Bene.
I must come back again and find out exactly who
Djo'bi Bene was, and where his grave is located,
[124] etc. This was frustrating, and I could not get
it straight at first. I was always worried about
the loss of time in such slow questioning.

634 Keo), and the kapitan from Gunung Rodja (the
124 southern half of Ende town). After a long sales talk, the Radja offered all of his aid and said that on the next morning the kapitan of Gunung Rodja (evidently a kind of crony of the Radja, and one who usually wears an overseas cap, even while eating) would come to the pasanggrahan and take us to Roworeke. Meanwhile I asked a-
[611] bout Tana Ai, and they knew that it was matrilineal. Then the hadji from Keo said that it was matrilineal too, which was news to me. Then I asked about Wolo Wae, and they said it was in the mountains to the north, in Ende.
614 They seemed to think it was matrilineal too. I
582 then asked about clan exogamy and they said
178 that Mohammedanism was breaking it down, just as had happened in Tulehu in Ambon. But as in Ambon, clan exogamy is kept by the Christians here.

583 Incidentally, the priest in Ndetosoko said
178 that the Catholics are in favor of keeping the
797 bride price, as it strengthens marriages.

We finally left, and the next morning the
124 kapitan of Gunung Rodja appeared without his overseas cap. We got into the jeep and went to Roworeke, but the kapitan there was again in the garden. We went to kilometer 10 and saw the kapitan with several men wading across the river to the garden on the other side. We called him back and he got in suspiciously and we then drove back to his house. There he called the kepala kampong of Watu Roga. This fellow was a relative of his, an old man with an old sarong and short betel teeth, who looked somewhat like a Toradja. Later he called the djurutulis [scribe].

I gave a long sales talk and the kapitan
124 warmed up. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja helped
634 out and was quite enthusiastic. He is evidently
632 a powerful man, but the Controleur says that the

632 and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.
103 Roworeke means: rowo is a bandjir river, dry in the dry season, and one can see this plainly; reke, a kind of red fruit. Watu Roga means a kind of soft stone. The scribe who will become
115 my assistant is a mild looking little fellow, of the suku Ambu Odja, and of the kampong Roworeke. He is married, however, into the kampong Watu Roga. His name is Adrianus Migo, and he is a Catholic. In the kapitanschap Rewarangga there
632 are eighteen kampongs (the kapitanschap Gunung
622 Rodja has fifteen kampongs). In each there is
614 a kepala kampong. There are also six main suku in the kapitanschap: Rewarangga, Wanda, Ambu Odja, Rea Ndona, Tibo (or Gusa), and Ambu Tara. There are members of other suku in the kapitanschap, but they are not old inhabitants. They
[171] have moved in (like the "newcomer non-dati" fams of the Ambon negri). The kapitan of Rewarangga were formerly of suku Rewarangga, but after three of these in succession the kapitan passed into suku Ambu Odja, and there have been four of these. Thus about seven generations are accounted
[173] for, or about two hundred years, but the man says that Roworeke is at least four hundred to five hundred years old. This may indicate that the kapitan organization came in only about two hundred years ago. It is not at all certain and I must ask further questions about this kapitan business.

632 The kapitan must be chosen from any of the
565 noble families of any of the five suku. In each
614 *suku there are two families which are noble and* therefore may become kapitan. Generally the son of a dead kapitan is chosen, but if he is not satisfactory they may choose a kapitan from another noble family of the same suku or from any of the noble lineages of any of the other four
632 sukus. The big reason that the Rewerangga suku
614 lost the kapitanschap was that it had become al-

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632 most extinct, with only about twenty members.
614 The kapitan is elected by the orang besar of the eighteen kampongs in the kapitanschap.

634 The Radja of Ende is also elected, in this case by the orang besar of the whole state. This means that he is elected evidently by the kapitan. I must inquire further about this matter.

632 The present kapitan is a nephew of the former
578 kapitan. He was chosen because the son of the former kapitan was not satisfactory. I noted that as I asked about this there seemed to be some embarrassment and I wonder if perhaps there was not a little fuss attached to the selection of a new kapitan even in the past. This seems to bear out the evidence for a feud pattern of which I see so much at first glance in Flores. Anyway, both the radja and the kapitan are elected with a tendency to heredity in the male line. They are elected by the officers of the sections of their domain. It is similar to the electors of Goa.

583 They say that the bride price is necessary
614 for marriage, and that the price is really high.
476 They say that some people go bankrupt in order
237 to pay the bride price. Nevertheless, everyone in the suku helps the man pay his bride price and in turn all helpers are later helped. This bride price is a clan affair. Formerly the price had to
[436] be paid in elephant tusks and in gold pieces called wea. Now most of the tusks are gone be-
[727] cause they have been sold or stolen (during the Japanese time). There are still quite a few of the gold pieces left, however. There were hundreds of thousands of tusks in Flores before. Sikka used only very long ones, but in this area they evidently used both long and short tusks. They are remarkable and I must learn more about them.

614 Marriage is exogamous as far as suku are con-
582 cerned and residence is patrilocal. They did
[591]

614 R They did
582 say, however, that Mohammedanism is tending to
break down this suku exogamy. Here in Roworeke,
178 however, the old adat is still strong and the
exogamous rule still holds. The young people
who have gone to school are beginning to rebel,
but the elders remain strong and hold to the
adat.

771 I asked about religion and they said that at
797 least fifty per cent of the people here are pagan.
Most of the rest are Christian, although there
are a few Mohammedans. The picture is the fa-
miliar one of the younger generation becoming
Christian while the older generation remains
pagan.

565 If I can believe the story about the nobility,
632 it looks as if there are about ten noble fami-
614 lies eligible to the kapitanschap in all Rewa-
rangga, because there are five suku and about
two families of this nobility to each suku.

632 Then I got onto the subject of the officers.
In the kapitanschap there is the kapitan, and he
is assisted by a scribe, a mandur and an oppas.
Evidently these are a secretary, a sort of pub-
lic works man, and a messenger--sheriff.

622 In the kampong the chief is the kepala kampong,
565 the ata nggaeh nua (ata nggaeh itself is a term
624 for noble). Some of these belong to the nobility
and others not (I must find out more about this).
The assistant to the kepala kampong is the oro
kuni. Then tere are four mosa laki, which seems
to them to be the equivalent to the tuan tanah
elsewhere. One of these is the main adat chief
(thus exactly like the tuan tanah) and he is
called the mosa laki mere, or mosa laki pu'u
(pu'u is the term for clan, and I must check on
this as it may be a survival of a purely genea-
logical localization of clans in a single kampong).
He may also be called merely by the term laki pu'u.
The three other mosa laki are: the giri tumba,
624 the ndeto au, and the sikesani. The giri tumba

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624 in the Lio mountain kampongs is called the wiwi-
ria lama lewa, or, as van Suchtelen[1] says, "big
mouth long tongue". He is like a talking chief.

632 The kapitan and the kepala kampong (as well
622 as the mandur of the kapitan, who on second
624 thought may prove to be a kind of assistant
614 kapitan; and the oro kuni) are clearly adminis-
trative officers, and are not "adat chiefs."
The true adat chief is the mosa laki mere (as
well as the other three mosa laki). This in-
dicates that the kapitan and the kepala kampong,
territorial chiefs, are of a later date, and the
old chief was the tuan tanah or mosa laki mere.
Since the latter is also called laki pu'u, and
pu'u means suku, it looks as though before the
territorial organization, they had only localized
clans. Thus they have the dual division of
chiefs into the administration--territory and
into the adat--genealogical. Going on, I found
693 excellent substantiation of this in that a big
632 case, involving murder or big theft, etc., for
624 example the case in which the Dutch government
614 was interested (a law case, as it were) is judged
622 by the kapitan with the assistance of the four
kepala kampong chosen for him for that case. In
a small case, however, involving adat, judgment
is made only within the kampong (thus adat cases
involve the kampong, which comes before the clan,
I think). And the judges are the mosa laki mere,
acting as chairman, the giri tumba, the ndeto au,
and the sike sani. It looks as though the old
localized clans were ruled by this quadrivirate.
And, these four are completely hereditary. Thus
even in succession they have the genealogical
principle. It comes out clearly in these four
adat chiefs. I must find out from which suku
these officers come.

614 I asked about the present localization of the
suku, and they seemed to agree that the suku are
still largely settled in certain clusters. They

[1] [See p.90 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

614 are somewhat moved around, however, and are even scattered, so that one may find parts of a suku in entirely different areas. I must check on this.

624 As for the four adat chiefs, aside from the mosa laki mere, who sits in the center when judging, the giri tumba (whose name means "spear running around") stands or sits to the right of the mosa laki mere. The ndeto au, who is an [791] expert on making adat stuff which I judge to be ordeal material or magical divining, sits or stands to the left of the mosa laki mere. The sike sani acts as a watchman or policeman. I must get the full account of the functions of these men.

701 Then I asked if they had had war leaders formerly and they said yes. They are called "brave men" or atambani (ata-m-bani or orang brani). They said that they were fierce and feared.

793 Then I asked about the priests, and they said
789 that they still have plenty of them. They are called bisa mari. I got the usual story of how
171 they prove their powers of second sight, and it sounded just like the Ambonese talking about guna-guna. These priests are not hereditary, and never were, but the sons usually learn their lore from their fathers.

648 There is much talk here about war with the
175 Dutch and I am told that there were uprisings all over Flores in the year 1907. I was also told of the stern methods of suppression used in those times and how afterwards there was wholesale jailing of the Florenese. They seem to have lost their nerve then and today they no longer rebel.

773 I asked about the old myths concerned with
769 ancestors. The Kapitan Gunung Rodja, who is descended from Djari Djawa, the Madjapahit man who came here on a whale, told a different version

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764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I must find out how the funerals are run now. Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.
[797] The assistant has finished five grades of schooling in Ndona.

291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
178 men (old style) although this is changing fast, a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
[302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
286 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
531 looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the designs are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
124 I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan. Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they have a holiday whenever there is the slightest excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I must find out about later, is how the kepala kampong is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some re-
624 marks about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan and others are not. I must get this kepala kampong picture straight.

● 614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

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●614 main suku there are several others in Rewarangga, but they have moved in and are not original suku. But any one of them may be given land and become in effect "members" of the communities. Thus Tibo is a suku which has virtually entered Roworeke. Later I got some kind of an explanation that it was formerly a kampong on the hill above there, but has now moved into a section of Roworeke. In fact, I saw this section, with only about three houses, and it is called Kopoedo. Among the suku which are "foreign" in Rewarangga are Ambu Djawa, Ambu Nduru, and Ambu Rutu. Ambu means grandfather.

624 632 Later I got more information about the mosa laki. Evidently in the kapitanschap there are four big mosa laki: mosa laki mere, giri tumba, ndeto au, and sike sani. Then, in each kampong there are four with the same names, but they are on a lower level even though their functions are the same. I met the mig mosa laki mere and giri tumba of Rewarangga. They were old fellows, dignified, dressed in adat clothes, and most refreshing in contrast to the modernized Catholics like the kapitan and the guru. They are polite and quiet. I got the impression that maybe most [887] of the mosa laki are older men. They are probably mainly if not all pagan too, and probably mainly illiterate.

614 582 Talking with the kapitan and the scribe and a few other lads later, I learned that suku exogamy is not necessary if there is enough distance between the relatives. Thus the kapitan is married to a fellow-Odja. They noted, however, in my questioning, that most people seem to have married exogamously.

527 129 The second day was the Flag Day, and I took ten fellows in the jeep from Roworeke. After the ritual, which was not very impressive (the Sikka radja made a speech with little grace), we went 123 with Ariens (the Controleur) on a ride to Nanga-

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778 Theyagreed that Ndoeria had rebuilt many rumah pemali. I must go there sometime.

574 Back in Roworeke, the kapitan gave us sweet soft drinks and port wine (Chinese). Then he put 291 on his adat dress, including a batik headcloth 386 which was winged in front, and a fine ikat slen- [287] dang, and a woven sarong. There seems to be no more tapa around here. The colors of the woven and ikat stuff are dark, including blue, black, and dull red. They are not very attractive, and the cloth is quite heavy. I saw women with baskets full of leafy stuff (small leaves) and I asked what was inside. They said tarum [indigo] and that it is used to make the blue and black dye. Thus they still use locally made dyes, but in Roworeke the red dye is bought in a store.

126 I took a picture of the kapitan and his wife and family including the fine type old mother. 621 We then started on a tour of the kampong. We went first across the road to Watu Roga. It is small and evidently most of the Wanda suku are. 342 There is one large house, but most of the others 178 are rather small. They are not of the high pitched roof type. I was told that before the war there were more of the old high roof type, but the Japanese leveled many of them to make the people move into the hills as they said the population was too dense near the town. I can't quite get the point. but new houses tend to be low, four sloped roofed, rather long and squat in type, but still look primitive because of the alang-alang thatched roof and many with the coconut leaf midrib walls. The walls, however, are usually low or invisible because they are under the low-hanging roof. Hence they are hooded.

349 In Watu Roga there is a high concrete struc- 769 ture looking something like a watchtower with ● 614 steps leading up. It has a four-sloped tin roof. 766 There is a low wall around a small rectangular space under the roof. The flooring is of tile,

349 and in the corner is a long wooden drum used in
769 certain ceremonies. Most amazing, however, is
●614 a box under the roof and set on planks across
766 beams. This box is covered with old ikat clothes
and measures about 3x2x2 feet. In it are the
bones of the great ancestor of the Wanda suku.
The kapitan said they are "hundreds of years"
old. When they have a suku feast, hundreds of
people come here and kill buffaloes and dance and
sing and pray, asking the ancestors for favors.
They do not call them but call on them. All a-
764 round are the stone heap and slab graves of
lesser folk. Bodies put in them are bound in the
knee-to-chest posture. They often are too small
to allow lying down anyway. I was told that many
are placed in one cist, and new bodies are put in
by lifting the slab and moving the old bones over.

286 I saw a back-bar loom and two women spinning
126 on primitive wheels from cotton fluff. It is im-
181 pressive and the threads they make are good.
One old and one young woman were so employed. I
started to take a photograph of the old one and
a young lady came up and said that she was his
mother and that if I took a photograph of her I
had to give him one too. I closed the camera and
went away. These are the least agreeable folk I
have met yet in Indonesia. Still there are plenty
of fine people here. Nevertheless, they are not
uniformly polite as, for example, are most of the
Buginese.

181 We then got out of Watu Roga, leaving discon-
126 tent, it seemed, as we had taken photographs but
given none to the people as we had done across
the road in Roworeke. I get the impression that
the Watu Roga folk are a bit antagonistic possibly
to the people in Roworeke. I also suspect that
these Ende people are aggressive and competitive
and grasping anyway.

621 Then we went around the sections of Roworeke.
These are, so far as I can get them up to now:
[i.e., Watu Roga.—Analyst]

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621 Nuamere (the kapitan's house is located here), Pudjambu, Aibod, Aiutu, Roworeke proper (the original kampong after they moved down from the negri lama), Kopoëdo (all Tibo suku, and small), and Wolomere. Thus there are seven. To the south, below Aiutu and Wolomere, is an open land stretching out toward Ende, on which various mixed folk have settled sparsely. The Roworeke [778] sections run up hill gradually from the road to the west, and the negri lama is located high above. All are on the west side of the road except the far south Wolomere, where the secretary lives. Wolomere is on the Watu Roga side of the road. There is an offshoot of Watu Roga on the Roworeke side. This is Paudari, and most, if not all, here are of the Wanda suku.

764 In Nuamere there is one high-roofed house, near the kapitan's. And here is a large concrete tomb set high above the houses. In the upper part, and alone, is the body of the kapitan who died in 1939. In the large lower part are tens of bodies of the Odja suku. When a new body is to be put in, an earthen section is dug up, which exposes an opening in the concrete tomb. The bones are pushed back and the body placed in and the earth replaced (are these bound in the knee-to-chest position?). There are many other rougher stone tombs which the kapitan said contain tens of bodies also. They do not know how many are contained in some of them as they are so old and have been used for so long.

621 Then we went to Pudjambu, the next place, and
766 it is like a small separate kampong by itself.
349 Then we went to another, rather farther off and
769 up on the rising stone-faced levels. It was fine.
614 This was the Roworeke proper, the ancestral kampong whence all others spread after moving down from the negri lama. It is a very fine place and I took a photograph. Here there is a high-set roofed tower like the Wanda one, and on planks

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349 set on the rafters a similar chest with bones of
766 the old ancestor of the Odja suku. I was told
769 that this has been there for hundreds of years,
614 but then it was reckoned that it had been there
621 for at least seven generations. It too was covered with ikat clothing. There was no drum in this one. They said that when the ancestor suku feast is held, hundreds of people gather here and buffaloes are killed, as was true in the other place. All around are many other stone cist tombs, all graves of descendants of the big
342 Odja. There are some high houses here, but most of them are lower in construction.

286 In Padjambu we saw many women spinning and weaving. One girl was pressing cotton fluff on a primitive wooden wringer arrangement in order to flatten it before spinning. It looked just like an old-fashioned clothes wringer. We saw an old woman preparing the loom threads in the first stage of ikat work. The white threads were wrapped with fiber windings. We saw several ikat sarongs, all of which were heavy and dull in
[435] color. The kapitan said that I could buy one for
[181] fl. 150.00 and another for fl. 250.00. This again shows the grasping character of these folk.

123 I forgot to say that the kapitan wants to go to Larantuka with us. I refused to let him go along. Also, at the Odja ancestral bone bundle tower an old mother said we had to leave an offering. We left some cigarettes. Perhaps they wanted money.

286 These ikat things are all over. I don't like
386 them very much, but they are genuine. The cotton
531 is grown locally and is pressed and spun. The dyes are blue and black and are made from indigo leaves. The ikat work is done with ties of fiber.
[438] Indeed, the only trade material used here is the red dye they buy in the stores. They also weave regular cloth, but the colors are always dull. The designs are small and indecisive.

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578 nature of these people. He said there are many
632 boundary disputes and have been many in the past.
144 Now I see the truth of the racial mixture zone here. All types are represented.

I get the impression that the suku were ori-
● 614 ginally localized largely if not entirely. This is still so. Thus one part will be all or nearly all Odja, another similarly Wanda, another Tibo, etc.

591 I met a lad in Roworeke proper who is from a kampong which is rather far off. They said he had married a woman of Roworeke, and I thought perhaps this might be a case of ambil anak. This is not the case, however, and he had merely come there for a day, because his wife has land here. They live in his kampong. Residence is patrilocal usually. Kattenburg remarked that in
178 material culture and in level of living the young
578 people are not much different from the old. They
561 do wear different clothes, however, and as he says, in general outlook, religion, knowledge of and adherence to old thoughts and ways and religion, they differ. There must be an intergenerational conflict here, especially as they are so disputatious anyway. I must check on this.

The next day we[1] set out early and got them to
349 let us work in the office. This is an amazing
217 place, with cocoanut stalk walls and a dirt floor.
124 In one room (they are all empty of furniture), scattered on the floor, are the "files" of the kapitanschap. Some of them are in paper boxes and others are just on the dirt. They call the kapitanschap the "gemeente." We sat on the front "porch" on chairs that almost collapsed and at a table that leaned loosely at an alarming angle and slowly leaned more and more until it seemed impossible that it would keep from collapsing.
124 With us was the giri tumba of Rewarangga and later the kepala kampong (ata nggaeh nua) of Woro-

[1] [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg --Analyst]

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	My Spelling	Kapitan's spelling
632	13. Pu'umbindi	Poeoe Mbindi
621	14. Mbago	Mbgko (?)
	15. Pemodjera	Pemo Djera
	16. Volofeo	Wolo Feo
	17. Bu'ube'i	Boeoebei
	18. Sokopedji	Soko Pedji

The w and v are, or seem to be, separate, but the spelling here seems to indicate that they are the same. F, however, is separate. Of the eighteen, Roworeke and Worowai used to be (up until the Japanese time) together, but now they are separate kampongs. I wonder if this did not happen before so recently. Also the three (Vavoeü, Ratebedi, and Kekambero) were once one, named Rabu. This is still used evidently once in a while for their general area. We got onto the
624 matter of the mosa laki, and it develops that in-
632 deed there are the Big Four for the gemeente, and in addition there is a Little Four in each kampong. The Big Four, however, are also the Little Four of both Roworeke and Worowai. Thus the mosa laki mere of Rewarangga is also the mosa laki mere of both Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The giri tumba of Rewarangga is also the giri tumba of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Roworeke. The ndeto au of Rewarangga is also the giri tumba of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The sike sani of Rewarangga is also the sike sani of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The kampong combination is because Roworeke and Worowai were still one kampong until recently.

624 Each of the other sixteen kampongs has its own
622 Little Four. Also, each kampong of the eighteen has a kepala kampong or ata nggaeh nua, and his assistant, the oro kuni.

614 In each kampong there seems to be one suku

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614 which is the main one and the largest. In most cases this may also be the oldest one. This does not hold for Roworeke, where the main one is Odja, but the original one was the now nearly extinct Rewarangga. Anyway, they knew that Odja was the main one in Roworeke, Reandona the main one in Manunggo'o, and beyond this they did not know the situation in other kampongs. They said
[829] that they would have to ask each kepala kampong. This shows how little they know about anything beyond their own village. Even the kapitan, who is head of the whole eighteen kampongs, did not know this.

624 The giri tumba of Rewarangga, who is head giri tumba of all the others, didn't even know the personal names of the other sixteen giri tumba.

693 If there is a small adat case, the Little Four sit for the judgment, but they tell the Big Four of the local kampong of the decision. Thus they have a kampong court for little cases and a gemeente council of the Big Four for bigger ones.

632 We got into a terrific muddle about how a new
624 kapitan is chosen. When an old one dies, all eighteen kepala kampong come together and also the Big Four and the mosa laki mere of the other sixteen kampongs. The giri tumba, ndeto au, and sike sani of the other sixteen kampongs may come, but evidently they have no voice in the matter. Thus the electoral college includes eighteen kepala kampongs, mosa laki mere Rewarangga, giri tumba Rewarangga (Odja), ndeto au Rewarangga, sike sani Rewarangga, and the mosa laki mere of the other sixteen kampongs (excepting Roworeke and Worowai, whose Little Four are also the Big Four). Thus in all there are thirty-eight members of the electoral college. The manager of the convention is the giri tumba Rewarangga, who was sitting there. His other title (wiwiria, etc.) means "big mouth long tongue." He goes around and sounds out the opinion of all the others and

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632 then announces the chosen candidate. He has veto
624 power, and if he says no to a candidate, it is
final. The kapitan must come from either Re-
●[614] warangga or Odja suku. If all agree, and the
giri tumba also agrees, they may choose a man
from Reandona suku, but this has never happened.
[178] In the old days the kapitan happened always
632 to be from Rewarangga suku, but recent ones have
565 been from Odja. If the present kapitan dies,
614 there would be about ten eligible candidates. I
611 think this means ten from Odja. These include
171 the sons of the old kapitan plus others from
eligible families. But there are over a hundred
families in Odja. Thus only certain families
are of the bangsawan high enough to be eligible
for kapitan. I could not get it straight who
these families are, but evidently they represent
the descendants of the great ancestor of the suku
Odja in the direct male line. This is always via
the oldest son. Thus the oldest branch of the
oldest branch, etc., as in Polynesia.

I asked if there was a name for the set of
613 noble kapitan families in Odja, and they finally
565 said, after much argument, Djo'bi Bene. To this
632 "lineage" belong the present kapitan, the scribe,
and the giri tumba. The kapitan came in and gave
the family tree of the lineage. So far as I
could see, it ran:

1. Neni
2. Djata
3. Odja
4. Koru Rudja
5. Djo'bi Bene

Thus these are the next ones to Djo'bi Bene.
I must come back again and find out exactly who
Djo'bi Bene was, and where his grave is located,
etc. This was frustrating, and I could not get
[124] it straight at first. I was always worried about
the loss of time in such slow questioning.

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000 the loss of time in such slow questioning.

632 578 634 614 624 There has been much fighting in the past over the election of a kapitan. In the case of a deadlock the radjas have stepped in and settled it, but this is dangerous because sometimes the people have refused to accept such an imposed choice. Again I see the troubles and feuds around here. The rivalry seems to be between suku. For example, they said that Reandona suku has always been trying to get into the kapitan position, but has never succeeded. I wonder if perhaps the mosa laki were not once actually suku chiefs. I asked the old giri tumba about this and he agreed but probably didn't understand me. And yet there seems to be a connection. Be- [178] fore the Dutch came, they say that the mosa laki mere was the kapitan and the giri tumba the kepala kampong of Roworeke. Thus the mosa laki mere was the top man and the giri tumba was the kampong chief. As for the other two (ndeto au and sike sani) they said that there were these offices too in the old days.

773 173 614 Then I tried to get onto the subject of the old origin legends in Roworeke. They said that long ago before the Dutch came the mosa laki mere here was of the suku Rewarangga; the giri tumba was of the suku Odja; the ndeto au was of the suku Nggonggora'ba, and they did not know the suku of the sike sani. This mention of Nggonggora'ba led me to ask about the whole business.

The kapitan started the story. In the beginning there were five siblings who came from Java, four brothers and one sister. The four brothers were Rewarangga, Reandona, Nggonggora'ba, and Gasiradja. The sister was Djedjedjo. The last went to Nggobe. Gasiradja went to a mountain kampong in the gemeente of Nggobe. The kampong was named Woroapo. Rewarangga settled in Roworeke, and he was the eldest brother and the most powerful of the siblings. Reandona took over authority in

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773 Manunggo'o (where this suku still remains the
173 principal suku). Nggonggora'ba took over
614 authority in Worowai, and there are still members of this suku there. Then the Odja suku entered the area from Rabu (at present three kampongs; 9, 10, 11 in the above list on page 29). Then the Tibo suku entered from Koavena and settled on the hill Wolowaru above Roworeke. This was later abandoned, and they came down and settled in the sections of Roworeke called Aibou and Kopoëdo. Thus at that time there were five main suku (maybe only these five) in the area: Rewarangga in Roworeke; Reandona in Manunggo'o; Nggonggora'ba in Worowai; and the two new suku, Odja in Roworeke and Tibo in Wolowaru. The posts
[624] held by these suku were:

1.	Rewarangga:	Mosa laki mere of Roworeke.
2.	Reandona:	Mosa laki mere of Manunggo'o.
3.	Nggonggora'ba:	Mosa laki mere of Worowai.
4.	Odja:	Giri tumba of Roworeke.
5.	Tibo:	Ata nggaeh nua of Roworeke.

The other officers were also present, but it is unclear as to what suku they came from.

It can be seen that the kapitan descended
632 from the mosa laki mere of Roworeke, and this is
624 in the suku Rewarangga (probably when the kapi-
614 tanschap was created, Roworeke was made the capital and the mosa laki mere of it was made the kapitan of the new district). Later on, when Rewarangga nearly died out, Odja, the suku of the old giri tumba of Roworeke, took over the kapitan position. The giri tumba is still from Odja. The Reandona suku, descended from the second of the four brothers, is one of the eligible. What has happened, however, to the Nggonggora'ba suku seems to be a kind of eclipse. I must look into this later in Worowai.

000 notable.
797 The church in Riangkamiß is built with refer-
177 ence to the four ritual sibs of Kottang, Hurin,
346 Keleng, and Marang. This is an example of the
●[614] rule used: anything of a social nature is all
right, but if it is of a religious nature and
related to the old spirits or ghosts, etc.,
Catholicism won't take it. This is like the
[171] death feasts in the Toradja country, where the
Protestants will let the Christians go to these
social rites but not to the great exorcism
rites. Thus the Catholics here are not allowed
to go to the old rites on the nama in front of
the korke, but as the priest admitted, it is
hard for the folk here to see the difference,
and they tend to regard these retained aspects
of paganism as full paganism because they are
symbols of the whole pagan system.

797 He told much that was interesting. There is
178 in paganism here a need for a girl to be the
243 rice maiden for the fertility rites (Vatter[1]
796 tells the story too), and the old adat chiefs
insisted in one kampong that at least one girl
should not be converted, as at least one is
needed to be the rice maiden. This shows the
desperate plight of paganism. They must beg to
have something vital allowed to remain. "Give
us one only," they ask. He said it is true that
just about all of the young people are Catholic,
but many of the old remain pagan.

[771] Later, in Wailolong the guru Roy said there
are few, but very few young people who are pagan.
578 He told us about a war in which a man was killed
411 yesterday. It was a border war between Leloba
and Waibalun and the police had to stop it.
They fight these wars all the time, with bow and
spear and knife. I asked if maybe it were not
511 because they were hungry and need land. And
[578] hunger and misery cause aggression anyway. He
denied this, but I think it is true, especially

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

was
304 was more common formerly. The tattooing occurs on the arms, face, and chest. In Tandjung Bunga there is a lot of tattooing. Sometimes this is done on the back of the calves too. The young people do it no longer. However, the guru's daughter has her name tattooed on her arm.

342 The houses have upright sticks at the ridge ends, but the guru says this is of no significance.

764 Stones called nubanara are all over the kampong, lying flat mainly. I wonder if maybe these could have been used for graves in this kampong before, because the nubanara are scattered like the graves in Ende.

346 178 535 368 At the top of the kampong is the korke of the kampong, and in front is a nama, or rectangular dance place. This consists of a platform built up of stones. Some of the stones should stand (four, one for each of the main suku; but the guru says there may be more than four standing). This appears in Vatter's[1] photo of another nama. These former uprights here have fallen down and he says the people do not bother to erect them again. This is a sign of the steady breakdown of paganism. On the dance place there is an old drum left standing. It is evidently no longer used. The korke is empty, and has merely a bale-bale under a roof. No walls are left. The roof has not been repaired, which again may show the breakdown. Near the korke is a large house of [614] the tuan tanah of the main suku, and near this is the korke of his suku. In addition to the kampong korke, there is one for each suku, but no nama in front of these. These korke are used by the kepala suku, who is also the tuan tanah of the suku, for suku rites regarding rain illness, etc. The main korke is used for kampong rites. [574] When a feast is thus given, the big men sit on the bale-bale in the korke, and the dancers per- [534] form in front to the music of a drum and gong.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

797 stead they nearly always use the term Orang Katolik or Orang Serani. The usual pattern seems to be recurring, the Protestants not being accepted as of the same religion in any way.
797 The mission headquarters has a large building
346 for priests (there are always three here, but
874 others come to rest and get supplies), several
793 workshops (where boys who are dormitoried on the grounds learn woodworking, machine work, etc.), a lower and a following school of five grades with one thousand pupils in which boys and girls are kept separate (boys and girls from other islands sleep in dormitories), a household school, a laundry, a library, etc. It is really a great plant. There are four brothers of a "working" type here, who run the workshops and handle the technical education, including one Pole who was interned during the war. He speaks
[792] Dutch with an accent. There are many nuns here, and they also help in the small government hospital. Evidently all or nearly all the schools in this area are "government," but they are really run by the mission. I haven't found out exactly how the system works yet. The Mission is ingenious. There is an old tractor which is used for lathe power, an old Japanese machine used for electricity, etc. They have a very large coffee plantation on the road to Maumeri and it looks good.

797 It is remarkable that such a great number of priests and nuns are here in this miserable spot, which can never be any good. Maybe they regard it as a sure foothold in a Mohammedan area, a foothold which may later be expanded.

244 There are practically no vegetables except
262 tubers here, and fruit is rare. So is all other food.

582 The suku marriage custom is evidently still
614 in force, and I will work on it in detail.

578 It is notable that there are so many border
721

000 We trols this atomism.

124 The next day we went to the kampong, stopping
212 at Mudakaputu, and Watuwiti, and other places on
115 the way. These all seemed less good than Wailolong. For example, Riangkamiß had only two suku; others had none or only one korke, etc. At Leloba, the guru had another guru with him, and said that we must use him as he was not so good at writing. Then I asked about whether or not it might not be a good idea to use an assistant who lives in Wailolong, but they said nobody there can write well because most of them have attended only three grades of schooling. Then we went to the district chief, the kakang, who was formerly in Boschwesen, and who is a man with good authority. He said he would order the Wailolong folk to help and would put at my disposal a lad from Wailolong. Also, he said he would order them to let us use one of the rumah pemuda, or boys' houses, in Wailolong. We talked at length about the situation and it seems that there are really no people in Wailolong who are able to write well.

773 We talked about the way the old stories are
178 dying out and the young people won't listen any
872 more. The guru Roy and a few old men only are the ones who know very much. The guru is the best, and he knows all of the ancestors back for nineteen generations. He also complained about how the schools do not have books about Indonesia and the local affairs, but rather about Europe, which the children cannot understand.

632 We had taken in the jeep a lot of kepala suku
622 and kepala kampong of Wailolong to the kakang
693 where they were to have a case hearing. It is
614 evidently a case concerned with marriage. The kepala suku are clearly old style fellows. Several
[30] of the old men had long hair and necklaces and one had a tattoo on his chest. The kakang gave a
614 speech ordering them to help us. Then we went to

We Then we went to
614 the boys' house in Wailolong, which turned out to
882 be a windowless house with sleeping benches in-
562 side. Here the boys from about twelve years on
[342] sleep. Thus there is a real men's house here.
There are three, I think, in Wailolong, because
some of the suku share houses. Normally the
rule is one house per suku. It is taboo for the
girls to enter these men's houses.

124 Then we went to Leloba and began on the Vatter[1]
social organization material. They were delighted
to see the Vatter book, especially Roy who noticed
his name in it.

614 I started with the usual outline of groups and
got the following list of suku and subdivisions
and sub-subdivisions of the suku. I had told the
guru yesterday that there must be a sub-subdivi-
sion, but he said no. He said he had thought it
over and understood what I meant. The names
[171] often have direct references to parts of a house,
and thus it looks like, as in Ambon, there used
to be one suku to one house. Thus Ama Marang
Do(ng) Lau(ng) means (the last words) bale-bale
laut, i.e., in the old days the ancestors used to
sleep on the bale-bale part on the sea side of
the ancestral house they shared with the other
division. Therefore, Ama Marang Do(ng) Rae(ng),
which means bale-bale darat, or the bale-bale
on the land side, was for the other division.
The former has more power than the latter.

614 As for the recurring Lango' Bele', it means
565 big house, while the twin term Lango' Kene'
788 means small house. The former is the section of
the subsib or ama, with more power. The latter
is the section with less power. Maki(ng) means
descendants. The whole system has reference to
the rank of the sibs, which is symbolized in
ritual animal killing. Thus Kottang holds the
head and is the chiefly or head suku normally.
The symbol is the head. Keleng holds the feet,
and they are the assistant suku to the head.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

Wac

614 There is no use of a head without feet. At
788 least this is the idea. They are the leg men
565 of the head. The Hurint cuts the head off, and they also cut or finish or decide cases. Thus the double entendre words which seem to prevail in this language come to light. Also the Hurint do the praying, and in the old days the priests were from this suku as well as were the judges. The Marang passed around and still pass around sirih, or perhaps coffee today, at the rites. The Marang also acts as general helper so that if any of the other three have trouble with the beast he rushes in to aid. The function is symbolized not quite so clearly as for the other three, but the social system is symbolized in ritual which in turn reflects a system of rank and function.

632 I heard another thing which should be inter-
614 esting to follow up. The kakang is a Leboba man
583 from one of the Kottang subsibs. His sib (one
576 of the two Belepe Lolong, and must be Lango'
431 Bele' as he has much power) gives women to the guru's sib (Ama Hurint Ola Demo[ng] Lango' Bele') and must be given fowl by the latter. The latter gets women from the former, and gets fish from the former too. Thus fowl and fish form a gift exchange following the marriage exchange system. Evidently the sib that gets the women gives the fowl, and the one that gives the women also gives the fish. Could this be again the serpent and the dove? The kakang said that if he went to the guru's house and there happened to be some fowl cooking there, he must get some, or it would be a terrible breach of respect and much shame would be felt. I think this is correct, but I must check it later.

194 The peculiar nasal end sound indicated by
[114] the parentheses in my orthography is hard to get and Vatter[1] messes it up. The guru says it is hard even for a man from Larantuka town to say it.

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

000 say it.

621 614 There are three levels in the organization: the kampong, the suku, and the ama (subsuku). There may also be sub-subsuku, but there is no term for this. The chief of the kampong is the kepala kampong (I must get the local term for this). There is also the kepala suku (but I have yet to get the local term for this). The subsib or ama chief is called the kelake. One man may have all three ranks in any one given case, but in another case may have only one or two. For example, the guru is the kepala suku of Hurint and also kelake of the Ola Demo(ng) Maki(ng). The kepala kampong of Leloba, however, has no other rank.

Thus the system is as follows:

I. Ama Kottang
   1. Belepe Lolong (Buto Talu Maki[ng])
      (a) Belepe Lolong Lango' Bele' (big house, big power)
      (b) Belepe Lolong Lango' Kene' (small house, small power)
   2. Waktuka(ng)
   3. Ama Marang
      (a) Ama Marang Do(ng) Lau(ng) (bale-bale sea side, big)
      (b) Ama Marang Do(ng) Rae(ng) (bale-bale land side, small)

II. Ama Keleng
   1. Tuakerura
   2. Ama Belemang

III. Ama Hurint
   1. Ama Waru'i(ng)
   2. Eramolik
   3. Ola Demo(ng) Maki(ng)
      (a) Ola Demo(ng) Maki(ng) Lango' Bele'
      (b) Ola Demo(ng) Maki(ng) Lango' Kene'

IV. Lewodoreng
   1. Lewamaki(ng)
      (a) Lewamaki(ng)

621 (b) Lewamaki(ng) Nipatale' (slaves before)
614 2. Ekimaki(ng)
V. Lewonuhah
1. Lewonuhah Ama Kottang
2. Lewonuhah Ama Keleng

[567] Note the slave group which is worth later investigation. Note also the Ama Marang inside the Ama Kottang. Usually this is separate, but here it is assimilated to the Kottang. Note that the Ama Kottang and the Ama Keleng subdivisions of Lewonuhah are listed. The latter was once a separate kampong and the two subdivisions were suku in it. Lewo means kampong.

614 The people here refer to the "sixteen kelake" and there are sixteen groupings. Thus there are sixteen kepala ama. But actually there are only twelve kelake or kepala ama, in addition to the five suku chiefs. Some of the latter are double positions as is the kepala ama also, and they may even be kepala kampong at the same time. Anyway, the kelake are as follows:

I. 1. (a and b). Belepe Lolong
2. Waktuka
3. (a and b). Ama Marang
II. 1. Tuakerura
2. Ama Belemang
III. 1. Ama Waru'i(ng)
2. Eramolik
3. (a and b). Ola Demo(ng) Maki(ng)
(he also is the kepala suku Hurint, that is, guru Roy)
IV. 1. (a and b). Lewamaki(ng)
(he is also the kepala suku)
2. Ekimaki(ng)
V. 1. Ama Kottang
(he is also the kepala suku)
2. Ama Keleng

Thus of the five suku chiefs, three are also

614 ama chiefs. As for the marriage rules, many of
582 them are based on the old marriage relations
835 which were complicated by ritual stuff. He
684 talks a lot about how such and such cannot marry so and so because his group is an older or a younger brother of the latter. This could stand further investigation. Anyway, marriages are as follows:

Men of	Marry Women of
I-1a	IV, V-2
I-1b	II-2, III, (I-2) (note)
I-2	II-1, IV, V
I-3a	IV
I-3b	III-2, III-3a, III-3b
II-1	I-1a, III
II-2	I-3b, IV
III-1	I-3b, IV
III-2	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, V
III-3a	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2
III-3b	I-2, I-3a, IV, V
IV-1a	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-1b	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-1	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a

[583] The notable case of a marriage inside a suku
[178] started three generations ago when a man of I-1b wanted to marry a woman of I-2 (Ama Kottang Belepe Lolong Lango' Kene' and Waktuka(ng), thus. This was heavily taboo, but the man wanted the woman badly and the men of Waktuka(ng) said that if he paid a terrific bride price he could have her. This was done, not without some fuss, and ever since it has been possible to do this without paying the terrific price because the ice
582 was broken. All know that it is a terrible
614 thing, however. I expressed horror and asked
835 whether these two groups weren't having bad trou-
684 bles because of the curse of incest. The guru
688

582 said yes, it had caused great misfortune. I told
614 about the evils of breaking the pela and fam
835 rules in Ambon, and he burst out with a speech
684 about how much worse it is to commit an adat sin
[688] than it is to commit a religious sin. The latter hurts a man only when he faces God, and it may be washed away before he dies. But the former makes a man an outcast all his life, shunned and marked, and the curse afflicts his crops, children, and everything. This was a guru serani speaking!

The women run as follows (incidentally he says he knows of a case of the same sort of incest from Wailolong, which I will get tomorrow). (In the old days punishment for breaking marriage rules consisted of expulsion from the suku, ripping off of clothes, and even the death penalty.)

Women of	Marry Men of
I-1a	II-2, III-2, III-3a
I-1b	IV, V
I-2	III-2, III-3a, (I-1b) (note)
I-3a	III-2, III-3a, III-3b
I-3b	II-2, III-1
II-1	I-2, IV, V
II-2	I-1b, II-1
III-1	I-1b, II-1
III-2	I-1b, I-3b, II-1
III-3a	I-1b, I-3b, II-1, IV, V
III-3b	I-1b, I-3b, II-1
IV-1a	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
IV-1b	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
IV-2	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
V-1	I-2, III-2, III-3b
V-2	I-1a, I-2, III-2, III-3b

In the evening I tried to make some sense out of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

000 of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

582 583 237 614 621 The next day I questioned the guru about this, and after a long talk about kinship, which revealed that the mother's brother's daughter type of marriage is a regular type of thing, he came out with the classic statement that usually the tusks come back to the original payer in three moves. Thus, ideally this is a three-class, mother's brother's daughter, rotating system. However, the route of the tusks may be longer, involving up to twenty moves before they return to the original giver. But they try to make the circle as fast as possible, doing it in three moves if they can. Naturally, this is not always possible. We examined some cases of possible long routes, and he said it might be true that it would take up to twenty moves before the tusks returned. They try never to let the tusks go outside the kampong, and this may be why probably there is not much extrakampong marriage. But even if they did, they could close the circle by careful planning. He said, just as Wouden[1] might, that the mother's brother's daughter marriage and the bride price and the sib system are all part of a complete system. We will have more of this later.

114 Today, Friday, December 23, we started in on the Vatter[2] book which the mission lent to me. It is amazingly correct.

Among the corrections, etc., are the following: [304] tattooing against illness is not done in Leloba; [775] a tattoo mark is needed to be recognized on entering the deadland; [301] feather decorations are used only festively; [302] the special woman's horsetail coiffure is not used here any longer; [755] cotton is not placed in the ears for illness (55)[2]; [614] one of the sibs from Sina Djawa is Lewonuhah; [784] the term suku wung is used here (74)[2] wung having the sense of taboo.

[1] [See pp. 19-21, 85-88 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

114 As Vatter[1] says, there are taboos of a totemic
784 sort. Ama Hurint has a taboo on a kind of
614 vegetable. Others are as given by Vatter. Vatter has a real error, however, in that there are only five suku, not six, because Marang is within Kottang.

582 Marriage with one's father's sister's sister
835 [father's sister's daughter?] is taboo, as are
177 marriages between parallel cousins. Mother's brother's daughter marriages are preferred, and this occurs regularly. It was interesting to note that the mother's brother's daughter marriage is considered taboo in Catholic communities. This was admitted, and no longer do Catholics
[836] here marry their real mother's brother's daughter unless the girl has become pregnant (this is evidently a fairly common occurrence, as it is mentioned freely). However, because of the classificatory system, it is possible to marry a mother's brother's daughter relative through the grandparents. Such a relative must be at least a fourth grade cousin to suit the Catholics. Thus they manage to maintain the old system and suit the Catholic demand.

601 Kinship terms are as follows:

father:	bapa
father's brother:	bosu
father's sister:	nona, kaka (male speaking); nona kaka, tia (female speaking) (Tia means mother-in-law
father's brother's son:	kaka aring (male speaking); na'a (female speaking)
father's brother's daughter:	bine (male speaking); kaka aring (female speaking)

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

601

	mother's brother's son (male speaking), (at one point, mother's sister's son)
opu:	father's sister's son (male speaking) (at two points, mother's sister's son [probably not] [female speaking], and mother's brother's son [male speaking])
opu kesi(ng):	father's sister's daughter (male speaking)
nada:	father's sister's daughter (female speaking), mother's brother's daughter (female speaking)
dading:	mother's brother's son (female speaking), (at two points, mother's brother and mother's sister's son [male speaking])
blake:	father-in-law (male speaking), mother's brother (at one point, mother's brother's son [male speaking])
tiu:	father-in-law (female speaking), father's sister's husband (female speaking)
tia:	mother-in-law, father's sister (female speaking), mother's brother's wife (male speaking)
mure'bereung:	mother's brother's daughter (male speaking), father's sister's son (female speaking)
woru'i(ng):	older sibling
tukan dore(ng):	younger sibling
tuho wutung:	middle sibling

583 He said in regard to the circulation of the
582 marriages that the mother's brother's daughter
614 marriage is the thing that keeps the system going. It is this plus the exchange of the tusks. The sibs, subsibs, and sub-subsibs gear in too. There is much indirect exchange of wives, but it can't

582 be straight exchange. They must have one inter-
583 mediate move because of the mother's brother's
●614 daughter marriage. He sees this clearly, and says that if one could marry a father's sister's daughter they could have a straight exchange. He says that they do this in Tandjung Bunga. Vatter[1] says this is not so. If they do not want to give the tusks or they do not have them, they can work out the bride price in a deal with two other sib groupings so that A will give a girl to B, B a girl to C, and C a girl to A. Thus no tusks are needed, but they act as though the tusks had actually made the rounds. It is all done in their heads. They must plan this, as not every combination will bring the exchange back to the original sib grouping in three moves. Of course, a more complicated deal can be made with many moves leading the fictitious tusks around and a girl back to the group that starts the whole thing.

836 The premarital sex relations with the arrange-
583 ment that leads to marriage which Vatter[1] calls penara is properly called penaga(ng). The guru prefers to call it bride-service, but it is not so according to Vatter[1].

The guru says there are three kinds of marriage here: capture, service (or premarital sex relations leading to marriage), and payment. He calls the last the respectable type. It requires tusks, either real or according to bookkeeping.

192 Vatter[1] makes a bad error on page 83. Kelen
114 does not mean "heaven," but only foot. The word for heaven, on which he was confused, is klng, with almost no vowels.

782 Prayer is not carried out by the Marang. The
788 word marang means to pray, and this has led to
614 the confusion that the ritual prayers at the animal killing were always done by the Suku Marang. The latter merely hands the betel around. The oldest man who is an expert, from whatever

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

782 suku, does the praying, as the Kottang, Kelen,
788 and Hurint do their jobs. The guru has seen old
men of all suku do the praying, but has never
●614 happened to see a Marang doing it. This is conclusive. He agrees that perhaps some relation exists between the term and the function and the suku, but he doubts it.

I read how Vatter,[1] shortly after he left
721 Leloba, heard that there was a war between Le-
682 loba and Waibalun. And right now while we are here, after nearly twenty years, there is a war between Leloba and Waibalun. They ask whether aliens here bring the wars. At present there are several Leloba men in jail because they have killed a Waibalun man (just the other day).

I read the passage in Vatter which tells that the guru's father, when he was kepala kampong, killed (I think) fourteen suwanggi in one day. The guru said that this was true and that nowadays even though there are still suwanggi the government will not allow them to be killed. The kepala kampong said that it happens once in a while that a man, plagued by the wickedness of a suwanggi, kills someone and is then sent to jail.

Then we started to work on the social organi-
614 zation of Wailolong. What is happening is that
621 I am getting material on the two kampongs and maybe that is the way to present it, not explicitly, but with emphasis on Wailolong. There
[184] are noticeable contrasts with the one hundred per cent Christian community.

Ama Datong, Leworita, Ama Hurint, and Lewato,
[788] and Lewodoreng are the suku. The first plays the part of Kottang in ceremonies. Kottang is not found here. Leworita plays the part of Kelen, which is not here. Hurint is O.K. The Datong are the original settlers here.

I. Ama Datong

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Wa

614
621

a. Ama Radja
b. Ama Belolong
c. Ama Rere

II. Leworita
a. Subamaki(ng)
b. Harutmaki(ng)
c. Tapopuka(ng)

III. Ama Hurint
a. Hadumbole(ng)
(1) Hadumbole(ng)
(2) Hadumbole(ng) Nipatale (slave descendants)
b. Marimaki(ng)
c. Melamaki(ng)

IV. Lewato
a. Ama Waru'i(ng)
b. Waktuka(ng)
c. Tuhowutung

V. Lewodoreng
a. Ama Waru'i(ng)
b. Engamaki(ng)

582
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835

The marriages run as follows (I checked a few from the woman's side and this is enough):

Men of	Marry Women of
Ia	IIIa2, IIIb, IIIc
Ib	IIIa1, IIIb, IIIc
Ic	IIIb, IIIc
IIa	I, IVa
IIb	Ia, Ic, IIIa, IIIb
IIc	III
IIIa1	Ic, IVb, V
IIIa2	Ib, IVb, V
IIIb	IIa, IVb, IVc, V
IIIc	IIa, IIb, IVc, V, (IIIa) (Note)
IVa1	III

Wa

	Men of	Marry Women of
582		
●614	IVa2	III
835	IVb	I, II
	IVc	I, II
	Va	I, II
	Vb	I, II

582 The case of IIIc intermarrying with IIIa
614 (perhaps it is IIIb) was one of incest which
835 involved three virtually simultaneous marriages
583 which occurred two generations ago. There were
684 three men from one family who paid a very high
178 bride price. This is like the similar case in Leloba. I asked how much higher the bride price was in these cases, and he said that they had to pay more tusks, but the man had to kill all of his animals. Thus it seems like a kind of tremendous purifying feast in order that the incest may be allowed. He said that the Leloba incestuous arrangement is still technically in, and anyone who wants to follow it now may do so without paying the tremendous price the pioneers once did. Both of the men who did it in Leloba are dead now. As for the Wailolong cases, this arrangement has been stopped, or rather, if it is carried on today it is wrong. They don't do it any more. There were the three men and then it ended. I asked about any resulting disasters and he said it is true that these sinners had had terrible troubles. I must ask what these troubles were exactly.

624 The offices are as follows:
622
614 --Kepala Kampong Kottang (Ib)
554 I. Radja Tuan Datong (kepala suku, tuan tanah) (Ia)
(2) a. Kelake Ama Radja (kepala ama (same man as I)

Wa

622 (1) b. Kelake Ama Belolong
624 c. Kelake Ama Rere
● 614
554

--Kepala Kampong Keleng (Leworita) (IIb)

II. Radja Tuan Leworita (IIa)
(1) a. Kelake Subamaki(ng) (same man as II)
(2) b. Kelake Harutmaki(ng)
(3) c. Kelake Tapopuka(ng)

--Kepala Kampong Hurint (IIIc)

III. Radja Tuan Ama Hurint (IIIa)
(2) a. Kelake Hadumbole(ng) (Same man as IIIa)
(1) b. Kelake Marimaki(ng)
(3) c. Kelake Melamaki(ng)

IV. Radja Tuan Lewato (IVa)
a. Kelake Waru'i(ng) (same man as IVa)
b. Kelake Waktuka(ng)
c. Kelake Tuhowutung

V. Radja Tuan Lewodoreng (Vb)
a. b. Kelake Waru'i(ng)--Engamaki(ng)
(same man as V)

(The arabic numerals to the left of the lower case letters in the above list refer to the relative rank of the offices listed.)

The last of these five suku is small and so has only one officer. There are only nine men in this suku (they reckon the size of a suku by the number of men in it), and thus there are perhaps only about thirty to forty people in all. They mentioned other suku with forty or more men. Lewato is also not very large. They say it has about twice as many as Lewodoreng. (These are IV and V.)

622 The kepala kampong is purely an administrative
624 chief. The adat chiefs, who were evidently the
614 only chiefs formerly, are the radja tuan and the

622 kelake. Evidently the kepala kampong have been
624 superimposed on the other system.
614 The purely administrative chiefs are:

Kepala Kampong Kottang (he is the kepala kampong)
Kepala Kampong Kelen (IIb)
Kepala Kampong Hurint (IIIc)

The latter two have this as their only titled rank. If I am right that the kepala kampong is also the kepala kampong Kottang, then there are really sixteen officers, i.e., actual men in office, but the total number of offices is twenty-three. Some men have more than one office. When
[788] there are ceremonies, the praying (marang) is
[887] done, not by the man from suku Marang, but by the oldest man who is clever. Here it is a man
[756] named Bugis, from IIa. He is also the molang, or medicine man. Can it be that often the two go together? The guru, as noted above, says that even in Leloba, where they have a suku named Marang, this is not the praying suku at the rites. The chief of the Marang suku is merely a bander around of betel. In Vatter's time in Leloba the one who prayed was Laba, says the guru.

614 Note that an alternative term for Ama is Mela. Thus one can say, for example, either Ama Hurint or Mela Hurint.

693 Yesterday we met the chiefs of Wailolong.
624 They were at the kakang's office for a marriage
302 case. They were partly made up of short-haired Christians, but there were also pagan longhairs. I must get a photograph of all of them together with the information on who they are. Probably the administrative ones are the modern and the adat ones are the old pagans.

614 For the kepala suku they always have an old
887 man if possible. If no old man is available, however, they may have to take a younger one.

614 I must get on to the method of choosing the
622 & [See bibliography, cat. 113 —Analyst]

War
614 chiefs and also clear up the exact differences
622 between the kepala suku and the kepala kampong, if any.

622 The next day I got an explanation of the
624 officers. The three kepala kampong (called
614 Kottang, Kelen and Hurint) are the administra-
574 tive officers. They are chosen by their respec-
796 tive suku. They have no ritual function as such,
231 unless they happen also to be either kepala suku of their suku or the kelake of their ama. The radja tuan and the kelake are also chosen by their respective suku and ama, but from the noble lineage within the suku. They must come from the "big house" (Lango' Bele'). Each suku has one such big house, and so does each ama. I have seen them in Leloba. I found out, however, that the head and feet are not actually held by the kepala suku Kottang and Kelen, but rather by some man, evidently it matters not who, from their suku. Also, the kepala suku Hurint himself does not actually cut (though evidently he may do so if he wants to), but usually delegates the job to one of his fellow suku members.

It happens then, in Wailolong, that there are five radja tuan and three kepala kampong. Then there are the kelake.

If they hold a suku feast, i.e., a feast on the land of the suku itself and which concerns only the suku, it runs something like this in each of the suku:

Ama Datong	Head:	Man from Ama Radja.
	Feet:	Man from Ama Belolong.
	Cut:	Man called in from Ama Hurint, but may not be from Nipatale.
Leworita	Head:	Man from IIa.
	Feet:	Man from IIb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

We

622 **Ama Hurint** Head: Man called from Ia or Ib.
624 Feet: Man called from IIa or IIb.
614 Cut: Man from Hurint, except
796 Nipatale.
574
231 **Lewato** Head: Man from IVa.
Feet: Man from IVb.
Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

Lewodoreng Head: Man from Va.
Feet: Man from Vb.
Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

If a kampong feast is held for all of the people, the setup is as follows:

Head: Man from Ama Radja (Ia).
Feet: Man from Subamaki(ng) (IIa).
Cut: Man from III, except Nipatale.

614 The Nipatale groups--in Wailolong they are
569 IIIa2 and IVa2; in Leloba IV-1b--are former
423 slaves, bought respectively by the Ama Hadumbole(ng)
582 Waru'i(ng), and Lewamaki(ng) amas. They have no
[796] ritual standing and they may never hold or cut.
They just look on. Also, they have no land of
their own, but use the land of their masters
(i.e., the ama who bought their ancestors). They
[753] must give the first fruits of their gardens to
these masters, and if they do not they get sick.
He says that they were bought from Adonara not
long ago, perhaps about four generations. They
are not really free yet. They must obey the
orders of their masters. In ordinary life, how-
ever, this is a matter of adat and respect (hor-
mat), and they are not ashamed. It is really a
matter of (a) owning no land of their own; (b)

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614 giving the first fruits to the masters; (c) owing
567 certain duties to the masters; (d) respect shown
423 to the masters; and (e) not being in a good
582 place at feasts. They may intermarry, however, and the bride price for them is the same, etc. He said that even in the beginning they intermarried; in fact as soon as they got into the area they integrated into the marriage system. So strong is the need for these marriage rules that even slaves must be put into the system.

The Ama Rere is a peculiar case too. They
[727] are descendants of war captives brought back from the Maumeri area eighteen generations ago. They too have no ritual standing, as can be seen above in their lack of chance to do any of the duties of the Datong suku. They do not have their own land either. They have to work for
[796] Ia and Ib. That is, they have no ritual standing, no land, and they must do certain duties. In the marriage system, however, they are equal.

614 Also peculiar in the Wailolong setup is the
554 Ama Hurint. They do not have a full position
423 in the kampong, because their ancestors came in from Leloba. They have no land of their own in Wailolong. Each year they receive land for their use during the next year.

721 Then we got onto the schedule and learned a number of incidental things. For instance, right now the Leloba folk are scared to walk along the road near Waibalun because there is a state of war. Thus this is a real war and not play, and there is real danger of death. The "big houses,"
778 i.e., the houses of the radja tuan and the kelake,
789 have holy stones before them. It is not proper
171 to call them nubanara but rather saoniwa(ng). The nubanara proper are the holy stones of the kampong in front of the korke. The saoniwa(ng) hold the magical power of the radja tuan and the kelake. The power of these stones invigorates the respective chiefs, and this is why the folk

778 must give them respect and why the folk are scared
789 not to obey them. (Thus it is like the aradjang
171 in South Celebes.)

789 The guru really got going on magic power. He
721 said that they call on magic power especially
778 when they are going to war (and right now too).
769 If, for example, Wailolong were going to war tomorrow with Riang Kamiß as they did only some fifteen years ago, the respective radja tuan, kelake, and maybe even the molang would get to work the night before doing the magic stuff. Among the other things they would call on the ancestors for magic power and also go through the betel rubbing on face, bodies, etc. They would also kill animals and use gin, because blood and alcohol have power. Then, on the next morning, they would be full of magical power and would go to war. All the men would come to the "big houses" to be "treated."

778 These "big houses" of the suku and ama also
614 have sacred objects, including tusks, plates,
237 etc.

422 These tusks, all of them, are ama property.
583 If any member gains possession of one, he places it in the big house of his ama. Any man in need of some tusks for a bride price may take them. If the tusks of the ama are exhausted, he may draw on the tusks of the suku. Thus Kassi, who Vatter said had no tusks of his own, could not use any tusks because his ama no longer had any. He happened to be a member of the Hurint suku, and the guru, the kepala suku, gave him some finally from the suku store and thus he was able to get married.

583 The minimum price for any girl is five units
237 of tusks (I think this is a matter of length, that is, the small and large are reckoned up). One may pay more without limitation. It is not a matter of beauty.

584 Child betrothal is common here, but this is
184

609 Wa
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
437 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has magical power, but we didn't get into the full
[778] story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

Wo

789 that the Larantuka radja does have an aradjang, but this is not the word for it here. I must get the right word. There seem to be no outward signs of status. The main thing seems to be a general knowledge of everything in the kampong and also whether a person lives in a "big house" or not. The Lango'Bele' system is impressive.

554 614

Notes on Larantuka: The mandur in the pasanggrahan is a Madurane who married a Catholic woman here. His name before was Ali, but now since he became A Catholic he is known as Andreas. His children have taken their mother's Larantuka name, Dosari, and their forenames are Dominicus, Paulus, and Maria. One who died was named Aloysius.

551

There was one prau owned in Leloba. It was owned by the guru. It was wrecked yesterday.

501

The tax here now is fl. 23.50 per adult man. In the prewar period it was fl. 5.00. The people have trouble paying it and always have had this difficulty.

651

In the prewar period if one did not obey the government one could be jailed easily. Since the war this government control has weakened. For example, in a recent land case the present kepala kampong would not sign a paper of the government, nor would the guru. The kepala kampong was jailed, but the guru tried to bail him out. The government refused to accept bail unless he signed. He asked if it would be possible to re-open the case later if he signed. They said yes, but then refused to re-open the case afterwards.

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Roworeke: On Christmas, we came back through the mountains. On the way, especially in the kampongs in the Lio mountains, we saw many small processions with drums, singing, and many people who were drunk. While dancing the people seem to use handkerchiefs most of the time. This is

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693 632 624 [622] tions. Murder, theft, etc., come to the kepala kampong or kapitan. Such cases are not within the adat sphere. These officials do not interfere with each other's spheres.

632 624 622 The situation in regard to the offices is as follows: The Big Four of the gemeente who are also the Little Four of Roworeke (combined with Worowai) are respectively from Rewarangga, Odja, Rewarangga, and Rewarangga. All except the giri tumba are from Worowai, and here there is a rumah berhala. Only an Odja or a Rewarangga man (and he must be a resident of Roworeke) may be elected kapitan or kepala kampong of Roworeke. In each of the other kampongs there are families in which the Little Fours are hereditary posts. This position is inherited from father to eldest son.

[796] There are no set ritual functions associated with these offices, but the mosa laki mere of the Big Four (I think) must always be there for a big ceremony, and he must receive the lower jaws of the animals slaughtered. I note that an alternative term for the four mosa laki is tuan tanah.

771 796 Some of the people here are Catholics, and I asked if they still did the ritual and prayed when they held a big ceremony. He say yes, and that Catholicism makes no difference in this matter. He was firm in stating that there are Catholic things and adat things. They are separate. The two main feasts of the year are those held at planting and at harvest time, when the crops are brought in ritually to the kampong. At these feasts the mosa are the leaders and the big leader is the local mosa laki mere. There is animal slaughter, dancing, singing, and praying. They wear festive clothes. [614] And there is also a big suku feast when the [342] bone house of a suku is rebuilt. Thousands attend. Smaller private rites are held for such

796 241 574 527

R Smaller private rites are held for such
755 cases as illness. A medicine man or woman (and in the example given they said woman; perhaps they are more frequent than men) is called in and magical rites are performed.

582 We got onto the suku exogamy matter, and
● 614 they said at first that one could marry within
178 the suku if the relationship was at least three generations off. But I pressed this a little further and they seemed less certain. I looked over the list which is now up to No. 190, and I noticed only a single case of endogamy. This proved to be a man from the outside who had been "adopted" by the Odja (he was originally from Lio) long ago. He was still separate, however, and I noticed that although he is still trying to find the name of his suku in the old place, the assistant left the suku slot blank for him and his children. This proved to be a case of no bride price and hence matrilocal residence. Thus there is not a single case of suku endogamy. I suspect that they
[124] are either trying to fool me into thinking they follow only Catholic rules, or else they know the latter and talk about them. Or perhaps they just don't phrase the old rules in the same way any more, although they follow them actually in practice.

124 We got onto the schedule as he has written a few short answers already. They are not bad, but it is evident that thinking and writing are painful for him.

342 Formerly the kampong was much larger than it is today and the houses were bigger by far. They are still large. In regard to migration
166 the situation is not too clear, but it is quite evident that very few people leave. Most of the individuals who go away are police or soldiers who serve in other parts of Flores. There are also a few teachers who serve elsewhere in Flores. They nearly all come back later. Their

R

166 property and status are kept for them. If any youth wants to go out to seek his fortune, his family and the kampong officers oppose this. They do not want people to leave. There is a [186] strong sense of localism here. For example, [829] I asked why they knew so little about the kampongs which are not far away from them when I had come all the way from the United States to find out something about them. They said that they never went to other kampongs unless it was necessary. This seems to be the Flores pattern.

166 Very few people have immigrated. There are some from other kampongs in Ende and Lio, and in fact these areas account for the examples of immigration aside from the women coming to marry in. Normally, women who marry men from another kampong go to live with their husbands. There are a few individuals from Savu, one [563] Chinese family, and a fair number of Ende town folk on the lower border. They are not members of the kampong.

423 There are evidently two kinds of land: the kampong land in the older parts of the kampong, which is used by members; and border land, which used to belong to Ende or other kampongs and which was bought by either the kampong folk or the Ende folk who live there. Thus the borders have expanded by the latter means. The fields may be used only four to five years and then must lie fallow for a long time. I must get more on the system of land ownership.

614 I had a hard time getting the truth about the 124 suku organization from these people. They are dumber here than in Larantuka by far, and they have lost much more of the memory of the actual rules involved. Still, in Larantuka, I notice that I have to ask many people in order to get answers to some of the complicated questions, for example, in regard to marriage rules. But

R

614 here the process has gone much further and they
124 are slower in general to respond. Anyway I got
to the point where they said that there are
really only two "native" suku here in Roworeke,
[622] Odja and Rewarangga. Only an Odja can become
kepala kampong.

622 Incidentally, they agreed that in the old
624 days they had only four adat chiefs. The kepala
[177] kampong were superimposed by the Dutch. They
know this. I asked who were really higher in
rank, the mosa laki mere or the kepala kampong,
and they said that they were just different.
614 Other suku than the main two here are for example, Wanda, Ndoru, Songo, Soa, Fongi; all of which are from Lio, and are represented here by women who have married in mostly. Then there is Djawa, which has been here for a long time. Also there is Meo, from Nggobe; Gusi, from another Ende gemeente; Gusa (or Tibo), from Koavena; another Rewarangga kampong; and Woro (same).

778 Koa is the negri lama of the Gusa suku, and there the rumah berhala is located. It is the one that has the images. Many of the oldtimers live there. It is one kilometer uphill from the km. 10 mark on the road, just above the kapitan's garden. There is a rumah berhala in Worowai, where rites are held. I must get to see this.

There is no question here but that the
614 Rewarangga suku has the greatest power in all the gemeente. It may also have been the original suku. Next in order is Odja, and evidently next in line comes Reandona, whose native kampong is Manunggo'o, in the hills above Roworeke.

527 On December 27, after the ceremony of independence, came the same sort of thing as on flag day, but now for nearly a week there will be no
487 work. We left for Badjawa, the capital of Ngada. The road went along the coast through a number

443 night, was pitiful. There were six gambling
[525] tables in the pasar shed,[1] and that was all.
The Radja tried to get some dancers, but the
women had left for the kampong.

525 The priest, Mommersteeg, said that they all
gamble and that there is plenty of money used
here, although there are also many one sen
stakes. We went to bed in the terrible cold.

In the morning we went to Todabelu with Mom-
114 mersteeg to meet Arndt.[2] We had met the latter
on the day before along the road. We saw an
old bearded man with a rain cape and umbrella
on a horse and asked if he knew where Arndt
was. He said that he was Arndt and that he had
ridden seven and one-half hours from Magilewa
near the south coast where he had gone for
Christmas. His parish is not there but on the
road to Boawai, off to one side. He was a
notable figure on the horse. We talked with
him about Ngada.

Arndt[2] says that there are no tribal units
● 614 called isi as van Staveren says.[2] There are
173 merely clans called voi. Then, inside these
611 units are bhou, or subclans. The big ancestor
was Djawa, who had seven sons and seven daughters.
The seven sons drop out, but the seven daughters
became the ancestral mothers of seven of the
great voi of Ngada, one of which is Ngada, and
this is the name of the ancestress. There are
a lot of other voi here too, each with a female
ancestor. I asked who the seven daughters
married, and he said this is unclear, but evi-
dently there were men on earth when the seven
were born. Thus it looks like an immigration
and intermarriage with aborigines. The bhou
614 have ancestral fathers, and thus they have a
611 system where the clans look a bit matrilineal
583 and the subclans a bit matrilineal, but the
whole descent is patrilineal unless there is no
bride price paid, when ambil anak occurs. Also,

[1] [i.e., at the night market --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

611 I think he[1] said it is possible to pay part of
614 the bride price and then to give some of the
583 children to the mother's group. This is not so
582 important, however, as the usual marriage is endogamous. They prefer to marry within the sib. They may marry out also. They have the same term for all cousins, and may marry with any cross or parallel cousin. Descent is patrilineal. Female descent is traced too, and thus there may occur cases of double descent with patrilineal emphasis and endogamy and clans. This is remarkable.

784 They also have totemism here with animal de-
824 scent and tree descent. A member may not kill or eat the animal totem and may not cut or burn or use in any way the wood of the tree totem. Two of the latter are ficus and lontar. The
583 amount to be paid as a bride price is a matter
554 of pride. Many kampongs have only one voi,
614 but others have several.

197 The language of Ngada is related to that of
193 Ende and is very close to Nageh. Manggarai speech, however, is quite different. Arndt says there are no affixes in Ngada, but instead they use particles.

614 Correction: Not all voi have women as an-
565 cestors, but most of them do. There are four
582 classes (not three as van Staveren[2] says). These are the nobles (ata gai or gai meze), upper commoners (ata gisa or gai giza), lower commoners (azi ana) and slaves (ata hoö). An upper woman may never marry a lower man, but the reverse is all right. The peo still stand.

124 We talked about the possibility of working in a Ngada kampong, but the Soa area has already been covered, and Arndt has a book nearly ready on the sociology of Ngada. There is practically nothing on Manggarai, so we decided to go to Ruteng first. We left in the afternoon, and after a hard drive, largely in the rain, we

1 [i.e., Arndt, pastor in Ngada area--Analyst]
2 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Weol

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[799] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here, and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
● 614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

We

592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more
243 people in many of the houses. The complex ar-
rangement of rice fields stretches out far be-
low and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but per-
haps this is done merely by flooding. I must
ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly
situated on rises and they are small, for ex-
ample, Weol has only about thirty houses in it.
The priest says that there are many of the
stones in kampong Ruteng located about $1\frac{1}{2}$ km.
outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each
day, and the guru will bring the table and
chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel.
The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary,
which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about
fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
197 houses were introduced here by a priest. The
guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the
55 folk here, including the priests. Bathing is
not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the rela-
tionship between partners is distant enough.
Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans,
called panga, and one may marry within these in
the same way, according to the guru. I must find
out more about this and also get the kin system.
We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in
the center of the town where they were playing
football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

We

721 whips. Later the mandur of the pasanggrahan,
555 a Manggarai man from kampong Ruteng, said that girls especially like a man who has knocked out another's eye with a whip.! It looks like a head-hunting pattern, but so far I have gotten no response on the subject of head-hunting, and the priests say it did not exist here even in former times. I must check on this.

[126] We took photographs, and one of them was of
634 the Radja. He was a bit drunk, and said that
273 the dancers were hot inside too. He made what
537 seemed to me to be an unnecessary speech to
609 the men around him to the effect that we were Americans and not Dutch and as to why we were here. Later he said he was busy as this was the day of the kampong folk. He said he would see us later so that if we needed any help we could call on him, and he could also warn us of possible dangers. The latter reference was vague, and I can't see the point. He called a lad who came with a bottle of brandy and we had drinks in front of a great crowd. He wore a songko, which is strange for a Christian radja. Evidently, from what we hear, the Radja here has been in for only a short time, and this one is both young and new, as his father died recently (maybe not his father?)

614 Then we went back to the pasanggrahan and
582 talked with the mandur who said that in the Ruteng kampong there is still plenty of the old culture. He said it is possible to marry inside the va'u (this is the correct spelling) or outside. He said marriages usually occur outside. He said something about how if one partner was from the older sibling branch of the va'u and the other from the younger sibling branch, they may marry (could it be that here we have a subclan?) The assistant says they have panga inside the va'u, and he gave his own as the first, which I think means the older branch. Thus

! [i.e., during the ritualized mock warfare games; see p.42, c.rt. 116 --Analyst]

614 maybe it is a matter of the older and younger
582 lines. I must check on this. The mandur said
[624] there was no tuan tanah in Ruteng kampong.
Later the assistant said they must have one.

124 In the evening the assistant came to the pasanggrahan and talked with us. He seems to be the best one yet. He knows plenty about the old customs, and Christianity has not caused him to scorn the old ways. He is so enthusiastic that it was hard for us to stop him. We got onto the question of Weol.

178 He said that in the old days there was only
342 one large round house per kampong. The diameter
614 was perhaps twenty meters. If you saw two
624 houses, it meant that there were two va'u. And
582 up until twenty years ago (1927) all tuan tanah
778 lived in round houses. After that, however, a
801 change took place. For example, the tuan tanah of Weol now lives in a rectangular house. In the old clan house there were nine posts, in rows of three. The very center pillar was the main one and here sat the tuan tanah at religious rites. Others ranged around the walls in the front half of the house. The rear section of the house was for the tuan tanah and his family. Other panga had sections around the walls. In the center, behind the main post, was the kitchen. Later, when more than one round house was built in a single kampong, the tuan tanah occupied the main house, and here the main pillar of all was located. This pillar is especially holy, and the setting of it in place requires certain rites, sacrificial animals, etc. Other round houses had nine pillars too. Each house was inhabited usually by one panga, and in each there was a kepala panga, and smaller rites were held at each main pillar.

243 The circular rice field arrangement shows
782 certain similarities here. He says that even
778 now when they begin planting or have some other

We

621 or drum. Thus they may speak of his house as
624 the rumah gong-gendang. These instruments are
534 used in the rites, and as tuan tanah he must have
342 them. If there is a branch kampong, the tuan tanah tjabang must get a gong and a gendang from the mother kampong tuan tanah. Thus the gong-gendang is a symbol of power, like the Celebes aradjang.

There have been men who from time to time try to become tuan tanah-like by getting a gong and a gendang. This is not possible, however, as they must come directly from the old tuan tanah. Sometimes a tuan tanah tjabang is not happy in the branch kampong and he may come back to the mother kampong, taking his gong-gendang with
621 him. I think he said that a branch is often
614 caused by the fact that there are two va'u in a kampong, and one may split off and move to a new location. Evidently there is a tendency to keep the rule of one va'u per kampong. Thus I note that he says that the Ruteng kampong, which has two va'u, is having internal trouble between the two. There might be a split off in such a case.

797 He said finally that Catholicism has made
178 just about no change at all in the adat. It stands fast. Maybe here we have a case of greater technical change than in Larantuka or Ende where there has been practically no technical change, but on the other hand, there has been very little change in the adat here, which has been much modified in Larantuka and Ende.
[242] Thus one can see beautiful farming techniques here, and the mission is strong in this type of development. There are also wooden houses with nails (cost about fl. 2000.00 in meat and gift salaries and materials). In Larantuka and Ende the economic conditions remain at the same old miserable level. Thus the mission changes adat and religion a lot in Ende and Larantuka, but only technical changes have occurred here.

000 only technical changes have occurred here.

592 I noted that as we were walking out of Weol, and I asked the priest how many families there were per house, he asked a man and the fellow said there were five in one of the big round houses nearby. Another man rebuked him and said no, there were only three in it. The priest said this is because the government has the law that only three families may live in a house, for health reasons. However, the folk secretly manage to have more. The first man was giving the folk away.

541 697 I forgot to say that at the whip fights (main tjatjih)[1] there was a band of extra gay fellows who did a lot of the sideline chanting and chorusing. They had red and white banners and at one time when we were taking photographs they came dancing en masse and singing across the field like a slow moving army. At 5 P.M. they raised the banners, singing lustily, and marched off. I asked who they were, and the Radja said that they were the prisoners of the jail, who had been given the day free, and that they were now marching back to jail!

463 462 231 The assistant says that all or nearly all men in Weol are farmers. Some, but very few, have specialist skills, but even those farm too. Not one woman has any other job than that of helping in the fields and making mats or weaving in her spare time. Nearly every man has a few to many horses, and some have other animals.

354 A bad feature of the old houses is the smoke from the fire which coats everything with soot and makes for additional darkness, but on the good side is the warmth which comes with the smoke.

769 Theory on reading Coolhaas:[2] The Ngada nadu 778 which is for the male ancestors is a small 342 replica of the conical houses of Manggarai. The 173 small bhaga houses of the female houses are 614

[1] [See pp. 91-92, cat. 116 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

769 rectangular. Now, Coolhaas[1] says that in Mang-
778 garai there are two native forms, and he gives
342 the native terms. One is conical and the other
173 rectangular, or perhaps a bit oval in shape.
614 However, the latter is not related to the for-
mer. There are areas of the one and the other,
and evidently some areas have both. Now, the
conical ones seem older, and on any surmise be-
cause round houses are simply older in Indonesia.
Note then, that Ngada legends say that Djawa had
seven daughters who became the ancestral mothers
of the seven main voi. And they married men of
the land, aborigines, here. The men are the
[174] ancestral fathers of the bhou. Could it be that
the conical male ancestor houses reflect the
patrilineal aboriginal culture and the popula-
tion stratum which lived in round houses, and
the rectangular bhaga represent the incoming,
matrilineal population and culture? If so, this
says much about the double descent of Ngada, the
peculiar legend, and the strange double ancestor
houses. Now I think I know why there are those
amazing conical male ancestor posts in Ngada.

173 The legends of Minangkabau immigration may
611 be foolish, and the priest says he thinks it is
built up more recently, by the younger folk who
342 hear a name of an ancestor who came in and it
563 sounds like "Minangkabau." But the surface evi-
dence looks as though Manggarai and Ngada are a
mixture of aborigines and immigrants. And there
are also many evidences of double descent. I
remember now that the priests talk much of en-
claves of "autochthonous" folk in East Manggarai
and East Nageh. They say that the people in these
places are neither Manggarai nor Nageh. The
Nageh enclave is originally from Soa, says Mom-
mersteeg. I wish I knew whether these enclaves
were patrilineal. Anyway, I doubt that they were
unmixed. This may be a pretty good theory and
may explain the umbrella houses.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

784 There is definite totemism here though some
614 clans have no taboos or totem ancestors. But
611 it is the usual thing. Weol may not use one
769 kind of bamboo, because the ancestors were born
562 of this bamboo. Pau may not eat a certain kind of monkey, as the ancestors were linked (this is the assistant's va'u). Women marrying out of the va'u may eat the totem of their own clan but must go through a special rite. Men may never give up the totem taboos, even if they live in an ambil anak arrangement.

574 The next day we went to Weol and up to the
273 kampong with the assistant. We brought native
276 tobacco and gin which we had bought for fl. 2.00
123 in Ruteng. As we entered the kampong, on the right we noted the house of the kepala kampong. Next to it is that of the tuan tanah, where we sat on the front porch. Both of these houses are of the new style, but are sooty because there are no chimneys. The children carried two chairs up from Tjantjar for us and later brought a table from the school. However, the assistant and the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong sat on a mat on the floor. Others were in the background. On the rise in front was a great crowd. We gave gin and tobacco to the old people and
[262] were later served first coffee and then two hard boiled eggs. Others got no eggs. The eggs came by chain-passing from the next kampong, Ndung. Evidently eggs are something special. The old tuan tanah knows everything, and his brother the kepala kampong is old and smart too. The kepala of the third panga of Weol kampong sat in the rear. He too is old.

632 The daluschap Rahong is one of the thirty-
621 nine in Manggarai. The dalu are of Bima origin, or at least this is true of most of them. There are thirty-three kampongs in Rahong. The tuan tanah knows all of them, including the constellations. They are as follows:

We

632 1. Weol, with Weol as the center kampong and
621 three branch kampongs. They all trace from Weol. There are three other Weol kampongs in the daluschap Tjibal to the north.

2. Ndung, with Ndung as the center kampong and five branch kampongs. All of them, including Ndung, stemmed originally from Weol. Indeed, the dual kampong Weol-Ndung is the center whence spread out all the kampongs of both Weol
[614] and Ndung. And they evidently were all of the same clan, the va'u Weol. Thus this covers two gelarang districts.

3. Tjumbi, with seven branch kampongs.

4. La'o, with three branch kampongs.

5. Rahong, with seven branch kampongs. But this is a special case as it is the directly governed complex of the dalu. The dalu lives, however, in kampong Waukung, in the gelarang Tjumbi. These kampongs are scattered over the four gelarang into which the daluschap is divided. Thus, in all, there are thirty-three kampongs.

622 There is a tuan tanah in each kampong, but
624 not a kepala kampong in each. See below. The
632 big tuan tanah, the gelarang tuan tanah, are in Weol, La'o, Tjumbi, and Ndung kampongs. I wonder if perhaps, before, these were the district chiefs, that is, before the dalu came in.

Some of the tuan tanah are also kepala kampong. That is, they have two posts. This is so
[565] in about half of the cases, but all kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah "nobility." Thus the kepala kampong of Weol is the brother of the tuan tanah. Thus they have managed to keep even the purely administrative officers in the adat-chiefly families.

The post of tuan tanah goes to the eldest son, but the kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu, after quietly finding out the will of the folk in the kampong.

We

614 166 All the people in Weol gelarang are of va'u Weol. There is one exception, the va'u Tjepang. These folk came in before from Boleng, in North Manggarai. They settled in kampong Weol, but when things became crowded, they went below to kampong Tjantjar. The latter alone has many people who are not of the va'u Weol, except for real newcomers, such as the Ruteng folk in Ndung, who came to work in the gardens (evidently as coolies) and settled down. There are many outsiders in the mixed and new kampong Tjantjar.

614 773 824 784 The original ancestors of the va'u Weol came out of a bamboo at a spot near the present spring below Weol. There are bamboo trees there descended from the original one. The original ancestors were a pair: Vako Dangka and Ine Karas. Not only is the bamboo taboo but also the lusa (red beans). For example, if a child eats these unwittingly, a fowl must be killed. They do not "cut off" the tongue symbolically with a leaf as is done in some other areas.

614 784 562 783 Women from other clans marrying into Weol must take on the taboo of their husbands. A Weol woman marrying into another clan may eat lusa, but only after performing the rite called ela penteng pitak, which means "to clean off the mud." She must take on the totem taboos of her husband's clan. The woman marrying into Weol gives up her own taboos, but must also do the ela penteng pitak. This ceremony involves a pig sacrifice. Thus every woman marrying into another clan must do this rite to give up her own totems. The name of the totem taboo is tjek'ki.

565 632 624 622 [634] There is a nobility which applies to the radjas, dalu, and gelarang. The gelarang are the tuan tanah (and kepala kampong) of the central kampongs of the gelarang districts, for example, Weol. Thus Weol has two gelarang, and Ndung has only one, because the kepala kampong

Wa

565 of Meler, the main kepala kampong of the Ndung
632 complex, lives in Meler. The dalu came in
624 about 1870. They were put in by Bima, and the
622 tuan tanah said that they were of Bima origin.
(Does this mean that no native chiefs were made dalu? Evidently.)

622 There is no native term for the kepala kam-
624 pong. The tuan tanah is the tu'a tenu. In each
592 house there is a house chief, the tu'a mbaru. The latter word means house. He is chosen by the men of the house.

623 The kampong council, which must be called
592 together for each case, includes the tuan tanah,
693 the kepala kampong, and the tu'a mbaru of their own houses. If the case involves adat, the tuan tanah is the chairman. An example of this would be a case concerned with land. If the case is concerned with administration, for example, with theft, the kepala kampong acts as chairman. In all cases, however, all of the members of the council are present.

614 The clans are divided into subclans called
624 panga. Each of these has a chief, the tu'a panga. In Weol there are three panga and three tu'a panga. Two of these are also the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong. There are two panga and two tu'a panga in Ndung. The tuan tanah there is also tu'a panga of his panga and tu'a mbaru of his house.

614 I asked about the origin of the panga. The
173 original ancestors, Vako Dangka and Ine Karas, had two sons: Lando Kakor and Naloholles. They married wives of another va'u and between them had seven sons (their daughters were forgotten, a reversal of the Ngada story, where the daughters of Djawa are remembered and the sons forgotten). Each of these became an ancestor of a panga, and in the course of time their descendants split into many more panga. New panga may be formed at any time, even now, as the old ones

614 Weo
173 get larger and split. Thus there are many panga in the va'u Weol (are they grouped under the original seven sons?).

614 The three panga of Weol kampong are: Lambar
621 (the tuan tanah is chief of this), Rinteng (the
592 kepala kampong is chief of this), and Rundu. It happens that there are two houses in each of the three panga in Weol, making six houses in all. Thus each tu'a panga has two houses under
342 him. The houses of the tuan tanah and the
178 kepala kampong are built in the new style, as are two of the others. There are then two old round houses, one with old non-wood walls. Most of the present round houses have wood walls and are built with nails. The roof does not reach the floor as in the real old time houses. The new style houses are all the same pattern, which was introduced by a certain priest. This is the only new style they know, and all new ones are exactly the same.

592 Often the whole panga will live in one house.
621 Ndung, which originally was linked with Weol, is
614 now a separate kampong and is even located in
624 another gelarang. The border is the mound above the small house area of Weol. They are
[778] continuous, but each has its own sacred tree. The kepala kampong of not only Ndung and Meler, but of the other four kampongs in the gelarang as well, lives in Meler. Thus there is only one kepala kampong for all the six kampongs. But each kampong must have a tuan tanah. The tuan tanah besar, however, lives in Ndung, just as the tuan tanah besar of Weol gelarang lives in Weol (this is our host). The big kepala kampong and the big tuan tanah of each gelarang has the rank of gelarang. In the gelarang Weol there are three kepala kampongs only, for the seven kampongs. Thus the Weol kepala kampong is also kepala kampong of Tjantjar.

614 The Ndung folk are all of the va'u Weol and
784 have a taboo on lusa.

000 614 592 342 178 have a taboo on lusa. There are two panga here: Rosong and Nggurus. Each panga has two houses, and thus there are four in all. There are more houses, however, and these are of the non-Wool newcomers, especially those from Ruteng. In addition to the four old houses of which two are built in the old style and one in the new style, there are: one round house belonging to the newcomers, mixed; three new style houses of newcomers, mixed. The reason that there are only three original houses is that one of the pangas has people living in a temporary, awful long tumbledown shack, wherein live also some newcomers. This is to be torn down as soon as two new style wooden houses, now under construction, are finished. In one of these will live the newcomers of the shed, and in the other the panga folk now living in the shed. Thus the houses are:

1. Tuan tanah house, new style, panga.
2. Round house panga.
3. Round house panga.
4. Small shed with one family who should live in number 3. It is beside the latter.
5. Round house newcomers.
6. New style newcomers.
7. New style newcomers.
8. Small shed newcomers.
9. Long shed mixed panga and newcomers.

Number 9 will split when the two new houses are finished, and the newcomers will go to one and the panga folk to the other.

342 531 554 624 I asked about the roof ornaments. The horns are pretty clearly a sign of the tuan tanah's house. The other type, the straight upright rod, is an ordinary decoration. Some of the horns have a bird head in the middle, and I have seen birds on the horn tips, but not here. The tuan tanah of Ndung has the horns, but in the center there is a human face.

We

624 In the house of the tuan tanah of Weol there
342 are four households. The tuan tanah has a sec-
592 tion to one side, since the old place in the
554 rear, as in the round house, is impossible be-
534 cause the rear door is located there. He keeps the gong-gendang, which is the symbol of his being tuan tanah. One might even call the tuan tanah house the drum house. These drums are important, as they are used in agricultural rites.

778 There are no holy stones (yet see later) in the kampong here. I hear that there are some in kampong Ruteng, which I must see. In each kampong there is a tree (the Weol one died some time ago and was replaced; the new one is rather small). Around these trees (the assistant knows nothing of the significance of the tree) are placed stones. He says they have no magic power, but in sacred rites animals are sacrificed there below the tree. In the cleansing of the kampong rite these stones are rearranged nicely.

178 Nowadays it is possible to marry in or out
582 of the clan. It is also possible to marry
614 within or without the kampong, and the kampong
[621] usually consists of one clan. But even now one may not marry in the same panga. Thus there is lineage exogamy.

Formerly clans too were exogamous, but in special cases one might marry in, for example, if the girl became pregnant. Evidently there were other cases too. But since about fifty years ago endogamous marriages within the clan have been possible. Nevertheless, most marriages are outside of the clan. The first case of clan endogamy in Weol kampong involved the parents of the present tuan tanah. This occurred fifty yeargs ago. He said that they cannot remember what trouble was caused if any. The assistant has heard tales of evil following such cases of endogamy. I must follow this up. What has

We

614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the relationships linking the individuals in this area became more and more distant. Thus they gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed, since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols, showing the effect of having worked with van Bekkum.[1] The priests try to discourage mother's brother's daughter marriages, but they always give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get the idea that the priests here are less firm regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka. This is probably because it is a relatively new field, and the Catholics go slowly and gradually in destroying what is old. The dodge they use here is special dispensation. This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price, is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with his wife's family until the bride price is paid. This may take ten years or he may never pay the bride price, but the children belong to his va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
177

[1] [pastor at Ruteng; see also bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 Kraeng here is the original title for high
554 nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

796 At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is
614 done by families or pangas. Each man in the
782 group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck
231 with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunt-
[887] ing.) Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say
535 here) is done at many feasts. Each house has
574 some costumes, and the men may use them. They
555 say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 In the afternoon we went to see some fine
527 dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part
526 of the week long independence festival. The
533 lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and sing-
[276] ing. Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertain-
[887] ment was complicated and good. Most drummers
200 and gong players seem to be old women. These

We
534 drums and gongs were brought here from These several
535 kampongs. They are the real tuan tanah articles.
[624] At one time three little girls danced with their eyes downcast and with very little movement of the feet. They wore slendang and nice dresses. The oldest man, looking like a nickel
[292] head Indian, had on an amazing costume with rich embroidery, and a silver fringe under his chin like a beard. For a head decoration he had a gilded horse. He also carried two kris, and each of the other men had one.

526 Now, at 6 P.M., after all day of it, taking turns, the men are still whipping. This is a tireless business.

609 We get the impression of real remoteness
178 here. These men are from the kampong nearby, and in this large bowl of distant mountains they are in their old dress doing the weird old practices and it has little to do with modern freedom and independence. When we go to such a place they look more at us than at the performers. We steal the show. But this is so all over Indonesia for whites. And they stare at us endlessly.

304 The tuan tanah of Weol has an elaborate set of patterns tattooed on his arms.

291 The Manggarai men often wear plaited, flat, songko-like headgear.

231 The horses here are important. Men and women
492 ride them, but mainly the former. The whole
[133] open land looks like the wild West. The priests use only horses here. They are small and spirited and bells are usually placed around their necks.

614 The next day we went again to Weol and asked
[624] if the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong were really brothers. If so, how could they belong to different panga. I found out that they are not brothers but merely distantly related.

The three panga names in Weol are the names

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614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and Rundu.

784 824 614 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The other kinds, for example betong, which is thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung pesi is also tabooed for the members of the Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only on the first-born of each family. The first-born is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 114 624 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his material. There are now two more kampongs in the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas is in error in stating that Ladja is the fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung. Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung. The Manggarai

624 824 796 name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Teno is the kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post which is set in the center of the star of fields for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a

[533] [562] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum. Some of the beats are the same for the men and for the women, but others differ by sex. Another term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 423 651 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which are basically the property of the tuan tanah. Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay tribute for his house space. This tribute is used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 778 [104] Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on the side of the highest hill. It is in the form of a rough human figure, which used to have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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614 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and
778 broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive. It is located a little to the side of the path and in a rather inconspicuous place.

[773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about this: it is a woman turned to stone with her child because she bathed naked) is located four kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong Bangkavelo.

231 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,[1]
241 they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the
782 garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connec-
114 tion with agricultural rites. They do this in the kampong. In the garden itself they kill only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent, Coolhaas is right.

565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The term kraeng is used for all three levels of nobles.

114 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 336,[1]
632 the people here still give tribute to the dalu
651 when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls,
466 etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now
624 wants a new house he may no longer expect free
476 labor. Now he must pay for such service. If, however, there is need of a new tuan tanah house, labor is given without pay. And if there is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps, although other kampongs may assist in some way or other.

567 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi).
Their descendants are still known. It is also
565 true that new slaves were put in stocks (lam-
114 pang) until it was certain that they would not run away. It is also correct that slaves who had been in a family for a long time might even marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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ema father, father's brother, mother's sister's husband.
nde mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.
amang mother's brother, father's sister's husband.
inang father's sister, mother's brother's wife.
empo grandparent.
weta sister, father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter.
kae older brother; ase--younger brother. Also father's brother's son, mother's sister's son.
kesah father's sister's son, mother's brother's son.
wina mother's brother's daughter, wife.
rona father's sister's son, husband.

114 Coolhaas[1] is all right on cross-cousin mar-
582 riage, too. Only one of a set of brothers mar-
583 ries a mother's brother's daughter. Other
565 brothers may not do so. In this event it can
614 be any of the brothers, not only the eldest.
587 But it is essential that one must and the others must not. However, if another brother wants to after one brother has, he must pay a horse in addition to the usual bride price. This is probably for a common man, and the extra price may be expected to be higher for a noble. This is done only if the father of the boy is unwilling to let him be adopted by another. The latter is another means to the same end. Thus, if the second brother wants to marry a mother's brother's daughter too, the father can let him be adopted by another man. However, the latter must be of another panga. Then the bride price is kept at the usual size.

114 Note an error in Coolhaas on page 348[1]? Two
582

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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114 brothers may not marry two sisters, as this is
582 very much taboo. A man may marry two sisters,
[632] however. They agreed that Coolhaas on marriage
114 rules of the dalu seems correct. As for the
582 folk, the rules indicate preferred clans, but
614 they say this is not too strong. Thus the
rule is that Weol men get wives from Manges, a
va'u and gelarang in the dalu Velak, to the
west, although not very far. It is about a one
day walk from here. However, this is not by
any means the method followed at all times, and
actually only about twenty-five per cent of the
women married in here are from Manges (Manges
is now called Regak). These were originally
from Lelak or Relak, which is a neighboring
gelarang to Weol. Thus it looks like a clan
localized in district terms with marriage rules
between clan-districts as in Wouden style. The
women of Weol usually marry men of Tjepang, the
clan which used to live in Weol also, when it
was a two-clan kampong, but who now have moved
down to Tjanjar. However, Tjepang is the name
of a kampong just to the west, also in the Velak
area. It looks as though the fact that Tjepang
[166] men married Weol women led to more and more
Tjepang men coming to live in Weol, until it
finally became half Tjepang. (Even now the
Ruteng folk who have houses in kampong Ndung
are mainly, if not all, men who have married
Ndung women, and the latter have gardens here
and so the men must come to live in their wives'
kampong.) I must get the marriage rules of
Ndung.

Men of Manges may not marry women of Weol.
582 And men of Weol may not marry women of Tjepang.
614 Thus it goes that Weol gives women to Tjepang,
583 but gets women from Manges. However, Tjepang
gives women to Lalong, and another clan gives
women to Manges. Bride exchange is taboo, which
582 is in line with the mother's brother's daughter
rule.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

114 We
[585] exactly the same rites and all moves are the
[565] same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas'
[784] word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate
[614] ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).[1]
[286] In addition to the technical totem taboos given by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 614 I note on the map that place names recur often all over Manggarai, especially not far away. These are clan names, which are given to kampongs founded by split offs from the mother kampong. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 578 632 648 186 The mandur said there is criticism of the Radja today because he is not "one hundred per cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, although somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud of this Minangkabau story while at the same time it may harm them in light of Manggarai nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes[1] says that when the Dutch were trying to select a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not a contented area and that the people there wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may see a possible chance of paying off old scores. This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where self-governing setups led to exploitation of lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may try to raise themselves up to a parity level and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask questions, and they will reply without first going through a translator. However, the reply

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 1B--Analyst]

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241 five times. Then two men imitate mice and run
782 around, while others pelt them with clods of
231 earth. This part is called mburu pusu. After
624 this weeding can be done.
527 (4) Tege rego, when the crops are ripening. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok five times. (The tuan tanah always leads the procession of the people who have shares in the garden being rited.)

(5) Tjepa, just before the harvest. Each family concerned gives a pig, rice, etc. If the garden is a lingko randang, a buffalo must be sacrificed. The animals are assembled in the kampong, and the crowd, with one of the pigs, goes to the garden. Each one plucks a stalk and a hair. The pig is killed. Then they go back to the kampong and go around the "adat house" five times and then go inside to dance. Then all the other beasts are killed and the
[195] whipping starts. While harvesting, special words are used for animals and aliens.

776 At all feasts the poti empo are called and
769 the setan are chased. Therefore, the dead are never buried far from the kampong, and perhaps inside the kampong. Thus it is easier to call them. They live at their graves.

124 We talked with the assistant Sunday and then
[524] took him home. (We discovered in Ende later that the bamboo clapping game is also practiced there.) Then we set out for Badjawa, which we reached in the evening. The next morning a lad named Alfons appeared and said that the Radja Kedua had told him to show us the Soa area when we were in Badjawa. He is the former guru agama [religious teacher] and had taught Malay and Ngada to many priests. He is good looking and intelligent and wears leather puttees.

361 Then we went to Soa, but first stopped at a
621 spectacular kampong named Lekedjere, on the side
614 road to Soa. It is pure Ngada, really a double

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
●614 living on the level of the road and the other
621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo. At the road border of the kampong a bit in from
[211] the road, standing against the skyline, is a row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe heads. They are thin and tall. They are set on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
[417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical of all kampongs in this region, so that the kampong itself is located down in a stone wall enclosure.

Below the first row of stone pillars there
346 is another with just as many stones. It is also
769 set on a mound. Just below this stands the
531 umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on one side there is a living tree with Y-branches at the fork. Stones are heaped around the ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet high, and consists of a single pillar with thatched cap. The pillar is made of hebuh wood and is carved in fancy designs which are hard to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were made of white shell). Looking under the cap I could see that the pillar forks were in the shape of a U, and so it is really about the same as the Nagoh peo, but less clearly Y-shaped and covered with a cap.

To either side of the plaza, which was of
342 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small
361 and had rather low roofs. These houses are set on piles. On one side was the house of the
624 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
769 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
346 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
565 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
554 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in
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342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 237 224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him 776 784 about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh 124 tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must 824 have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read 769 that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo [789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

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632 8. Nangapanda (km. 28 on the way to Badjawa).
9. Tana Djea (km. 31 on the way to Badjawa).

632 173 Thus Rewarangga is the easternmost of the gemeenten, on the border with Lio. It is half surrounded by Nggobe. I asked about the ancestor stories which make Rodja and Nggobe the first and greatest gemeenten. The kapitan said that this was because of the manner in which Suchtelen got his stories. The people who gave him his information were nearly all illiterate townsfolk. I retold the story of the five sib-
[186] lings from Java. He agreed that every area had its own version in order to make themselves appear greatest.

632 He said he got along all right with the Mohammedans and that the former Christian Rukuramba kapitan was merely inefficient. Arriens said so too, and that the present Mohammedan kapitan there is the best of all.

614 361 Then I checked the place of origin of the suku in the census and got the following information. Odja came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Meo came from Ndetuko'u (Nggobe). Djawa came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Ndoru came from Ndungga (Lio). Reandona came from Woropau (Nggobe). Wanda came from Waturoga (Lio). Tibo (Gusa) came from Koavena (Rewarangga). Ndosi came from Wolotole (Lio). Rewarangga came from Worowai (Rewarangga).

Note: This suku (Rewarangga), the real old one of this region, originally lived in an even higher kampong, Wawotonda. It was located two kilometers above here on the road into the hills. Worowai is only a half to one kilometer above the road. A few people live in the Wawotonda area, but it is no longer a kampong. It is in the territory of the kampong Worowai. In Wawo-
[778] tonda there are stones and cannon. But the
[346] ruma berhala of Rewarangga suku (a bone house like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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614 like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now. Woro
361 came from Ndungga (Lio). It is unknown at present where Soa, Songo, and Mboti came from. Fongi came from Wolotope (Lio). Sue came from Tombe (Rabu; Rewarangga). Waï came from Wolotolo (Lio). Mbonggi came from Volofeo (Rewarangga). Pare came from Mbomba (Berai). Lenalaba came from Dile (Lio). Watu came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Gusi came from Watusipi (Berai). Wadja came from Potu (Nggobe).

622 Then we got onto the matter of who may be-
565 come kepala kampong. They said that he must be of the bangsawan class or the people will not follow him. Thus he must be of a mosa laki family. There are three possibilities in the rank of the kampongs:

(1) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are the same man.

(2) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are brothers.

(3) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are of the same family.

Thus Roworeke has a kepala kampong of the mosa laki family. The same situation is true in Worowai and Manunggo'o. Worowaku has a kepala kampong and mosa laki mere in the same person. In Arereke they are in the same family, and so on.

632 The offices in the gemeente are: kapitan, the Big Four, the oppas (oppa), djurutulis (djurutuli), and mandur (oro kuni).

624 The officers of the kampong are: kepala kampong, the Little Four, mandur (oro kuni).

875 The two school teachers live in Waturoga. The head teacher is from Maumere, the other from Ndona. The religious teacher lives in Roworeke.

484 Everyone here in Roworeke has at least gone to Ende. They have seen little else, however. When they go to Ende they usually go for a single

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443 basis. They obtain products by purchase in the backland and sell them in Ende. They also sell gewgaws which they bring along with them.

186 829 Interest in local, foreign or international news is at a very low level. They insist that nearly everyone here knows just about nothing in regard to anything outside of the kampong. They are even ignorant of Rewarangga.

614 621 They said that originally each kampong consisted of only one suku. Then others moved in. Thus, at one time Wawatonda was the kampong of suku Rewarangga. Then they came down to Worowai. Here today there is a rumah berhala, [764] but it is a mere bone-grave hut, like Odja in Roworeke.

Rabu is now in three kampongs. It was one at some former time. It is ten kilometers from here. This is the place where the original kampong of the Odja suku was located. But they have now lost contact, and indeed, so complete was the move to Roworeke that probably no Odja folk are left in Rabu today.

24 829 The kapitan said an interesting thing when I was pressing him to give information in this regard. He said that only since I came here had he learned very much about the culture and the past of Rewarangga.

778 614 346 764 These rumah berhala, with images and a real house, or merely with the grave-bone shrines, are suku shrines. There are four real rumah berhala houses in Rewarangga. These are as large as a real old style high roofed house, [753] and in them there are images (ana deo) and per- [782] haps bone bundles too. These run as follows: (and anyone who visits them and looks into them must leave an offering, for example, money or cigarettes, etc.; otherwise he may get sick):

1. Volofeo has a real house and in it there are four ana deo, wooden images. There are no bones. This house was used by all four suku

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346 here, and perhaps each ana deo is of one of
614 the suku. They are uncertain about this, but
778 thought that this was perhaps right. They
764 did know that the house was used by all four suku. It is a kind of cooperative venture in the ancestor cult. They got together and built it. It is at kilometer 17, one kilometer's walk up.

2. Bu'ube'i, the most remote of the Rewarangga kampongs, is at kilometer 17 plus a ten kilometer walk. There is a real house there, but the kapitan does not know if there are any bones. They do not know what suku it belongs to. He was there, but was afraid to
[753] look inside. They fear illness. I asked why
[782] he didn't give a gift and thus insure his safety. He said it would be no use to take
[152] the chance. Thus he is a Catholic and thus he fears both outside magic and ancestral ghosts at the same time. It does have an ana deo.

3. Ratebedi has an ana deo, and bones too. The suku is unknown. This is at kilometer 13 plus a four kilometer walk.

4. Vavoëü has an ana deo, but with no bones. The suku is unknown. It is at kilometer 13 plus a one kilometer walk.

All others have either nothing or merely a grave-bones shrine.

5. Worowai has a shrine of the suku Rewarangga.

6. Roworeke has a shrine of the suku Odja. It is in a section of Roworeke Asal.

7. Worowaku does not even have a shrine.

8. Arereke has a shrine of suku Urureva.

9. Pu'uperi has a shrine of suku Rea (a different suku from Reandona).

10. Information is lacking for Kekawi'i.

11. Koavena has a shrine of the Gusa suku.

12. Kekamberu does not even have a shrine.

13. Nioreko has a shrine, but the suku is

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614 unknown. Nioreko also has a rumah berhala, an
778 actual house, but it is merely temporary and
346 lasts only seven to eight years. Then it is
764 rebuilt. It has no ana deo. This is a kind of intermediate type of situation.

14. Manunggo'o has no shrine. Thus suku Reandona evidently has none.

15. Pu'umbindi has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

16. Mbago has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

17. Pemodjera has a shrine, but the suku is unknown. Also, like Nioreko, Pemodjera has a temporary rumah berhala house, which is rebuilt when it collapses.

18. Sokopedji does not even have a shrine. It is a new kampong.

614 This is interesting and goes to show that
178 the suku were localized before. I asked why
829 there were so many in the census for which the suku were unknown. They said that if their parents did not tell them, they never learned this information. It shows a breakdown in the system, but it is still very important. Real disintegration is just beginning. I scolded them to the effect that they as government men of Rewarangga did not even know the suku of the kampongs in their district. I said that the people in the United States would think that they were poor administrators. They said that this suku business was adat only and that they were concerned with government only. I pointed out that even the giri tumba besar seemed vague about all of this outside of his own kampong, and he is a leader of adat. They begged off saying that perhaps he didn't understand what I was after.

778 It is notable that only the four kampongs
769 with real rumah berhala (Volofeo, Bu'ubedi,
346 Ratebedi, and Vavoëü) have annual ancestor
574

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778 feasts. Thus it is like Barupu in Toradja.
769 (Ratebedi is one of the Rabu kampongs.
346 Vavoëü is another, and so is the non-shrine
574 kampong Kekamberu. The others which have merely the grave-bone shrines have a feast only when they need to fix up a shrine.

632 The next day we went to Roworeke again. Note an error in the preceding notes: The sikesani besar, who lives in Worowai, is of the suku Nggonggora'ba. Thus the Big Four are as follows: Mosa laki mere of Rewarangga, Giri tumba of Odja. Ndeto au of Rewarangga, and Sikesani of Nggonggora'ba. The names of these posts mean: mosa, male (animal); laki, male (human); mere, big; giri, around; tumba, spear (he walks around with a spear); ndetu, many colored; au, bamboo; sike, here; sani, there.

181 I am always impressed by the combination of
124 lack of courtesy and the cringing servility of
576 these Endenese. They constantly talk to each other when I am talking, pass remarks about me in Endenese, etc. At the same time they keep on "tuanning" and bowing. They are grasping too. For example, the kapitan looks steadily at my gold watch and band and asked me to sell him U.S. gold pieces. The assistant asked me to give him personally a ring-spiral notebook such as used for the work. He can't answer questions on the schedule, so I have to do it all. The kapitan is a bit better, and the guru is smarter, but I get the idea that these folk are a rather poor lot.

784 Again we got on to the subject of totemism.
262 The word for such taboos is pire. I doubt that
● 614 I got the whole story, but as far as I can see
562 there are three kinds of totem taboos and they apply to foods:

(1) Suku or pu'u taboo. This is called pire ngguäh, the latter term meaning "descen-

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784 dants of suku". (Evidently related to the
262 adat kepala kampong, the ata nggu'h nua "man
●614 suku descendants kampong.") I must ask what
562 the suku membership variation in adat kepala kampong are; here he is an Odja. These taboos apply not to men nor to children of the suku but to women who marry into the suku only. This is very unusual, in ethnography. In the Odja suku these apply to the tomato, dog, eggs, and four other kinds of food. The males of Odja and the children may eat everything, but the wives may not. Thus if a Wanda woman marries into Odja, these are her taboos. If she eats
[753] any of these, she gets terrible sores, and they always point to their arms, just as the Ambonese say that sores on their arms are caused by the same thing. The Wanda taboos are the tomato, eggs, a kind of maize (djagung Solor), and ripe coconut.

784 (2) Family or household taboos. These are
called pire sa'o teenda (sa'o teenda means
262 family). These are set by the father (and by
753 the mother too?) on all the members of the
592 household, including the man, wife and children.
614 Thus the assistant had bad sores two years ago and asked the dukun why. The latter diagnosed the cause as buffalo meat (the horns stuck through the skin). Whereupon Migo declared that buffalo meat was taboo to himself, wife, and children. Such a taboo stays in the direct line (thus a kind of lineage totem) until some head of a line decided it is needed no longer, and then a feast is given together with an animal sacrifice to lift the taboo. Thus Migo
[773] has started a taboo, and perhaps fifty years hence, unless it is lifted, they will have a story in his family about the origin of the taboo. The suku taboos have more ancient legends to explain their origins. These taboos of household restrictions are thus a kind of assumed taboo.

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614 assumed taboo.
784 (3) Personal totem taboos. These apply to
262 individuals only, not to a wife or husband or
753 child or anyone else. This is a kind of "allergy." These are pire se'imu (the latter term means "individual"). Thus the kapitan's wife got sores and decided (dukun consulted?) that it was because she had eaten buffalo meat. Now she eats none. If she wishes to lift her taboo, she must give a feast with animal sacrifice. The kapitan and his child may eat buffalo.

614 The kapitan's wife thus has the taboos of
784 the kapitan's suku and her own personal one
583 too. She was also of Odja, but until she mar-
562 ried did not have the Odja taboos. Migo's wife has Odja suku taboos (she was from the suku Wanda) and also Migo's household taboo. The kapitan has no taboos, but Migo has his household taboo. It is notable that if a man
[591] pays no bride price and lives matrilocally, his wife does not take on his suku's taboos, but assumes the taboos of the women who marry into her own sib. That is, she is a married woman, and thus must follow suku taboos. But since the bride price has not yet been paid she is not a member of her husband's suku, and so she merely takes on her own suku's taboos as though she were a woman married into her own suku. When the bride price is finally paid, she takes on her husband's suku's taboos, and of course they move into his house. Thus one can say that the totem of the suku hits women only, but only women married into the suku, not women of the suku. Lineage taboos are coming in all the time, and they apply to all household members and may pass on down from generation to generation. Personal taboos are for individuals only. This is queer, and I am sure that I have not yet got the whole story.

000 since then there have been no wars.

614 574 692 624 The great suku feasts are a kind of refresher of the gemeente bond, as all the suku of the area come and feast and pledge friendship. Thus, if Odja has a suku feast for repairing the grave-bones shrine, the other five big suku (and also others who are invited) attend. (The five are Rewarangga, Nggonggora'ba, Reandona, Wanda, and Gusa-Tibo). Thus the suku feasts are gemeente affairs as well as of a genealogical group. The mosa laki mere must be present at all such feasts, even though it is not of his own suku. Incidentally, he is the same man as the kolu, mentioned by Suchtelen[1] as the "tuan tanah." This kolu word is evidently used especially in his function as an agricultural priest. Thus he is an adat judge and agricultural priest at the same time. The mosa laki mere involved is the mosa laki mere of the kampong involved; thus here he is the big one, as the kampong mosa laki mere of Worowai-Roworeke is also the mosa laki mere of the gemeente.

[237] [342] [178] He gets the lower jaws of all the sacrificed animals. Nowadays he throws them away after eating, but formerly all bones from such occasions were kept and were put on the houses. Thus there is a clear relation involved between the jaws on the Ngada houses of the tuan tanah there and such occasions (and distantly to the Mentawei and Punan animal jaws). Note that he gets the lower jaws.

538 533 [124] As for legends and stories of the past, at first they said that they have none, or rather that they had forgotten what they might have had. I prodded on and told them about the Balai Pustaka man getting stories of Indonesia for schools. They loosened up a bit, and it seems that they do have plenty. I instructed the assistant to get a few as samples. They said

[1] [See p.70 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography cat.113-Analyst]

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621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are
still formed partly of suku or suku sections
coming in and joining the old settlers from
the negri lama.

443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series
as in Celebes. These wheels run in different
directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru,
and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The
traders follow the pasar week from market to
market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kam-
583 pongs, although there is gift exchange in
562 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male"
things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a
woman gives in return "female" things (cloth,
mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere,
and said that many had drowned there recently.
The water is deep, he said, and there lives a
"head" of a human being. It is still living
and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has
seen it several times, in daylight. It moves
around as though on short legs. It is just a
human head, with hair. They don't know what
it is or where it came from. However, the
people are now scared to bathe here. The vic-
tims have been sucked under. He asked me my
opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
[123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith,
because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu
if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere.
They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head
alone").

622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

511 sing a little and then go to sleep. The only
461 time they work hard, and this consists of
185 bringing in coconuts and other stuff to the
[273] Chinese, is when they want to get clothes for feasts and when they have to pay taxes. Their only thorn is taxation. Without taxes they would be completely happy. I heard later, in
237 regard to the tusks, that there are very few
438 in Wailolong, perhaps only ten. However, they
556 circulate and keep the system going. The assistant said that many have been sold because the people need money so badly. Many were sold to the people in Tandjung Bunga.

Wae When we went to Wailolong we met the assis-
614 tant on the section of Wailolong which is on
241 the side road near Leloba. He was there getting
796 census material. We went off there and at-
231 tended a rite of the Leworita suku, or rather one of the ama of the suku. It was the rite for the beginning of the agricultural season. The big kampong rite was held first, and here it was held on Christmas. Then, each suku has a similar rite, and then again each ama. They are just now getting around to the ama rites.
[343] In this section there are two kebang (lumbung or barns) adat, i.e. suku or ama barns. The big kepala barn is that of the Number One suku (here Ama Dotang [usually Ama Kottang] which is near the main korke). The two suku represented here are Lewodoreng and Leworita. This rite was held under the adat barn of Leworita (where jaws of sacrificed pigs hang), but the land is owned by Lewodoreng. This is why the men who played the roles of Kottang and Kelen (head and feet) were not from Leworita but from Lewodoreng.

The old pagans (some were not so old) did the rites, but the Christians stood all around, and they ate what they could get later, probably. A small pig was brought in and then the prepa-

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614 ration began. At the head of the group sat the
241 kelake of the Leworita ama doing the rite. On
796 one side sat two old men, one from Leworita and
231 the other from Hurint, who prayed. They were
merely the oldest and cleverest ones there.
[801] They were real pagans, with bobbed hair, red
necklaces of beads, and silver earrings. One
had a tattoo (relatively young fellow). One
[769] prayed steadily, giving generations of Leworita
and calling all these ancestors in turn, and at
each generation the other chimed in with a
chant. The rhythm was fine. On the other side
sat the three; the man from Lewodoreng Waru'ing
holding the head of the pig (as this ama has
the Kottang function in this suku); the man
from Engamaking holding the feet (as this ama
has the Kelen function in this suku); and the
man from Hurint, who cut, as usual.

178 To the side from these sat two old women
562 who were the tuno wudjo, one from Leworita and
796 one from Lewodoreng (they needed two because
887 the former was giving the rite, but it was on
241 the latter's ground). In the old days it was
614 always a young girl virgin who acted as tuno
wudjo, but there are no more in these groups
who are still pagan, so they have to use old
women. I can see the same thing on the schedule:
in Wailolong there are some tuno wudjo who are
very young (e.g., three or four years old) as
they are not yet Christians, but others are very
old pagan women. Thus, the pagans are making
the best of it, but what can they do when the
old women are dead? The answer is found in
Leloba, where they no longer are able to have
rites. They have given up the suku and ama
rites, but still have the kampong agricultural
ceremonies. First, however, a mass is held in
the chapel, and then they say prayers, but are
[769] allowed to recite the names of the ancestors.
They no longer use the tuno wudjo, however.

178 After the ancestors are called, the pig is cut,
562 first sawed through the neck until the windpipe
796 is cut, and then with one blow the head is cut
241 off. The assistant said that if it is a big
887 pig, a strong blow is required to knock the
769 head off with a single sweep.

●614 Note that the two old men who prayed were from Leworita and Hurint. Evidently this makes no difference, but they do choose old people who know prayers (however, they have one from the suku giving the rite, as he must recite the names of their ancestors).

[276] Then betel was prepared and passed around. As the pig bled, blood splashed on the tusk which was lying on the ground beside one of the posts. This is a ritual tusk and is not very large. It is owned by the ama and is not used for bride prices. The second part of the rite--to give the food to the ground and posts --came next. The tuno wudjo and other old women took the rice and heaped it on a plate like a hillock. The men cut out the liver of the pig and chopped it up. The mixture was put on the ground, or rather a bit of it was, and also smeared on the four posts of the barn. Gin was
[273] meanwhile passed around (we got some), and it was also poured on the ground and sprinkled around under the barn. We left after this as the rite was over, but they went on to cook and eat the pork with the rice. This is a relatively small rite, although it was a part of the entire planting ritual complex.

614 One can say that each grouping (or, as the
241 assistant says, each barn) must have agricul-
796 tural rites. Thus, the system runs down from
343 the big kampong-barn-suku Kottang rite, with all the suku there and all the tuno wudjo (of all suku and ama); to the suku rites at each suku barn, and all suku and tuno wudjo at these too, in all five rites; and finally to the ama-

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614 barn rites, with only the ama tuno wudjo and
796 members present. All of this is done in order
241 to make the rice in the fields perfect. The
343 other great ritual complex of an agricultural nature is at harvest time, and they may have a third type if there is an especially good harvest (like the thanksgiving feasts of the Toradja).

778 I asked about the saoniwang, the magic stones
789 which are in front of the houses of all suku
342 and ama chiefs. Some have disappeared in Le-
614 loba and have not been replaced, but most of
823 them are still there. For example, the guru has the mother stone before his house, and one child stone, but other child stones are used for foundations of houses. They are inserted with many other stones in the masonry, but he pointed to the specific ones. These saoniwang, like the nubanara, which are placed in front of the korke, are the big ones in the heap, the mother, and the little ones, her children. They hold the magic power of the chiefs, and without them there is no power. Nevertheless, in Leloba, even when the chief has no more stones, he still holds some power, as if they were still there. The guru has three for his house, for war power, marriage power, and power among suku, respectively. One of these is in the hills behind. This, he says, has tremendous power. He says such things seriously.

[773] These stones suddenly appeared long ago. They came down from heaven after, or rather with a heavy rain. Thus they are like the descendance stones of, for example, Goa. Sao means anchor and so does niwang. Thus the meaning is that the power and with it the group or man holding it are firmly and inextrically tied to this land. However, all sorts of stones are believed to have power. Many of them are very little. Thus the kakang has a

778 notable little stone with lots of agricultural
789 power. The objects which are possessed by the
614 suku and ama have no magic power; they are
823 only a form of wealth.

The eight kampongs of the Mudakaputu ge-
621 meente are:
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1. Leloba
2. Wailolong
3. Lewohala
4. Lewoneda
5. Mudakaputu
6. Watuwiti
7. Riang Kamië
8. Riang Kanali

Economic note: The tusks are like the stone
237 money of Yap. They are the basis for the local
583 economy, but have little intrinsic value. The
436 non-existent tusks of Larantuka are even better,
452 and the folklore concerning them is fantastic.
They are reckoned with and theoretically ex-
changed when they don't even exist. They keep
the marriage system going. They are parallel
to pure paper credit--something like interna-
tional balances.

The first six kampongs are the old time kam-
621 pongs. They were founded by the five sons of
173 Lenurat or their descendants, who came out of
Ili Mandiri. Thus the situation runs something
like this:

Sons: (1) Belawaburak founded Leloba. (2)
Keweluk founded Wailolong. (3) Kewaka founded
Lewohala and Lewoneda. (4) Bampowa founded
Mudakaputu. (5) Mado founded Watuwiti.

Daughters: (6) Emma married a man of Tand-
jung Bunga (and the folk there call the people
of the Blakang Gunung region "blake," i.e.,
mother's brother). (7) Hingi married a man of
Adonara (perhaps the people there would also

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621 call the people from the Blakang Gunung region
173 "blake").

Lewoneda is now mixed, as people came in later from Sina Djawa. Riang Kanali is a branch of Lewohala. Riang Kamië is very mixed. It includes people of the original (that is, Lenurat descended suku) and others. However, it was evidently founded by people from Kroko Putang, the island which disappeared, and whose refugees are all over Larantuka. For example, this is true of the radja kedua here. These folk are called Tenemau (meaning "sailed here in a prau"). Riang Kamië is the largest of all the kampongs. Formerly there was plenty of war between it and Leloba.

578 Lewowitin is the term for a traditional
721 enemy kampong. Formerly heads were exchanged
346 for the korke. These heads were not buried but hung in the korke (like animal jaws today? I also thought as I saw a pig killed, how easy it would be to imagine a human sacrifice instead).

614 In Riang Kamië there are many suku. The as-
621 sistant cannot list all of them, but he remembers
173 Kottang, Marang, Molang 1, Molang 2, Belowen,
829 Lowalia, Lolamaki, Keleng, etc. There is no Hurint.

He says there are four kinds of people here, according to their origin:

1. Padji. They were here in plenty before, but they were all driven out by the Lenurat people, who are here called the Ili Djadi (Ili means emerged), the second group. The Padji were driven to Tandjung Bunda where they are still numerous, and also to the islands, for example to Adonara. They were evidently the aborigines, but he says there was no physical difference, even in the legends.

2. Demon or Ili Djadi. They drove the Padji out after emerging from the mountains, or rather after their father's emergence. The Demon or

The Demon or
War
614 Ili Djadi are the original people here because
173 the Padji are gone. They also are found else-
621 where, and where they and the Padji are found
829 together, as in Adonara, they still fight.
[578] The constant murders there are partly caused
by this endless feud. They never live in the
same kampong together.

3. Sina Djawa. These are descendants of people who came from the west. There are suku here which came from there. Thus the suku Lewonuhah (kampong, island) of Leloba is of Sina Djawa. So is the suku Lewato of Wailolong.

4. Tenemau. These people came from the submerged island Kroko Putang. There are suku here from these people. Thus, Lewarita suku
[769] of Wailolong is Tenemau. In the ceremony this morning the genealogy used to call the ancestors went back to the Tenemau. He says you can tell at once the origin of any suku by listening to the genealogies recited at the rites, because the ancestors are called.

582 Then we got onto the inter-kampong marriage
124 system, and this is not so complicated as the intra-kampong marriage system. I jokingly said that perhaps he got so tired figuring out the internal system that he decided to make the extra kampong rules simpler. He was amused. He also seemed amazed at the building-up process of anthropological research which I use; for example, when I first asked the names of the eight kampongs and then went right on to ask the names of the sons of Lenurat, he saw that
[791] I was getting directly at the system. He said that if the folk here heard me leading straight into the heart of the complete cosmogony they would think me a suwanggi. I also said jokingly that they couldn't call me a pontianak. He was also delighted with my admiration of how everything here falls into a system. He has learned
124 the word "sistim" and uses it all the time. He

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124 has also adopted the term kekuatan adjaib, and loves it.

582 The rules are as follows:
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Wailolong man	marries	Leloba woman
I		II-2, III
II		II-2, III
III		I-2, I-3a, IV
IV		I-1, II-1
V		I-1a

Thus no man of Wailolong marries a Lewodoreng woman of Leloba.

Leloba man	marries	Wailolong woman
I-1a		V
I-1b		III
I-2		I
I-3a		?
I-3b		I
II-1		III
II-2		IV
III-1		IV, V
III-2		IV, V
III-3		IV, V
IV-1a		I-c
IV-1b		I-c
V-1		I, II
V-2		I, II

614 This brought out certain problems with the
565 material recorded earlier. The subsibs in each suku are ranked according to first, second, and in some cases third. The terms are waru'i, waktukang, and tuhowutung. These mean, approximately, first, middle and last. Now we see that certain suku, subsuku, and sub-subsuku names are of one kind and some of another, and some have two names showing different meanings. These

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614 meanings are:
565 (1) Personal name of ancestral founder.
(2) Rank of the ancestral founder (pangkat).
(3) Power ranking of the group (1, 2, 3).
(4) Original kampong of the ancestors (for example, lewo).

And, I suppose, in the case of Kottang, etc., the rituals function as (5).

And then, perhaps, ones which have a mere name and no purpose; thus (6).

We didn't analyze all the names, but what
614 we did goes as follows:
565 Leloba
551 I. Ama Kottang (function) (Kottang means "head").
1. Belepe Lolong (meaning: "upper terrace").
Buto Talu (ancestor personal name).
(note: making means merely "descendant of")
Lango' Bele' and Lango' Kene' (big and little house).
This subsib is No. 1, or Ama Waru'ing, in the suku Kottang.
2. Waktukang. (meaning "middle"). No ancestor name.
3. Ama Marang (function) (Marang means "pray").
Dong Laung (side of a sleeping bench which faces the sea).
Dong Raeng (the side of the sleeping bench facing the land).
This is the Tuhowutung or last subsib of the suku Kottang.
II. Ama Keleng (function) (Keleng means "feet").
1. Tuakerura (just a name, no significance) (this is No. 1 or Waru'ing subsib of suku Keleng).
2. Ama Belemang (a ritual function) (rank of ancestor).
This is the last ranking subsib of the suku Tuhowutung.
III. Ama Hurint (function) (Hurint means "cut").
1. Ama Waru'ing (No. 1); may also be called

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Ama Wadjundiri, the ancestor's personal name.

2. Eramolik (ancestor personal name). This is No. 2 subsib, or Waktukang.
3. Ola Demong (ancestor personal name). This is No. 3 subsib, or Tuhowutung. Lango' Bele' and Lango' Kene' are big and little house.

IV. Lewodoreng (original kampong name).
1. Lewamaking (personal name of ancestor). This is the No. 1 or Waru'ing subsib. Nipatale' (meaning?). They are slave descendants.
2. Ekimaking (ancestor's personal name). This is the last ranking subsib, or Tuhowutung.

V. Lewonuhah (original kampong name).
1. Ama Kottang (the waru'i subsib).
2. Ama Keleng (the tuhowutung subsib).

Wailolong

I. Ama Datong (function of Kottang, but Datong is the name of rank).
a. Ama Radja (personal ancestor name). This has the last subsib rank, Tuhowutung.
b. Ama Belolong (has the rank of No. 1, or waru'ing, and Belolong means "high").
c. Ama Rere (Rere means "low"). This subsib is notable. I have some important corrections about it.
There are two subdivisions:
(1) Ama Rere. These, as told above, are descendants of war captives from Maumere eighteen generations ago. They own no land, have no ritual function, and have no duties.
(2) Ama Rere Ama Tobi. (Tobi is a personal name). They are descendants of members of Ama Radja and Ama Belolong, who seven generations ago ran away from

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Wailolong to Bama because of troubles over marriage, bride prices, and perhaps others. They came back to Wailolong three generations ago, but although they were allowed into the kampong, they have lost their land and ritual standing. They marry like Ama Rere. It is remarkable to think that when the old people thinking what to do with these returned refugees decided to equate them with war captives!

II. Leworita (original kampong name) (function of Kelen).
   a. Suba (meaning? rank?; evidently a personal name).
   b. Harut (meaning? rank?; evidently a personal name).
   c. Tapopukang (meaning? rank?; evidently a personal name).

III. Ama Hurint
   a. Hadumboleng (personal name), Baka (personal name). (middle rank, Waktukang).
   b. Mari (personal name; rank No. 1, Waru'i).
   c. Mela (personal name; rank No. 3, Tuhowutung).

IV. Lewato (kampong name).
   a. Ama Waru'ing, also Ama Radja (the latter is the personal name of an ancestor).
   b. Ama Waktukang (just means middle; not a personal name).
   c. Tuhowutung (just means No. 3; not a personal name).

V. Lewodoreng (original kampong name).
   a. Ama Waru'ing (just No. 1 rank; not a personal name).
   b. Enga (a personal name; last rank, Tuhowutung).

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On the records there is a case of a man of

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582 IIIc marrying a woman of IIIa. This is some-
614 thing which happened two generations back when three men of IIIc married, for a high bride price, women of IIIa. However, this has been discontinued officially. The case did happen once, and it was definitely wrong. The assistant said it was incorrect. From the records I can see that there are very few endogamous marriages. The assistant says that they are a rare exception even today, although a few do it. It is wrong. The great bulk of the people here follow the rules strictly.

The suku Lewodoreng, in either Leloba or Wailolong, cannot marry with Lewonuhah. They are in a relationship of metemereng, i.e., older sibling--younger sibling. There is something to the elder--younger sibling business which constantly crops up here.

622 The three kepala kampongs in each kampong
[614] are called kepala kampong Kottang, kepala kampong Keleng, and kepala kampong Hurint. These should be the Radja Tuans of the three main suku, i.e., the kepala suku or tuan tanah. And some of them are. However, it may be that the radja tuan may not want the post of kepala kampong which he may have, and so he gives this job over to a relative, in every case I have heard of, to a brother. Thus Roy is Radja Tuan of Hurint in Leloba, but he has given the kepala kampong post to his younger brother. There may be other variations too. Thus Leloba has only a kepala kampong Keleng and a kepala kampong Hurint. The kepala kampong Keleng is also the brother of the Radja Tuan Keleng, who has given over the post to him. There is no kepala kampong Kottang in Leloba now because the Kakang of the gemeente was the occupant of this post formerly, and since he has been in the kakang post, his former post has not been filled.

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582 I asked if there were many marriages between
●614 Wailolong and Leloba. He said that before
177 there were many because they were allies and
578 nearby. In 1912, however, when the Dutch came
797 in, his father, who was the head man of Leloba, decided it was useless to fight. Wailolong, however, decided to resist. This strained the friendly relations which had existed before, and until recently there have not been too many marriages. I also wonder, inasmuch as he mentioned in this connection that missionaries entered the region in 1907, whether the more rapid Christianization of Leloba might not also have strained relations with the relatively resistant Wailolong.

124 After telling me that he was in fine spirits
177 because my pyribenzamine had cured his asthma,
578 he said he was also happy because he got such
123 a fine reception in Wailolong when he went from
609 house to house getting the census material. He had been afraid of this, and thought that the people would snub him. This would have made him much ashamed. This was also why he insisted that we get the kakang to order the Wailolong folk to give the information. Now he reports that he was received with open arms and that the Wailolong folk say they are delighted that a big man of Leloba is coming among them to work, and that also big men from the United States are getting their names and their customs down on paper. They said that they felt submerged for many years (and their kampong looks a bit dingy and dispirited) and that now they are having a rise. It looks to me as though Roy really feared a bad time, and this shows that the probable relations between these two communities were really distant until we came. We may have brought peace and good
609 will to the two kampongs. It is also amusing
123 to note his remark that when we first appeared,

We

123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

614 We discussed a certain rank which appears in
343 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
562 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
243 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

[114] We also noted a possible error in Vatter.[1]
614 He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
796 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
831 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
784 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
241 gins, but now with so few young girls still
[857] pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[887] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic
[797] note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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831 goat; and buffalo?). During other months they
614 may eat such food. This figures out to be
241 roughly about one half of the year. Some of
786 the ama have no nu'a luka, for example, Ama
784 Rere. Indeed, Roy says they must not be too strict about this system because there are plenty of holes in the ideal scheme. As we
115 were finishing up the work he got a note tell-
124 ing him to meet the Radja at the kakang's house for a conference. Evidently he is becoming a big man here. We are perhaps partly responsible.

He is making a map, and his daughter, who goes to the nun's school in Larantuka, is doing the drawing.

The next morning, Sunday, we went back, and
632 arrived while church services were being held.
796 They expected the Radja to visit today, so they had removed a section of the fence to let his car in. He never showed up, which was a disappointment to them, as they were all waiting
[621] around. The name of the section of Wailolong where we saw the rite yesterday is Apukule(ng).

578 We asked about the bonds of friendship and
721 enemy relations here. It is clear that seven of the kampongs are always friendly, and are never at war with one another. The eighth, Riang Kamië, has been the traditional enemy of each of them in turn. They are all descendants of Lenurat, whereas the folk of Rian Kamië are descended mainly from Kroko Putang folk, mixed in with some Sina Djawa. Most enmity against Riang Kamië has been, as usual, by kampongs bordering Riang Kamië. Always, border wars are the most frequent here. Thus, Leloba, Wailolong, and Lewohala are involved. The traditional enemy kampong is Lewowitin. The others are brothers, just as in fact or legend their founders were.

The main causes of wars were, in order:

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582 in other areas, or working in the gardens lo-
476 cated in another kampong. Here again, it is a
602 matter of marriage. Indeed, only if marriage
621 gives a person some sort of privilege to work in the other kampong does one usually engage himself in such work.

632 Relations between districts have not changed
582 much in recent years. If there are marriages
602 between the districts involved, the same situation obtains as between the kampongs just described. Similar situations are those involving different tribes. Bonds are formed if there are marriage links; if there are no such
[438] links there are no bonds. Trade is so small a factor that it is unimportant in intercommunity relations.

186 The people here love their own kampong and
621 feel that they are lost when they are outside.
166 Figuratively and literally, they have no place in another kampong. They can see good in another kampong, however, and if they go elsewhere and return they tell about the good things there and may even adopt them themselves. Only the young people, and few of them, want to get out and see other places. Once they are married they never leave.

609 They say that if they leave their own kampong for another they become outsiders. They are then nipatale (beyond the fence). The other term used in suku terminology for outsiders is rere. It means "low." The opposite term, which also occurs among the suku, is belolong ("high").

578 All seven kampongs have been enemies of Riang
621 Kamië. The seven have remained about the same
614 in relationship to each other, but tales tell a
173 bit about the ranking among them. Riang Kamië was formed by a union of several kampongs which were separate formerly. These united into one kampong in defense against the Bai Pitu (seven

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578 children). There are no Ili Djadi descendants
621 in Riang Kamië at all. The folk are mostly
●614 descendants of Kroko Putang, although there are
173 some from Sina Djawa. Among the kampongs which
united to form Riang Kamië were Lamalewa, Beluwela, and Lamaliang. There are now fifteen suku in Riang Kamië. The old kampongs are still used for the sections (as is so often the case in Indonesia).

[211] The Kroko Putang origin (Tenemau) is symbolized by the wooden prau model in the korke of Riang Kamië.

621 The Sina Djawa folk were liked by the Ili
614 Djadi people, however, because when they entered
173 they brought iron, flint and steel and other
177 "high" things. Many suku were taken into the
773 kampongs from the Sina Djawa. They brought
with them good weapons. Riang Kamië is the largest kampong here. Its population is about
[161] one thousand three hundred (Wailolong and Leloba have about seven hundred each). There is a lot of material on the legendary relationships between the ancestors as seen now in the kampongs. Thus, the two original Ili Djadi were a brother and sister, covered with hair. They came out of the mountain and a Padji girl on the shore saw a fire on the mountain. They were then discovered, and the Padji girl, Hadumboleng (a different person from the Ama Hadumboleng in the suku list), married Lenurat. Thus the Ili Djadi are Padji on the mother's side. The girl, however, sister of Lenurat, married a Timor man, Pategolo. The Radja of Larantuka is descended from the latter union. Thus Timor is involved in the male origin and Ili Djadi in the female origin. Also, the kampongs which are descended from the Pategolo-Watuwele (this was the name of Lenurat's sister) union are on the beach side of the mountain, and they are Waibalun, Balela, and Lokea. The last is the Radja's kampong.

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000 Radja's kampong.

721 There used to be much warfare with the Mohammedan coastal folk too. And war was waged with other districts and tribes, but this was rare, and was largely tied up with the higher politics of the radja. A pure border war, however, was one carried on with the district Lewotala.

186 621 484 Only a very few people locally have been in other places enough to have inferiority feelings about their own village. They have all seen the town of Larantuka, but this is not much and they get tired of it after a little while. Those who have, for example, seen Makassae, of whom there are very few, are less happy when they come back. This is a real difference. They tell a lot about the big town. Thus, the truth is that in all Flores the towns are so little and are so much like the kampongs (i.e. dull), that there is little contrast. Therefore, they see no advantage locally as over against the kampongs. Of the kampongs here all are about the same in wealth and land holdings. Lewohala and Watuwiti have a bit better land and perhaps more of it; thus, in general, one place is about as good as another.

721 178 578 691 693 Wars were waged over borders, women, and molesting children. Now warfare is outlawed, although they still carry it on in a modified way. For example, there is a dispute of this kind going on now between Leloba and Waibalun, although the chief says that they must not carry on a war. There have been repeated grievances; their patience is gone. A band goes out hot for revenge and although the chiefs in general try to keep the people from war they are unsuccessful. Most disputes are settled by legal procedures, with the kakang as the main judge and the kepala kampong, radja tuan, and kelake of the 693 kampongs concerned making up the court.

●614 For inter-suku cases, the court is made up

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693 of the three kepala kampongs, the kepala suku,
614 and the kelake. For intra-suku cases, the court consists of the kepala suku and the kelake.

608 They have blood brotherhood bonds between
721 kampongs like the pela darah of Ambon. They call this umbadja or bela badja. Badja means pledged. The bond is formed by the chiefs of the kampongs cutting their fingers and drinking each other's blood mixed in a drink. They take only a little blood. This means that the two kampongs will not wage war against each other and that there will be no infringement of recognized boundaries. It means perhaps that they will help each other in war, but this is not necessary. It is a peace bond rather than a war alliance.

About every year the umbadja kampongs (there are none here as they are brothers anyway) have a get-together like the "bikin panas pela" in Ambon. The one kampong here which they know has a bela badja is Watuwiti, which has one with the district Lewotala.

773 The whole organization and everything else
796 here has a story about it, and these stories are endless. One could fill many books with the underlying legends about one kampong here. Every single rule, relationship, rank, etc., has its legendary rationalization. And ritual keeps the belief alive. Ritual is the acting out of past events which explains and justifies the present order. The ancestors are called upon to attend these rituals.

609 To be foreign in the local sense is a matter of great concern. Anyone they do not know is treated as a foreigner. This includes anyone from another kampong, and even though they may know another kampong person, if he enters they all ask him what he is after. The communities are really closed. Persons of another district are really alien. The word for stranger is

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173 can be used in war, as magic, and thus perhaps
621 Miado was the war sorcerer who perhaps did the
565 magic stuff which in the last analysis scared
789 the damned Padji away. This kind of medicine is called breni.

173 I asked if all the children and other people here know this story, and he said yes. It is evidently the main legend. He said that they do not know it perfectly, but the main facts and events are clear and everyone knows the story.

443 There is a market place at Okka crossroads every Wednesday. There used to be another on the beach on the way to Larantuka (where the Padji once lived) at Delang, but it is no longer there. It was held on Friday. There is a market place in Larantuka town, and the market is held there every day. However, there is no market week system. He knows of one in Adonara. He says it is no use to hold elaborate markets because they have no surpluses to sell.

583 The only exchange here is that connected
● 614 with marriage. The woman-giving suku gives fish to the woman-receiving suku, and the latter gives fowl to the former. If these suku are in different kampongs, there is the exchange, but it is a matter of suku and not kampongs. And again it shows how marriage is the basis of the whole organization.

829 As a result of the last World War the horizons in terms of the world at large were some-
[178] what extended. For the first time, the people here heard of Japan, the United States and other countries. This was much the same thing that took place all over Indonesia. Fifty years ago no one here knew about such countries. As for other places in Indonesia, all they knew fifty years ago was Sina Djawa, to the west. Since the war they have learned at least the names of a few other islands. This is really epochal on

346 This costs money, at least. With cleverness,
797 Pastor Krol told how the scheme is working to get the folk to sell their tusks in order to get money to contribute to the new church. This works on the grounds that the people were careless with their fire in the fields when there was a high wind, and this caused the burning of the church. It is all a wily game, and the pagans are lost.

797 This whole religious matter is endless. It
182 is the most powerful acculturation thing here,
769 and the whole weight of Catholicism is on the last few pagans. The guru is full of the propaganda of rationalization. For example, he says, how do we know where the ancestors are? If they led good lives they are in heaven; and if not, they are in the sea (hell). And if they were good they must be in heaven, even though they were not Catholic, because they knew nothing of the Word when they lived.

632 The next day we started by clearing up a point
●614 about the radja tuan. He may come from another ama than the No. 1 or waru'ing ama. Thus in Ama Datong suku the present Radja tuan is the kelake of Ama Radja, which is the No. 3 ama.

789 Roy said that not only officials have magic
565 power, but that also all members of the noble
171 families have some, though not so much as the chiefs. They definitely have more than common
865 folk. This is why one must show respect to the uppers. It is like Bone in Celebes, but less so perhaps. For example, they are very much afraid of hitting a noble child.

756 A sorcerer (molang) receives respect too,
754 even though his post is not hereditary. Some
[462] sorcerers, however, are noble. Sorcerers may be male or female, and indeed Roy thinks most of them are women. I asked how one got to be a molang, and he said that in general they get a call while dreaming. It is a matter of getting

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178 religion, when he knew so much about the old
797 ways and his ancestors were so important in
565 it, then this new religion must be all right.
177 (Here we see the old theme of converting the
769 chiefs first. And all the magic aspect is clear too.) He admitted that if the nobles had been against Catholicism it would have been much more difficult (impossible? Note India, where the handicap of missions has been that most of the people converted have been untouchables; and the joy of the missions has been whenever they could snare a Brahmin.)

797 Roy says that they received Catholicism at
175 first gladly and were interested and liked the medicine. Then there came trouble, however, when they saw that the Catholics were determined to wipe out the old things. Then came resignation. The trouble started when the Catholics began to win. Thus there were three phases, starting with the conversion of the first man, Guru Bala, in 1885:

(1) 1885--1912: period of amicable relations.

(2) 1912--1920: the pagan fight, and real conflict.

(3) 1920 to the present: the surrender and acceptance of the inevitable.

[614] Bala was of the suku Lewonuhah.

565 Even now, the asli, the men of real noble
177 descent, have the power and prestige. It is very hard, indeed impossible, for a commoner, no matter how clever he may be, to bring in alien things. If a commoner tried he would be killed. If he is a noble, he will find things easier, but he too had better be careful, for if he is a "trouble maker" he too might be thrown out (killed?).

797 In Wailolong the first Christian was Pulo,
177 converted by Bala in 1890. Conversions were
798 slower here than in Leloba, and paganism still
184 holds on. Because it was slower there, Roy says
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000 they might try reasoning with them, they would go no further.

584 762 The same story holds for marriage. If a child does not like his parent's choice of a mate, the marriage does not occur. There have been a few cases, however, of suicide (always by hanging) on the part of both men and women, because of desperate love and mismarriage. This is interesting, and if I have the time I will try to get these cases down.

582 835 614 178 The marriage system is the thing, and it is exogamous with complicated rules. There has been no change. Even the very few cases of endogamy have not increased. The only thing that has been modified is the fact that there is no longer an allowance of blood mother's brother's daughter marriage. This is a Catholic taboo. This is true at least in Leloba, although I am not sure about Wailolong. They have to be careful to have fourth grade distance (that is, third cousins, via great grandparents). What the system allows is the choice of a mother's brother's daughter (that is, married into the suku of the man's mother) or married into one or two other suku of the ama linked with his suku by marriage. Thus a boy of Hurint Demong (the guru's may marry Belemang, Belepe Lolong A, or Waktukang Keleng. If his mother was Belemang, this would work out all right. In the old days, this would have been the best thing for him, that is, a girl of his mother's group (I want a girl just like the girl that married dear old dad). This is because of the good relations already, and anyway they like these close and reinforced linkages in suku relationships. It is not a matter of bringing back the tusks more rapidly, as one needs to make three moves anyway, and they can do this if they marry in any other group aside from the mother's. But, even in the old days, though this mother's brother's daughter

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582 marriage was preferred, it was not required, be-
178 cause the boy could also marry a girl of an en-
614 tirely different group from his mother's, for
835 example, Belepe Lolong A or Waktukang.

Nowadays, the easiest thing to do is merely to disregard the mother's brother's daughter stuff, as this requires care in observing that the relative must be at least a third cousin, and they marry in one of the other allowed groups. This is the leeway that the traditional system allows. When it is a question of close figuring, Roy says that they usually ask the priest to settle the situation for them. A good case of this was with the guru's son, who is now in Makassar. He was in love with a Belemang girl, but this was the ama of his grandmother, and the girl was his mother's brother's daughter--cousin via his grandmother, i.e., only a third degree relative. Therefore Roy went to the priest, and the latter (I suspect they are always indulgent in this matter if it is not a first cousin) said that if they were that desperate he would give a special dispensation (he uses a word for this that sounds like isin, but I must ask about this) (idjing). And so the boy was married. The way to do this correctly is for the boy to marry his mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's son's daughter. This is via the great grandparental generation. Note that it has to go up via women and down via men. This works out all right if one notes that under the mother's brother's daughter rule this brings the proper amas into the relationship (I may be wrong on this and must check on it later).

582 I was much impressed when he said that there
835 is a good reason for the Catholic rule. I had
827 tried to say that it is not in the Bible and
177 that Protestantism had not worked out this rule and yet they were Christians too, that the ancestors thought it was all right and indeed de-

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611 However, all children are descended patrilineally.
583 That is, there is no ambil anak here. In any
● 614 case, the bride price must be paid eventually.
591 It may even take two generations to do this, but the debt is remembered and the books must finally be balanced. This eventuates as follows: If a man can't pay with tusks, he pays with a daughter. It may be any daughter, the first, second, or later daughter. If the man has no daughters, the debt remains and must be paid someday. But, she does not become a member of her mother's sib. She remains a member of her father's sib and marries as though she were a full member of it. That is, all that happens is that when she marries, her price goes to her mother's sib. This is a very peculiar arrangement, and it is purely for monetary reasons. The sons are called anak suku. The daughters are called anak gading ("elephant-tusk children"). Thus the price of a woman is either tusks or a daughter. The daughter who is given for the price may live matrilocally or patrilocally, depending on where her parents live.

582 There are some marriages between Wailolong
621 and other districts. Roy can think of cases
614 with Lewotala, Wolo, and Lewinga, and he thinks there are others. I asked him how they figure the marriage rules in such cases. He said that if there were already suku there which corresponded to those in the kampong, the situation was easily resolved. If previous marriage relations existed between the two areas, it is also a simple matter to figure out the marriage relations. If no previous marriage relations exist, it is easy to figure out anyway, as none of the rules applies. Thus Roy's brother married a girl from Roti whom he met on his travels. This was no problem, as she was far outside the
582 pattern area. What usually happens, however, is
584 that a boy, for example, sees a girl at the

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832 those rascals. They scolded them, saying that
684 if they wanted women, they should ask about
628 them, and speak up about it. That is, they were willing to hear a request, but it had to be done through regular channels without chiseling. ("If you had come to us decently, etc.")

582 In regard to the relative ages of the couple when marriage takes place, the ideal is to have a couple whose ages are nearly the same. If either is older it is better for a boy to be a bit a girl's senior. If there is too great a discrepancy in age, it is not good.

595 His grandfather had four wives. I note that
183 he does not seem to regard polygyny as very bad, even now. And he does not hesitate to tell me that other Christians do this. It is simply that they do not get the sacramen for the second, or third, or even later wife. That's all. Dispensation is called isin.

582 He says that the people in Tandjung Bunga
836 marry when they are very young, and that they begin their sex life as early as nine years old.

178 In the old days, the boys in Leloba and Wailo-
513 long slept regularly in the korke or sebuang
882 (the ama korke, and this is a correction:
[346] sebuang does not refer to the barns of the ama,
[614] but to the cult houses).[1] I think he said that this is not done any more in Wailolong. It was not required, but they just did it. This took place after a boy reached the age of about sixteen. Roy did it himself. They liked this because it was more fun. They could talk, sing, discuss girls, etc. (I think it was practically a rule, and I wonder what they would have said if a boy did not go there.)

What has happened now is peculiar. The boys
178 sleep together in groups, wherever it seems
513 good. They get in the habit, for example, of
882 sleeping on the benches of a certain house, or
171 in a vacant house, etc. (Thus I see that the

1 [See cat. 111, p. 166 -- Analysis]

513 We
882 Ambon and Ceram youth-club houses are really
178 survivals of the regular thing.) In Leloba the
[171] main hangout is the "pasanggrahan" (bivak),
where there are seldom any guests, and the boys
simply take over. Kattenburg inspected it and
found that it has sleeping benches and even a
[836] few walled compartments. He asked the kepala
kampong if perhaps the girls did not slip in,
and the kepala kampong said that this was absolutely not the case.

178 In Wailolong there is a guru from Bama,
513 where they have regular boy's houses. This
882 fellow has introduced a new type of boy's house
177 in Wailolong (but no other kampong in this area
● 614 has one), i.e., he has built three on the Bama
pattern and the boys sleep there. One of these
is our "office" when we use it. These boys'
houses are arranged according to suku, and are
shared by suku. This is a remarkable case of
acculturation within a pattern from one district
to another.

[562] The girls have no such houses, and never did.
882 However, before, as today, they seldom sleep
561 with their parents when they get older. Groups
887 of them have hangouts where they sleep together.
513 These groups are of friends. They weave together, etc., and like to gossip, sing, etc., at night. They just fall asleep there, together. This may be a sleeping bench, or it may be that they get a section of a sleeping bench in one of their parents' houses. There they bunch up. Everyone knows where the groups hang out. Kattenburg found that even old women sleep in groups. They may be, I think, groups of "the girls" who are old and widows, and who go back to their girlhood days and sleep with their coevals, and have a good time. If this is so, it is practically a revived age-grade for the girls who in their youth grew up and slept together and now at the end of their life bunch up together again.

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000 up together again.

•614 Some of the suku are large, some are small,
171 and some have died out. They have the same
789 idea in this regard as I noted on Ambon: that a group which dies out may well have disappeared because of a wrong committed in the old days. It is as though there were a curse on them. Roy mentioned a case of an ama (I think) which did a lot of killing. Now it is extinct. Another group used too much magic, and it too died out. (Magic keeps cropping up. They have taken on my term kekuatan adjaib with a vengeance. I often wonder if they are kidding
[123] me, seeing that I like the pagan stuff.)

562 Roy says that the roles of the sexes has
178 not changed at all. However, when there was
708 much warfare formerly, the women were important in helping the men by bringing in supplies, encouraging them, and in making magic against the enemy behind the lines. (Supply, psychological warfare, morale division, and "research.")

178 One firm rule which is changing today, however,
462 is that in the old days the women never did work
241 in the field, except for helping in planting and in the harvest. This is still so in a large degree, and it is true enough that the women are seen around the kampong all day while the men are off in the fields. However, nowadays more women go out and help with agricultural work. This is a slow trend. In the old days men would be ashamed to have women doing agricultural work. This was not their role (and there is a very sharp sex division of labor here).

Indeed, women have no work, properly speaking, except house work. They do very little agricultural work, even today. The planting stuff they do is clearly ritually linked, at least in part, and the harvest is evidently always an exception.

562 Roy says that the women have equal status,

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721 at me and raised his brows, saying, "Ah, but
789 you are forgetting the kekuatan adjaib. It was not a matter of men alone." I am accepted as one who can appreciate the magical things. In this case he was pointing to "those intangible factors which mean so much in warfare."

842 There are no limitations on the number of children in a family. There is not even a conflict here with the church. He did say, however, that they know or think they know a medicine (at least he has heard that some women know about this) which might limit the number of children a woman could have (or did I say this?). Anyway, it is unthinkable.

[614] The bigger the family the better it is. A big family, ama or suku makes its members cocky.
[554] As Roy says, he is a member of Hurint, the biggest sib here, and he would like to see the so and so who would try anything on him. He would have to settle with the group. Thus numbers mean strength all along the line.

162 The average size of the family here is about
178 eight individuals. Formerly, about fifty per cent of the children did not grow up. Now they
165 nearly all live (I doubt this, but evidently
758 the change has been so dramatic with the introduction of modern medicine and cleanliness that it seems this way). I asked why, and they at once said new medicines and cleanliness.

355 Women do most of the upbringing. The father,
368 for example, just looks on once in awhile. The
178 mother is the crux, as well as other women. Later on, boys learn to work from their father and girls learn their tasks from their mother. The only change in all this is the school and church, especially of course the former.

581 There has been no significant change in the
178 concept of a "suitable man or wife." So little has the pressure for mere existence lessened that appearance and looks are minor. First of

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624 465 like the marinyo of Ambon. I asked what the secretary got, and he said cigarette money only. The pay is evidently very little.

583 ●614 611 784 Correction: Although he says there is no case here now, he has found out that if the bride price is not paid, the children are of the suku of the mother. And the bride price must be paid at marriage. There is no post-marriage payment in order to get the children back. Thus there is real ambil anak here. The man remains a member of his own sib, and the wife a member of hers. Thus she assumes the "married woman" totem taboos of her own sib, not those of her husband's sib, as is the more usual thing.

346 778 614 I asked about the rumah berhala of Wolopeo. This group has a real house, and in it there are four ana deo, two in bad repair. There is one for each of the four suku. There are no other suku in the kampong. There are also plenty of belongings in the house. It is rather large, about twelve meters on a side. There are baskets and other objects therein. This old kampong is only one kilometer off the road in the hills at kilometer 17. I may go there one day. The four suku are Mbonggi (the kepala kampong is from this), Djo'bi, Soa, and Woro. The oldest suku is Mbonggi. There is [769] also a grave-bone shrine here, of the suku Djo'bi.

791 769 The folk here are now mostly Catholic, but they do have an annual ancestor rite, and the Catholics attend too. The kampong Ratebedi, far off in the hills, has fewer Catholics, as is the case with the far off Bu'ube'i. The distant ones remain pagan longer.

872 178 212 000 Fifty years ago there was no school. It came in 1921. No one went to school before this. They were totally illiterate (this shows how recently the schools came in here). They were

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436 sionally one sees a ten sen ketip.[1] The Japa-
727 nese took everything. They also probably melted down a lot of the coins. There is very
437 little barter here as they have so little merchandise as real surplus. If they need food badly, they may sell cloth in the mountains for some form of food.

No one has a car. No one has ever owned a
493 car here. And no one can drive. Buses are
[435] very little used. The fare to Ende is fl. 0.50.

The owner of all the land is the mosa laki
423 mere of the kampong. He is thus the tuan
614 tanah. Each family has its own house and gar-
622 den land which is inherited. The parcels are in family units. Land is not sold, bought, or rented. There is also suku land, usually too far off in the hills (where the kampong lama of the suku is) to work. Thus the Odja suku has some in Rabu, but they never use it. The suku land in the kampong is under the giri tumba. Evidently there are no kepala suku, and thus no real suku property organization. This is because the mosa laki mere was formerly the kepala suku when the suku were localized. In the kampong, most of the suku land is that of Rewarangga, and indeed if one looks back far enough, all of the land in Roworeke belonged to Rewarangga suku. Note that the mosa laki mere is of Rewarangga. The Odja folk were given land for coming in and, for example, helping the Rewarangga in warfare. Thus it is possible, and evidently indeed usual, for incoming suku to get pieces of land from the mosa laki mere who is land master of the original suku.

There is also undivided kampong land, and
[609] this may be developed by anyone with the consent of the mosa laki mere. Even outsiders may do this, for example, the people from Ende, who live in the kampong.

[1] [i.e., small silver coin --Analyst]

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778 The negri lama of the suku Odja is about one-
753 half kilometer outside Ratebedi in the distant hills. No one lives there now, but there are stones, etc. (I think he said images too.) The Ratebedi folk give offerings there. This was the kampong of the great ancestor Odja Djata (the father of Odja was Djata). There are many such old places which are dangerous, for example, the assistant went to one such place near Pamudjera, and he got sick at once.

[784] There is always talk of danger in fooling around with old places and old rules. Thus, not long ago two men of Watu Roga set a stone boundary marker in the earth, but this is taboo. In three days one was dead and in three months the other died.

If I could get all of the information about
174 each kampong and suku I could rebuild the whole history of migrations, etc. And although most of the people have lost these stories, there are a good number of old men in Volofea and Bu'ube'i who could tell everything.

The assistant says he will try to get infor-
115 mation on all these things as he does his "control" work in his job as secretary of the gemeente. He asks for a good notebook and a briefcase to do this work! I don't trust him, that's all. He plots, and the story is that when I come back years from now he will have all the facts. Thus he put together my interest in these things, my statement that I might return to do more work here, and out of hopes to get a notebook and case fabricated his plan.

423 The land is family-owned (maybe lineage-
● 614 owned is a better way of phrasing it). The eldest son is the manager of the family land.
592 Others work on it. If there are no sons, the
428 eldest daughter runs it, or maybe the deceased father's brother. The father may split up his estate among his sons, or give each one of his

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423 sons a parcel before he dies. Also, he may split
428 up his land among the brothers as the group gets
614 too large. When a group is really too large
592 for the estate, some may go to the mosa laki
[622] mere and get consent to develop a new piece of waste kampong land. Also, if there are too many people for the estate, the men or some of them may work on their wives' families' land. This is considered all right.

428 As for houses, the eldest son takes over
592 the paternal house, and if there is room enough
614 all brothers and families may live there too. Some may move off into new houses. Thus the present kepala kampong, Pala, is the eldest brother of the assistant, Migo. Their father was Pega. They are of the Pega lineage. Pala occupies the old house, Migo a new one. If Pala dies, Migo will take over the house and management of the family land. The eldest son is the big man all through the system, and posts descend via the eldest branch all the way down. The younger branches are always underneath. Nevertheless, they may set up a new lineage at any time. Thus there could be a branch-off with Migo, and his sons would be the members. However, they may keep the unit Pega for several generations, before splitting.

422 There is also the matter of the family
428 ritual possessions. These go down from eldest
614 son to eldest son all the way. Thus Migo has none, because in his family the pusaka belongs to his brother Pala. However, a father may divide it up before he dies.

The family or lineage is the important property unit. Small articles, for example, clothing, may be individually owned, and the suku and even the kampong has property. But the crucial unit is the great family.

462 There is not such a strong division by sex here. The women work at agriculture just like

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302 178 (Note: One thing he mentioned as brand new is the matter of haircuts. In the old days they shaved the heads of the young, and some children still have these shaved heads. But the older people had their hair done in a long bob.)

624 All of the adat posts are the same today as they were before, and Migo said that indeed the most important man is the mosa laki mere, even now (aside from the kapitan, perhaps). The only post which is no longer kept up is the non-hereditary panglima perang, or atambani.

634 565 614 632 First there is the Radja of Ende. Then come the families or lineages of the mosa laki, which are strictly hereditary, in an eldest son succession. Thus the eldest of the eldest of the eldest, etc. This forms a kind of hereditary nobility, although it is not considered such. Aside from this, the suku have certain prerogatives now, and even before this was probably the case. And this leads to an important correction: It is true that any male member of the suku Odja or Rewarangga, and of these only, can become kapitan. He is chosen for cleverness (!). The Reandona suku has been trying to get a man into the kapitan's post for a long time, but unless Odja and Rewarangga agree, this is impossible. It is their business. This is why he originally wrote that every member of the Odja suku is "bangsawan." He thinks this is true in the other districts, but he is not sure. Certain suku have the pre-eminence in each district.

622 614 The kepala kampong post also must be within the suku Odja, and the best man gets it. He thinks this is the same for other kampongs. Thus in Worowai, the kepala kampong must be from the Rewarangga suku, etc. Thus even the elective offices must be within a suku which

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622 carries on the prerogatives in a hereditary
614 fashion. If these posts are not so held, the people will not follow the individuals who occupy them.

In regard to magic power, he says that
789 there is none here. Not even the radja pos-
624 sesses any. Nevertheless, he says that everyone, without exception, obeys the officers. They just do it. He thinks that perhaps in the mountain kampongs I might still find ideas about magic power, but not here. I couldn't get anything more about this. Thus the situation here is different from the magic power and support of the ancestors which the officers in Larantuka have.

793 The pastors have magic power (and here per-
789 haps I can say that they are the only ones who today still have such power). They can wash away sins, do miracles, etc.

All adat posts are passed on from eldest son
624 to eldest son in a pure succession manner. They
646 remain the same. The elections of the kepala kampong and the kapitan are new. Also new are the members of the Flores parliament and of the East Indonesian parliament. There are two electors in the district Rewarangga, for there are about one thousand tax-paying men. There is one elector for each five hundred tax-paying men.

666 When there is an election of electors, the kapitan calls all of those tax-paying individuals to his office, and he (the kapitan) posts a list of four candidates (!!). Each man comes forth clutching a stone, and he whispers his choice to the two "guards". The guard slips the stone in the proper pile. This is all done secretly and by whispering (but the guards know!). At first, the people here did not understand this and had to be egged on to come to the election. They did not know what it was all

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585 is to get the outfit ready. The outfit is
583 provided by the girl's family. Then they go
178 to the boy's house to settle down. This represents a big change. Elopement was never an established custom here, and it does not exist today. Formerly, marriages were arranged, and the girls and boys simply obeyed. Nowadays, the young are consulted, but there is still plenty of prearranged marriage.

582 Sib exogamy is still favored in the majority,
● 614 by far. Formerly, this rule was very strong.
621 There are a few cases of endogamy with distant relatives, but not many. Formerly this never took place. Most marriages are inside the kampong. The only frequent exception is marriage with Watu Roga, across the street. There are plenty of marriages with Wanda suku, the main one there. Indeed, with the mother's brother's daughter arrangement, and so many Odja-Wanda marriages, it is just about a regular thing. Of course, however, there are plenty of Wanda people living in Roworeke too.

An extra-district marriage is very rare, except for Watu Roga, which happens to be in Lio, which is even in a different radjadom, although it is just across the street.

582 The average age for men at the time of mar-
178 riage is about twenty-five. Today, for women, the average age is twenty-one. And they insist that in the old days the average ages were much older. They said it was usual for a man to be well over thirty, and many women were thirty-five at the time they got married. The kapitan said that they "aged" much slower than they do today. He said that he didn't even have clothes until he was very old, relatively speak-
836 ing. I asked about virginity under these conditions, and he said that all women stayed virgins until they were married. If a husband found that his wife was not a virgin today, he would

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513 less pondok where in the daytime I see women
882 weaving. They call the boys' houses "kuwu." There are no girls' houses. The girls sleep with their parents, or rather each grown girl has a separate apartment in the parental house.

562 Males are more influential, and they give most
178 of the orders, but women will revolt if men do not behave. They will not give the men food, they will scold the men, etc. They act up, however, only if the men misbehave. And they are not afraid of doing so. The girls nowadays are a bit freer than before in regard to talking up, etc., but there is very little change, in general. The old folk are not too pleased about having the girls in school. They can't see the use of this.

614 Correction: It suddenly turned out that
597 there are two ata nggaeh nua in this kampong, Bapa Ketjil, for the Odja suku; and the brother (older) of the kapitan for the Gusa suku. If the suku is large enough, it has such an adat expert in a kampong. These are the only ones large enough here. Then the true story of the kapitan came out. He is not classified as a member of Odja, but actually he was born a Gusa. The former kapitan adopted him. He became a foster child, or ana gave (the g here is pronounced like the French uvular r). I asked if this was what Wouden[1] called ndueh, and they were surprised. It turns out that ndueh means "to have two wives." (How could Wouden's source have made this error?)

Such a foster child becomes a member of his foster father's suku. There is no ceremony; he just moves in. He takes on a new set of relatives, but also keeps his own. He becomes a kind of "double-suku" man. Thus the kapitan calls his real brother kaka, and also uses this term for his new brothers in Odja. But I note that he married an Odja woman, and it seems

[1] [See pp. 20-85 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -Analyst]

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614 that the exogamy taboo is off, as he still is
597 half Gusa. Also, he still must attend all suku ceremonies of Gusa, as well as those of his adopted suku Odja. Thus, indeed, he is a double-sibbed man. Note that he could become kapitan only via adoption, because only an Odja or a Rewarangga suku man can be, and this does not apply to a man of Gusa. This is a good case.

583 In former times there was a strong force
178 behind the ruling which made a child marry anyone chosen by a father. This ruling has weakened, but still survives. The force, however, is no longer absolute. If a boy or girl remains adamant, the marriage is not forced. This is why they do not pay the bride price early any more, as they are not sure that the children will obey them when they are grown, and they stand to lose the payment for a non-fulfillment of contract. The bride price is paid, and that is all.

611 The system here is patrilineal, and there has been no shift away from this in any direction.

162 The sex ratio here is about equal, and this is approximately the same as it was before. They think this is all right.

586 There is no divorce here, and there never
583 was. They at once said, "why in the world do that, when the bride price of a woman is so high?" (A good substantiation of the priest's point that the bride price is a good thing in order to keep and strengthen the marriage bond!)

684 I asked what happens in a case of adultery. They said that formerly as well as today a man was satisfied with a fine, and gets this anyway. If the spouse catches the couple in the act, he can kill both of them. This is the same as before. The wrong party, always the man in the case, must pay the injured mate a

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565 the present time. Thus the guru and the assis-
555 tant had illiterate, pagan, farmer fathers.

554 The only time one can see status marks is
614 at feasts, when the ornaments of rank are worn.
422 These are made of gold and are now largely
565 lost. Some still remain. They are suku property, and not all suku have them. Odja and Gusa have some (this may be why the kapitan and others are mad for gold: they want to get it in order to have ornaments made for feasts and for ceremonial objects). If they sell these objects, they will become sick. On ordinary days, one cannot tell upper class folk (for example, members of the Odja suku) from ordinary people. They are really unclear about this. Then I asked who wore no gold and who had no such marks of status, if all of Odja and all of Gusa and all the members of some other suku had them. They said vaguely that those who did not wear them were the "ordinary folk." I asked who, the slaves? And they eagerly said yes. I get the idea that there are not many of these ceremonial objects left and perhaps only enough so that the mosa laki or kapitan, etc., can wear those of the suku at certain feasts. They strut about wearing the suku's wealth. And these things are suku property and do not belong to the families.

614 The social order of the individual, family,
565 etc., here has not changed very much. The
624 most direct thing is that only certain folk of
[178] the right suku have land rights in the kampong.
[428] Within the suku, however, the mosa laki or other office holder is probably a bit higher. They say, however, that the mosa laki gets no more of a bride price for his daughter than an ordinary man gets for his. I can't get very far in class investigation here, that's quite clear. And now I see why he was so puzzled at first when I asked him to indicate class distinc-

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614 tions. He put down just about everyone as
565 bangsawan, with the only exception being the
624 slave descendants and the absolute newcomers to the kampong. That is, everyone with suku membership who had a land privilege was included in the category "nobles." This means that there is no nobility properly speaking. Thus the mosa laki offices are really only the eldest branch of the eldest branch, etc., of a lineage.

565 This reminds me that when I asked whether
624 the kapitan of Nggobe (whose ancestor Ambu
634 Nggobe of the legends and who was the first
789 tuan tanah here) might not really be a bigger
173 man than the Radja, they said that he could well be that. Indeed, the tuan tanah of Nggobe is legendarily the biggest man here, according to the folk tales. And Rodja is big too. But then so is the Djawi descendant, the radja. Anyway, they are clear that the tuan tanah here are really the old ranks, and the radja is simply elevated to his present post only in recent history. This is probably why the radjas' hold is so weak here. They have no magic power and never were really higher than the tuan tanah. Thus the people here dare to rise against them at any time. What they fear is the government which stands behind the radjas, as well as a certain amount of respect and whatever the radjas have of ancestral claims according to the old adat scheme. When I mentioned the magic practices of Bone and the heaven-descent sanction of radja power in South Celebes, they seemed astonished. I am convinced. If there has developed any real royalty feeling here, it is rudimentary.

614 I asked whether perhaps there is a main man
624 of each suku. They said that the big man of Odja is the giri tumba, and of Rewarangga the mosa laki mere. In other kampongs and suku

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614 this is so too. Thus there is a kind of "kepala
624 suku" in the form of one of the mosa who is hereditary in the suku. This means, however, that there may be suku with no big man in them because there is no hereditary rank in them. Such would be the suku which had lost their privileges in the old kampong of origin and which had not obtained any office in any of the other kampongs to which they have moved.

576 A lower person must sit or squat in the
516 presence of the kapitan or mosa laki. This is respect. There are no honorific terms of address. They just call the officer by his title. Only the educated ones even know the use of the term "tuan."

789 I have been unable, even with the most extreme pressure, to get anything on magic power of individual persons here. The dukun and the bisa mari are just dreamers and clever ones with second sight and occult gifts. I can find nothing of the true magic power of office that clothes the radjas of Celebes.

611 Monday, January 16. Today I left Ende for
184 Larantuka. I stopped and asked a man in Tana Ai about the matrilineal rules and finally got it out. It happened that the place I asked about this was over the border of Larantuka, to the east of Tana Ai, and he said that here in West Larantuka the matrilineal adat of Tana Ai is also found. In fact, he spotted the border for me exactly, which represents a new find for the book. These towns are in the matrilineal part of Larantuka: Unu, Paluah Lewalalang, Sukutukang, Riangwulo (which is where he and his group were from), Kedang, Bawalatang, Duang, Tabana, and Watubuku. These represent the eastern border of Tana Ai matrilineal adat. To the east of them all is patrilineal, that is, Lewotobi (e.g., Riangbarang). This is excellent material.

We I note also that
554 there is a kind of mark of "upperness" in the
[177] wearing of European shirts by the men! This
[291] probably holds for the European dress worn by
some women too.

Roy says that in Larantuka town there is a
195 high and a low language, but I wonder if this
may not mean that there is merely a polite
idiom. Here in this area they all speak the
same language, but use fancier language in the
[554] ceremonies. The only titles are those of the
listed posts. One must be respectful to the
uppers.

614 The whole rank system depends on genealogi-
565 cal descent. There are no rules in regard to
interclass marriage, and everything depends
upon the suku system.

634 The Radja of Larantuka is a descendant of
565 the Ili, just as the other folk are. He is a
bit mixed up with Timor, via Pategolo. And
the Radja kedua is from Kroko Putang. However,
the entire upper "nobility" is really inte-
grated with the commoners. That is, there is
no heaven descent. They are just like the
other people, except genealogically they are
ranked a bit higher. All power also depends
on descent.

In 1905 the first guru of Leloba, Bala,
793 started his religious work. He had been con-
verted before this at the school in Larantuka.
At that time there were priests in Larantuka.

In 1912 a church was built at the kampong
361 lama of Riang Kamiö (this is another example of
how much and how recently these kampongs have
been moved from place to place). In fact,
only in these years, all kampongs except Lewo-
neda were still in the hills. Wailolong was
moved from the hills to the beach in 1913. At
that time a guru was sent to Wailolong, and in
1922 or 1923 Wailolong moved to the present lo-
cation.

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797 works, but I wonder if there might not be trouble if the central organization of the Catholic Church knew it. Still, perhaps the Catholics are indeed less doctrinaire than the Protestants. Surely the Jesuits are, with their different approach toward ends and means. There is a big contrast here with Ambon, surely.

788 Much of the former pagan ritual still survives. For example, there are field rites, beliefs, illness treatments, etc. The pagans still carry on plenty of the old ceremonies. Even the elaborate rites for planting, etc., continue.

241 782 796 The tuno wudjo is still an important figure in planting rites of Wailolong, but has disappeared in Leloba since Vatter's[1] day. The story is that she is a girl who was sacrificed in Lio by her seven brothers, to make the fields fertile. (They say that this is "to make the gardens fat.") Indeed, she told them to kill her in order to help. And the pieces of her body were sent to places all over Flores to make the fields fertile. The story is also found in Adonara.

Note: Lio is a great place for human sacrifice in relation to agriculture. The Radja of Lio not long ago was executed by the Dutch, and among his crimes was listed the killing of young girls for agricultural field rites. The people of Ende know this, and it seems generally known throughout Flores.

[614] [173] Note also: according to Vatter[1] one of the suku in Tandjung Bunga is Lio, and they are supposed to be descended from people who came from there. I wonder if perhaps this myth is not a sign of former human sacrifice in relation to agriculture all over Flores (or at least for East Flores), and it may also have originated in Lio and thence spread to here. Anyway, the

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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796 story is clear in their minds.
241 Note also that a Sumba girl was sacrificed
782 for dry springs and fertility. The pieces were sent all over the island. Here we clearly have a pattern. I wonder if perhaps the proto-Malay
[174] strength in Lio may show a Sumba link, and human sacrifice of this sort may not have come into Flores with an eastward migration. There is a fair chance, I think, that they had at least two migrations into Flores: one from the west, the proto-Malay (and thence perhaps the stories in regard to Sina Djawa); and the other from the east, the Negroid migration, and thence the stories in regard to Kroko Putang and other ancestors from Timor, etc.

The tuno wudjo, ideally one for each suku and ama, are still used in ceremonies of all the kampongs here except Leloba and Lewoneda. Wailolong still uses them. The Catholics do not make much fuss about this. The Catholics must allow the rites. The tuno wudjo must fast for half a year or thereabouts, that is, there is a taboo on animals sacrificed for agriculture for them (could it be because they are substitutes for the tuno wudjo themselves, or is this too wild a guess?). It is notable anyway that only two kampongs have discontinued the tuno wudjo so far in this largely Catholic area. It shows how recent and relatively partial the Catholic hold on the population is here. It also shows how strong the agricultural base of paganism is and how important food can be in these terribly poor areas. The people cannot afford to take a chance, even with the old gods.

[771] I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements here at all.

[346] The korke is the kampong temple. In addition,
[614] each suku and each ama has its barn for the "adat" rice, corn, etc. This is like a kind of temple too, and ceremonies such as I saw were

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527 risk, and one must tread warily and devoutly.
241 Observing all the rites and showing respect for the most important thing of all, food, is the proper thing.

[782] There are also feasts to ask for rain (held at the korke), and against widespread illness (also at the korke), for a new korke, for a new kebang, and for a new "big house."

Note that most of the agricultural rites occur in the fields.

Once in about every nine to ten years they have a great thanksgiving feast, if the crops are good.

A small feast is given when a child is born,
[851] but there is no animal sacrifice. If twins are born, however, an animal is cut. Note the gladness displayed at the increase or income of any kind whatsoever, including an additional human being.

[585] There is no marriage feast at all in the old adat.

The biggest feasts are those held at harvest, for a new korke, and the thanksgiving feast.

[171] Note that the Toradja have the thanksgiving feast too, and I saw the start of it there.
[346] The new korke feast is now given when they have a new church!

Note the way that the church links with the
346 old cult. I remember almost the first thing I
614 heard here was from the priest who said that
177 the new church is being partly paid for by selling the tusks of the families whose carelessness caused the fire which burned the old church. He also said in the church, both in the old and the new, there are the signs of the four main suku. They have their place in the church. And I suppose they will cut up animals for the new church too. If so this sort of takes the wind out of the argument against constructing a new korke, namely, that it would cause too much of a waste of animals.

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000 much of a waste of animals.

796 I finally found out which kampongs do the
614 main ritual functions when they have a general
346 Belakang Gunung feast at which all kampongs are represented. This is when they have a new korke (or church). The order is as follows:

1. Kottang is Mudakaputu (descendants of Bampowa).

2. Keleng is Lewohala (descendants of Kewaka).

3. Hurint is Leloba (descendants of Belawaburak).

4. Marang is Wailolong (descendants of Keweluk).

5. The passer of food and drink and betel ingredients is Watuwiti (descendant of Mado). Thus they are the five brothers.

624 Hence we have the "sistim" which he himself
614 is so impressed by. There are priests in the
793 sense that the radja tuan and the kelake are
565 really suku and ama priests. They are admin-
789 istrative and ritual officers. In addition,
756 there are priests and gurus of the new religion. And there are the molang or medicine seers. These have more power and influence if they are of bangsawan descent. Thus again the magic power of proper descent comes to the fore and we see that blood and rank affect even the influence of medicine men. Then there are the dukun, who are doctors but with magical aspects.

798 They are extremely liberal toward all religions. The only sign of any animosity I ever saw was toward Mohammedanism, and it was not even here except in Kampong Baru. The pagan resistance was more pronounced formerly. Today the two cults work together without much, if any, friction.

871 The schools are government schools, but the
797 mission runs them and evidently provides, but
658 does not pay, the teachers. The schools were

114 The island is fascinating for pure ethnography, as I always expected. I am tempted every time I look at the map to take time off and go into those far hills. The entire northwest half of
491 Flores has no roads except for the Reo-Ruteng one, and here would be good territory. The
793 priests know a lot, and really should be mobilized for an ethnographic survey. And many of them, for example Mommersteeg,[1] would like it.
103 The kapitan insists that the proper name is
114 Tanah Djea, and indeed this is a town to the north of Nangapanda. Maybe the old authors confused dj with r.[1] [pastor at Todabalu --Analyst]

As for Wolowai, which Wouden[2] (check his source and track this down!) says is reported to be matrilineal, there is a place to the north of Nangapanda in the hills (thus in Tanah Rea part of Ende shown on the Bruine[3] map) so named. This is Wolowai and it is in Ende. I wouldn't be surprised to find any kind of social
R organization in this island! What a place to do
814 a real survey. I asked about a few other things
582 in Roworeke. I made a final try to get a circulating scheme out of the suku here, knowing that they have mother's brother's daughter marriage. I thought I had something when the assistant started off saying that an Odja man should take a Gusa woman, and that a Rewarangga suku man should take a Wanda woman. But right away it broke down, as the assistant himself, an Odja, married a Wanda, and his son will marry a Wanda, he says, in line with mother's brother's daughter marriage. Also, Bapa Ketjil, an Odja, married a Rewarangga. So what? He seemed to think that perhaps once it went like this:

Men	married	Women
Odja		Gusa
Gusa		Some other
Some other		Odja

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]
[2] [probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]

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Men	married	Women
614 Djawa		Some other
582 Rewarangga		Wanda
Wanda		Some other

At all crucial points, he doesn't know! But he does say that once it was not allowed to marry in the suku. And he also says that a daughter must not marry into her father's suku (and yet I am sure there are some cases), while a son by preference should marry into his mother's suku. He also says that if once one marries into a suku, the sons should continue this custom. This is why he says his son should marry into his wife's suku. Thus clearly we have mother's brother's daughter preference, and father's sister's daughter taboo. And they seem to have some memory of a regular circulating scheme so based. However, the system has broken down, and so has the exogamy to some extent (but my guess is that the records will show few if any endogamous marriages). The trouble is, I had no time to ask or rather have him investigate how many of the present marriages of men are with women of their mother's suku. I will try to do a little detective work from the records. Because of the Hebrew "bin" [551] system of names, I may be able to spot father and son. Anyway, I may be able to see whether there is any pattern to the suku marriage choices of the men.

114 I pulled out of Ende for the last time on January 21, and had a difficult time getting across the Nangaba, which is still in flood. With pushing, I made it. The motor stalled on me, as it is filty. It was a long day across to Ruteng, but I had no further trouble.

124 We Weol: I started the last stretch of a week here on January 23, on Tuesday. I went to the

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565 men. He will fill these in. So far as I can see, all the "locals" of Weol are noted as "bangsawan." I must discuss this. The same thing happened in Roworeke. Evidently there is no real nobility in these places, only the eldest-son lineage, which takes the high of-
[114] fice. Maybe Linton is right in his hunch regarding the basis of Malayo-Polynesian social organization, that is, primogeniture. This checks with all the talk about the kuasa tinggi [high power] of the older branch, the kaka and
614 adi stuff, etc. As for totems, the key for
784 Weol (he uses the local totem names) is:

rutung	porcupine
kenti	a leafy vegetable
kula	a kind of big mouse
atju	dog
lusa	red bean
giro	a kind of firewood (no burning totem).

All of these are merely the main totems, but there are others. Thus Weol clan has the lusa, but also the thin bamboo taboo.

591 4. I must ask whether the men who have come
583 to live matrilocally did so because they didn't pay the bride price. He says that this is mostly the case, but not always. He says that he will have to ask this carefully, as he can't ask men directly because they are ashamed if they have not paid the bride price. He must ask others, "Why does so and so live here with his wife?" Then the dirt will come out. These men are Nos. 40, 110, 116, 122, 123, 127, and 132. All of this led to a discussion of the situation.

217 The pagans do not have any registry of marriages. The Catholics do not have to register marriages with the government (thus no marriage

[See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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178 the fields might not have been arranged like the
342 places of the various panga or families in the old round houses. If so, it is beautiful.

592 The assistant says that in the old days when
614 perhaps all of one kampong lived in a single house, the panga were like families therein. That is, since then the panga have expanded into subclans.

632 I asked if perhaps, before 1870, the tu'a
622 tenu gelarang might not have been the highest
152 chiefs except for the alien Bima sultan. He thinks that this is probably so, as there was no dalu until 1870. Then I asked if maybe even yet the tu'a tenu gelarang might not really be more of a real head to the people than the dalu. He said that in the district, in all adat matters, especially land cases, the tu'a tenu was indeed supreme. And even the dalu would not dare to tread on his power in these respects. Then I asked if the dalu were all of Bima origin. He said he thinks so, but that the people are afraid to say so. I asked if any of them have family trees, and he said they must have them. Then I caught him, as I reminded him that his wife was of the "dalu" bangsawan! I asked if her ancestors were aliens. He, embarrassed, said yes, they are said to have been. She is of the Rahong dalu bangsawan. I pressed the case by asking whether her ancestors came from Bima. He said that it is said they were from Pulo Rintja! This is a practically uninhabited island between Flores and Komoda!

This remark about being afraid to say anything about the dalu led me to remark that Manggarai seemed to be a part of Flores which was always under alien rule. He looked a little startled, but saw the point. Evidently, any mention of these "imperialist" matters causes a fear reaction. This came out when I asked if perhaps the tuan tanah was really more powerful

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632 622 152 than the dalu. This, it seems, is the kind of thing that is not discussed!

I must get the dalu relationship straight.

634 I asked if there was really a Radja of Riung, and he said yes. He is on the same level as, for example, Nageh. He said that there has been a radja there for a long time. The radja there now is a Ngada, but the folk there are mainly Manggarai. The houses there are mostly 342 178 the old rectangular type (not the new style rectangular type which is coming in now) of East Manggarai. The round house area is West Manggarai, although there are round houses in East Manggarai too.

I noted that one of the three round houses in Ndung is going to be torn down shortly. Thus the new type house, which came in only about ten years ago, is swiftly replacing the round ones everywhere. I asked if, since originally Ndung 622 was a branch kampong of Weol, the tuan tanah there was not less in prestige than the tuan tanah of Weol. He said that in theory they are the same, but indeed the tuan tanah of Weol was like the older sibling.

614 114 It seemed to me that the va'u here are very large (e.g., va'u Weol has over two gelarang), and I told him so. He agreed and in fact said that he has found that there is a still larger genealogical unit (I must ask about this; maybe it is like the isi that Arndt[1] denies, but that Staveren[1] says is found in Ngada above the voi 685 there). On the way back to Weol I saw a buffalo with one of its rear legs hanging nearly off with a deep cut behind the knee. I was shocked and asked how it had happened. He said that the buffalo had broken into someone's garden and that the owner of the garden, who had become angry, had crippled the buffalo. He said that this is done frequently here. I can see how a feud could be started in this way.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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567 slave descent and the removal of slave or slave-
178 like services.
565 The kraeng of Todo and Pongkor, who were all over this area, were evidently the worst, because they were more numerous and more omnipresent. Bima was rather far off, and asked only peace and taxes, including slaves.

[578] In regard to Todo and Pongkor, I got plenty
565 of undercurrents of resentment here. Cornelius
●614 says the people here regard them as aliens (as
567 indeed they are in this area, especially considering the localism of "nationalism" here).
[173] And they themselves say that they are from Minangkabau via Makassar. I wonder if there is a tie-up with the Datu ri Bandar who brought Mohammedanism to Makassar from Minangkabau about three hundred years ago? I would like to see the treasure chest of the Pongkor kraeng, as perhaps I could decide whence their ancestors came. I then asked why all the people of the kampong were noted as gelarang. And here I ran into the same thing as in Ende. Indeed, all the members of certain clans are a kind of nobles, like Odja there. This goes for the va'u Veol. It also goes for the va'u Pau, to which the assistant belongs. I tried every way to plumb this matter, and first got this information about the kampongs:

565 (1) There are kampongs in which all the
567 "locals" are of the gelarang class, for example,
621 kampongs Veol and Ndung. But there may be in-
614 cluded among these, descendants of slaves who were admitted into the va'u after long residence, or who now claim membership, and although no one gainsays this, all know that they were from lower depths before. Still, I wonder if possibly some of the many men from the outside va'u, who are especially common in Ndung and who are married to outside women too, may have been here a long time and may have been slaves before.

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565 For example, they may have been bought or cap-
567 tured in war. In regard to the latter possi-
621 bility, a kraeng who came from Pongkor and who
[614] now lives in Tjantjar and who was standing by
during all this with his father, said that
there were plenty of wars between the kampongs
here formerly, and the kraeng and dalu had to
control this. Bima put in the dalu, he says,
[171] for this end.

(2) There are kampongs which are nearly one hundren per cent descended from commoners (leke) who were made lampang en masse by the kraeng. That is, they are kampongs which were made up of commoners before, and which were depressed to the lampang status. In these, very few of the people are from the outside.

(3) There are kampongs which are nearly one hundred per cent descended from sekontu. These were originally commoners (leke) but were made into slaves en masse by the kraeng. Evidently the lampang and the sekontu, as well as the mangko' pitu, might have been made thus by the sultan, dalu, or kraeng. Indeed, the three seemed to work together, and the dalu are called kraeng too.

(4) There are kampongs which are just about one hundred per cent kraeng, for example Puruk here, and Pongkor and Todo. These are still in the gelarang Rahong here, that is, under the direct control of the dalu. There are eight of them, including Puruk. The assistant says the kraeng prefer to get out of these, as in them they are nobles among nobles, but in other kampongs they can play on their status and the folk have to give them respect. Formerly they gave them more evidently. He says that up to the present time they still receive various forms of respect. Indeed, the kraeng who was here said so too.

The mangko' pitu were directly under Todo and

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567 saw hundreds of Toradjas being brought into Palopo as slaves by the Buginese.

177 565 621 174 [614] If it is so that the dalu were put in by the Bima administration, perhaps originally there might have been only the gelarang, the tuan tanah that is, and the commoners. Maybe the latter were aborigines, and the first conquest brought in the gelarang class. But this seems unlikely, as the gelarang tuan tanah class looks very ancient here. (For example, the Veol clan ancestors came out of bamboo right at the Veol spring.) Anyway, some clans seemed to be higher and others lower, perhaps as in Lio, where some are of the tuan tanah rank and others are not, or like the situation in Ende, where some have mosa laki and others do not. Long ago, and the assistant says perhaps three hundred years, the kraeng came in from Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps they were Minangkabau who came in through Makassar. They say so. But they have no matrilineal system so far as I know, and they have the va'u system like all the people in Manggarai. And the language is the same. However, I asked the assistant if I was right in that the kraeng had a different accent, and he said yes, but this may be a mere local difference.

The assistant says that he knows the legends say that the dalu came from outside somewhere. But their names are Manggarai, and they have the va'u system too. Question: are they Todo-Pongkor kraeng who were elevated, some of them, to the dalu status by Bima. Are they Bimanese in origin? Are they gelarang who were elevated by Bima? It is certain that Bima put them in. I would favor the first explanation, but am bothered by the fact that some kampongs were under dalu and others under Todo and Pongkor kraeng. It looks as though they had a double rule here above the gelarang level, which was

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565 but a Minangkabau. He belongs to a soccer
634 team called ATOM (Anak Tanah Orang Manggarai).
578 Is there any "nationalistic" resurgence under the merdeka stuff here? Who would lead? There are only the gelarang. I can see a good chance for elective democracy here, because (1) the old adat system lives, and its class levels are minimal (as the assistant says, the gelarang are "middle"), (2) the dalu may represent Bima rule (and the assistant insists that they are of alien origin), (3) the radja represents the oppression of the kraeng of Todo and Pongkor. Thus the old shakiness of the Flores radjas is even more remarkable here, and the radja is very new anyway.

[124] But the assistant is not ready to talk. I tried to stir up things by saying that perhaps in twenty years there would be no more radjas in Flores. But I think the lesson of oppression has been too recent. It will take a little time for the revolution, if any, to get going in Flores.

565 The kraeng said, when I asked if there was
●614 any difference in looks between the classes,
[576] that it was a matter of manners (he said it was a matter of with whom one associates) and money. But he said that you can tell by the manners. I get a definite impression that the kraeng are proud, and perhaps a bit snobbish. I then tried to get at the class business via the clans. I got this, which jibes with the kampongs, as the kampongs are largely clan units, although there is some mixture:

(1) There are one hundred per cent gelarang va'u, e.g., Veol.

(2) There are one hundred per cent leke va'u, e.g., Adjang and the other formerly lampang kampongs, Levat, and the other formerly sekontu va'u, and Lerong, and the other formerly mangko' pitu va'u.

565 (3) There are one hundred per cent kraeng
614 va'u, e.g., Puruk.

(4) There are one hundred per cent dalu va'u, e.g., Rahong.

(5) There is a radja va'u, of kraeng rang, i.e., Todo.

174 The history may be something like this:

621 (1) Originally, and until about three hundred
565 years ago: the gelarang tuan tanah district
634 chiefs were in, with kampong ramifications.

648 (2) About three hundred years ago until 1900: the period of Todo-Pongkor kraeng conquest, with also some Makassarese rule from the north (Goa) and Bima rule also.

(3) 1909--1929: Dutch rule without radja.

(4) 1929--1941: Dutch rule with radja.

(5) 1941--1949: Japanese, and later Dutch influence, the latter putting in the East Indonesian negara.

(6) 1949-- : The new Indonesia, with the Dutch gone, but the radja still here, as well as the dalu and the kraeng.

The only real power still alien in this area is that of the Todo-Pongkor kraeng (radja). What will happen?

582 I checked over the marriages in Veol and
614 Ndung, but the assistant will get the va'u of the inmarrying women. However, it looks as though there is no pattern. Looking only at the kampongs whence the inmarriers came, I can find just about no system; the twenty-seven women who married men of Veol came from twenty different kampongs (highest frequency was three). The four men who married women of Veol and came here to live are from three kampongs (highest frequency two).

The twenty-nine women who married men of Ndung came from twenty kampongs (highest frequency four: Tjumbi; another three: Tjara).

The nine men who married women of Ndung and

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582 614 came here to live came from eight kampongs (the highest frequency two).

Among those couples both of whose mates came from outside, there were four in Veol. Of these the men came from three kampongs (highest frequency two), and the women came from four kampongs. All of these kampongs were different except for the two men from Leko. There were fourteen such couples in Ndung. Of these, the men came from nine kampongs (the only frequency above one was six men from Tjumbi. The women came from thirteen kampongs and the highest frequency was two.) These were fairly well scattered overall, but showed more similarities than Veol.

Of all the outsiders in Veol (i.e., inmarriers) and Ndung, the highest frequencies are as follows:

	Veol	Ndung	Total
Tjumbi	1	11	12
Leko	4	3	7
Poka	4	0	4
Taga	3	0	3
Leda	3	0	3
Maras	0	3	3
Ndehes	0	3	3
Meler	0	3	3
Tjoal	0	3	3
Teras	2	0	2
Dalo	2	0	2
Pasa	2	0	2
Pau	2	0	2
Tjara	0	2	2
Totals	23	28	51

These are only the highest frequencies, and there is a great deal of scatter. It looks as though there is no pattern at all. This ruins

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582 the previous talk of the tuan tanah that there
●614 are preferred clans. I will clinch this when I get the va'u membership of the inmarriers.

The next day I started in on some more question in regard to social organization.

[103] Note that the name of the kampong below is
346 Tjantjar, not as I have spelled it above [Tjantsia]. I went there halfway through the morning as I heard drums and gongs. There were girls (looking very Hawaiian) sitting on the porch of the house next to the new one of the tuan tanah now being built. The timbers are up. It will be a rectangular house, although the one it replaces was round (I made a photo of the latter only a month ago, which shows how fast the old type is vanishing). The drums and gongs were being beaten because this is necessary when a new tuan tanah house (rumah gong-gendang) is being built.

346 There were several drums and several gongs
533 (and I found that each tuan tanah house has
776 several of each). They must be beaten all the
824 time, with short pauses, and the girls take
[562] turns. The men may help too (for garden beating, only men may play the instruments). This has to go on all the time while the big house is being built. The reason is that the wood (always spirit-ridden here) must be constantly kept pacified and told that it is being used for a great purpose, a big house. For ordinary houses this is not necessary. (I wonder if the idea is also in order to get the wood used to being in a rumah gong-gendang?) Before the trees are cut for the wood, they are told that they are being cut for a high purpose. Each grove of trees has a local spirit called darat. These are tree spirits. The generic word for spirit is ro.

778 I notice each day on my way here that there is
776 a grove of fine trees standing isolated on a
824

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342 178 old type, because it has low wooden walls, whereas the old ones had the walls to the floor. The first change was thus, and within ten years the rectangular house is sweeping the country.

342 [592] Inside this house (and before we entered the man worried as he said perhaps I would tell the police that there were more than three families living in it; indeed there were eight! and the law says only three), everything was dark, and several fires were burning on the floor and smoke was everywhere. There were a couple of low windows in the low walls, but even these were lacking before. All over men, women and children were sitting or reclining. The planks of the flooring were roughly worked with big cracks in between, but they were worn smooth by years of bare feet. In the rear was the apartment of the tu'a mbaru, set off by a low wall. Other spaces were not set off until night, when mats were hung up between them. There is not much privacy here. Looking up I saw the intricate network of rafters, with ropes binding the whole thing. And above this were the big mat holders for food. Long rows of ear corn, unshucked, were hung on the beams. The main post was the center of everything, but I did not see the food shelf for the naga, as I did not hear about this until later.

342 531 178 The conical roof is beautiful. This was an ordinary house, with merely an upright stick above the tip. Formerly, only the tuan tanah house could have horns, but I note that now many houses, rectangular ones (but I haven't seen any round ones that use the horns illegally) use horns illegally. Some horns are accompanied by birds. One set here has a bird in the middle and a bird on the tip of either horn. Another has a human head with horns like arms (looked like the human figure atop the Ngada ngadu).

614 I found that the Tjepang va'u is the main one

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614 in Tjantjar. These people came from West Manggarai, the Boleng area, perhaps one hundred years ago and settled in Veol. About twenty years ago they moved down to this formerly empty place and founded Tjantjar. Although it is not a Veol va'u kampong, it is a kampong tjabang of Veol, and the tuan tanah here, although he is of the Tjepang va'u, has his drums and gongs from the Veol tuan tanah. There is not a single Veol va'u member in Tjantjar, but it is plenty mixed otherwise. Thus there are several Pau families, perhaps ten in all, including the assistant. The Tjantjar people are about thirty per cent of the population, a plurality.

582 I asked about the percentage of marriages which were tungku (mother's brother's daughter). He will try to ask in Veol about this later, but I asked how many cases there were among his acquaintances. First he said only about ten per cent. Then I asked how many among the families he knows in his own kampong, Pau, had at least one mother's brother's daughter marriage among the sons. He said of the thirty he knows, about twelve. This is a higher percentage. Indeed, however, it is not usually more than about thirty per cent, as it couldn't be, for only one son in a family may marry in this fashion (except by exception), and the average number of sons is perhaps three. Formerly, just about every family had at least one son married in the mother's brother's daughter way, but now this is less true. Formerly the eldest son was forced to do it, because it was proper for the mother's brother's daughter marriage to be carried out by the eldest son. In default of such a marriage, another son could do it, for example, the assistant hasn't done his duty, but his father is afraid that one of the other two won't. Both the assistant's and his wife's fathers married

582 mother's brother's daughters; they were the eldest sons of their respective families. Perhaps this shows that formerly this was just about an invariable rule.

582 178 The reasons why several do not do it today are: (1) the church taboo (but they can get dispensation), (2) absence of a mother's brother's daughter of the proper age, (3) refusal of a son to marry a mother's brother's daughter or of a girl to marry father's sister's son because of a lack of affection, and (4) propaganda via education (I think it is this, but he says "government") that inbreeding is bad (this is possibly a neat trick of the church, which can insert this into the schools and thus beat down the mother's brother's daughter rules indirectly.)

614 773 784 I got onto totemism and origin legends. The Veol folk must clearly be the original people here, because they came out of bamboo right on this spot. The Pau va'u original ancestors came out of a stone which still stands in the kampong Pau. It is more than a meter high, flat on top, and is called vatu Pau.

Cornelius's wife's va'u came from Rintja Island. The va'u is called Manong.

Radjong va'u (kampong Radjong in East Manggarai) also originated out of a stone which is there now and is called vatu Radjong. Another va'u set of ancestors was born of a buffalo and therefore its members cannot eat buffalo.

If the totem is an animal (i.e., ancestors came from animals), the members of that va'u cannot eat the ancestral animal. If a va'u came from a tree, its members today cannot use that wood. If a va'u is from a stone, they simply must keep and cherish the stone.

The Veol taboos are three: (1) bambu belang: because the ancestors came therefrom; (2) the lusa bean: I don't know why yet, but I will

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●614 ask; and (3) the latung pesi corn: this is
784 true of the firstborn only (I will ask about
773 this too).

Note the firstborn theme here too. This is also found in Sikka totemism. The Pau va'u
[764] has only one taboo aside from the custom that the stone must not be used for anything, and it is that the members must be buried naked. The story is that once, when the dead were still dressed, a child was ordered to get clothes for a dead person. The child refused, and an old man who was angry said, "All right, from now on our descendants cannot be buried in clothes." It is a kind of curse.

Manong taboos are mice and dogs. They cannot be eaten. I don't know the story, but I can ask the assistant's wife. Now, however, the assistant's wife can eat these, because she has married out. But she has taken on a taboo (tjek'i) of Pau and will be buried naked. He asks, "What about the Catholics?" I said there was no trouble, I thought, because there is no rule in the Church that a person must be buried with clothes on! Each taboo has a story of rationalization behind it. Usually there are two or three taboos per va'u.

[262] I found out that cats are eaten here.

These kampongs have long since been separate,
621 but once they were one. There was a man named
[361] Pong Ndung who came from Veol, but didn't want to live in the kampong, so he moved down to lower land and settled under a tree. The Veol people got angry and asked him to come back, and he said all right, but moved only into the present Ndung area, which was then vacant. He thus founded the new kampong, and since then it has been called Ndung.

Before 1870 to 1880 they had only kampongs and va'u. Then, under Bima, came in the dalu and gelarang divisions. The line between gela-

342 in Tjantjar they use some nails, but also many
178 wooden pegs; perhaps the nails are expensive and hard to get).

Now comes the last stage, when the rectangular houses are coming in all over. A certain pastor went around showing how to build the rectangular type houses, and now everyone follows his model exactly. They do not know any variations! Until 1948 all houses in the Veol--Ndung area were round. Now there are only three left, and Number 11 is to be torn down this month, and they intend to tear down Number 8 soon. In the old days, and now, a round house lasted only ten years, anyway.

166 Usually, when they build a new house the
178 whole population of the old one moves out and
[342] into the new one en masse. This took place every ten years. They seldom move from the kampong. An exception was the mass move of Tjepang to Tjantjar twenty years ago.

In the past fifty years the only movement he knows of was the Tjepang one. Before this there were many moves out of Veol, and Veol
[614] va'u kampongs are found all over the area, as well as families from Veol. But this was all before fifty years ago.

The places to which Veol folk have moved are all in Manggarai, and only in the two or three nearby dalu or gelarang, for example Rahong and Tjibal.

Families move because of four causes, accord-
166 ing to the assistant: (1) arguments over whose
578 pigs are using the troughs and when, (2) arguments over pigs getting into gardens, whereupon the pig would be cut (like the buffalo I saw yesterday), (3) arguments between women over the use of pestles, and (4) marriages of men who went to live with their wives, taking the Veol name with them. Thus it seems that the main cause or causes are arguments, and they

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166 the ancestors that they are back, and to offer
574 something to all the relatives who have died
769 since they went away. This applies to an individual who has been away for a long time and at some distance. If a family departed in anger and with hot words, they must give a feast on their return with the sacrifice of an animal "to clean off the dirty talk."

166 They like to see people return, because they always like to see their kampong and va'u increase in population.

When they move they take with them movables, cattle, etc. If they have relatives in the new kampong, they are received easily. It is notable that the assistant says the ones who leave are always the younger branches, and so they have no status to lose. As for land, the situation is not too clear. I suppose they lose it.

166 If they are merely moving to some nearby
578 kampong, for example, within the same dalu,
614 there is little opposition. If it is within
769 Manggarai, it is not so bad. But if there is a desire to move really far off, there is great trouble, and a youth would probably have to sneak away. The assistant helped a brother of his to sneak off to become a soldier (I think). They try every means to keep them home. All relatives try hard in this. If someone leaves anyway, they have a feast and there is much mourning. The bonds are very close and strong.

One of the main reasons for this family resistance to leavers is because they do not want to have the population of the family, panga, or va'u lessened. There is a great fear of depleting the strength of these units. No greater catastrophe can take place than to become extinct. And I found a beautiful ancestor cult reason on the part of the old. The assistant says that the father mournfully asks, "Who

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166 will give me food when I am dead?" This is
578 exactly like the ancestor cult of China, in
614 that there must be descendants to make sacri-
769 fices for the soul of the deceased. And there is the same mournful asking by a pagan father whose sons turn to Christianity and therefore probably will not keep up the rites for the dead ancestors: "Who will feed me after I am dead?"

776 This led to a discussion in regard to the
361 guardian spirit of the kampong. Each kampong
778 has such a ro, called naga, and its abode is
[166] in the stone heap and the tree thereon in the pusat of the kampong. This is called the tjompang. If there is a great deal of trouble, e.g., illness, a succession of bad crops, etc.,
[756] the mbako may say that the naga is no longer any good, and if all the people so agree, the whole kampong is moved en masse. When this happens, the old tjompang and tree are left there in the old place and are abandoned. Thus it happens that a naga which for a long time has been benevolent may turn to be malevolent. This may be because the people have not pleased him, or just because he got wicked. He is no longer a good naga, and the people had better get out and get a new place and a new naga (how do they get a new naga? There is a very big feast for a new kampong, so perhaps a new naga is then installed).

Veol moved about two to three generations ago from the place noted on the map (c) on higher ground above the vatu Veol. I thought it was strange that the stone was there, outside of Veol and above Ndung, and also strange that the highest spot was empty. This is where Veol used to be, but the naga became so bad that Veol was moved about one hundred meters below. Also, I noted when I first entered that the tree was small, and when I asked why, they said it was

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565 Pongkor. The whole thing is in the dark. I
624 must check Coolhaas at length. The names of
167 the dalu are all Manggarai, and simple. The
174 Radja merely has a Manggarai name.

The newcomers in the kampongs here are no
166 cause for worry, because the original kampong
621 dwellers keep control, no matter how many new-
614 comers there are and how few of them are left. There is a kampong where there are only three old households left, and there are about forty outside households. The three keep control.

Those who have come into the kampongs here comprise both unmarried and married folk. The
[567] former all marry in. Some of the present folk who are named as of va'u Veol may well be of slave origin. Slaves were taken into the va'u of their owners. Everyone in the kampong knows which families in the va'u are of slave origin, but they will not tell outsiders. It is certain that the slaves are among the va'u Veol folk, if any.

Usually newcomers have relatives within the kampong, and this is the way so many Tjumbi entered. These relatives form an opening wedge, and others follow. This is like immigration in the United States.

Very few come into the kampong and then leave. The only case is the Tjepang clan. It entered long ago and left about twenty years ago for Tjantjar, en masse. This happens often. A clan enters and increases so much, while the original clan also increases in size, that in the end the original clan says that the immi-
[624] grant clan must move. Then the other clan is given a gong-gendang, one of them becomes the tuan tanah of the branch kampong, and off they go. This is what happened in the case of Tjantjar.

624 The man who becomes the branch tuan tanah is
[614] the tuan panga of the clan. He gets the gong-

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000 that is all.

166 609 567 614 769 There are no rites for ordinary folk who just enter the kampong. In the old days, however, when new slaves came in they had to have rites in order to tell the ancestors that they were new members of the clan. This pretty well clinches the slave entering va'u matter. They just do. This is why the former slaves are members of the clans. Only those on the inside know who is who. The longer the time gets from slavery days the more it is not brought up.

563 443 193 The only Europeans here are the pastors. The traders are Chinese and Arabs and natives. The business of the occasional Chinese pedlar with his coolie is quite usual here. They stay usually for only a few hours.

The pastors tell stories to the local people about Europe, etc. The Chinese who are regular [203] pedlars have been in Manggarai for a long time, and they spread some news.

484 In these local kampongs everyone has been to another kampong. The women go outside their own kampong less often and do not go so far [438] away as the men. Men go out to trade horses, buy tobacco, etc. During the Japanese occupation they ranged far in order to buy cloth, etc. However, all of this was within Manggarai. All have been to Ruteng.

All have been outside Rahong, as they have been to Ruteng. At least fifty per cent of the local population have never seen the sea. One person has gone to Ende, and two have gone [167] to Kupang as soldiers. One went to Makassar to work. The Japanese took several to Riung to work, but most of the people have never left Manggarai. No one from here has ever left Indonesia. In all Manggarai, the assistant thinks only one person has ever left Flores. He is a pastor, I think.

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764 in a new place and have children there, a tjompang, etc. (thus the Tjepang do not go back to their old home in the west).

764 Also, all women who marry out become members
● 614 of their husbands' va'u and are buried there.
823 If it is impossible to take the body back to the kampong of origin, they at least get a bit of dirt from the cemetery there and take it to the far-off grave (a spot of land that is forever Veol!). This is a real duty, and they may travel very far to get it. Thus, if a Veol man dies in a far away kampong where there is no tuan tanah and no privilege, a bit of earth from the Veol cemetery (near the road here) is taken to his grave. A small feast is given, at which time only a fowl is sacrificed. This is done in the far-off kampong at the burial. However, then the family travel to Veol, no matter how far off it may be, and there
[775] they have the really big funeral feast. This is because the soul of the deceased always returns to the home kampong, that is, unless the clan section is already settled in a new place and has its own cemetery.

775 The souls of the dead live around the graves.
769 There is no special deadland here. Thus, when-
782 ever there is a feast in the kampong, people go to the cemetery and invite the souls to attend. The assistant sang a song which they use. Also, they kill a fowl there, in order to give a little food in advance (he said "voorschot").
[776] Also, they go to the spring and invite the water spirits, and give them a fowl too. (Now I see why they have the cry, "Who will feed me when I am dead?")

161 The real population of Veol--Ndung is not
769 three hundred and fifty, but thousands, as the dead live there too. The ancestor cult is thus tremendous in regard to the stature of the kampong.

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621 There is certainly no feeling of inferiority
614 concerning the status of the village. Still,
554 the gelarang kampongs feel a bit superior to the former slave ones, for example, sekontu and lampang. They look down a bit on Tjantjar, as it is not of the Veol va'u. But the branch kampongs which are of the va'u Veol are as good as the central kampong. Thus Ndung is just as good as Veol, and so is, for example, Sampar. They are original people too. Thus the blood bond comes first. As for outsiders who live in the kampong, if they get angry they may throw this up. For example, the assistant said it might happen to him.

He also said that no matter how long a per-
614 son is away, no matter how many generations
621 intervene, he and his descendants are still Pau
602 people and go there as often as possible; that is, unless the case involves people who have been established as real members of an independent clan kampong elsewhere. However, they still remember the real, old ancestral kampong.

As yet there have been no returning villagers to tell anything about the outside world.

In inter-community relations the important thing is the blood bond. The va'u comes first, and then the kampongs or clans or families with many marriage bonds. Thus it is mainly genealogical. The gelarang is important, as generally all the kampongs in a gelarang are of one va'u. The only exception here is the unusual Tjepang kampong. Tjantjar and other kampongs here have many marriage relations with it. Ndung is close in all ways.

[622] Thus the gelarang is just about the same as a "clan district," and the tuan tanah in the central kampong is the head, and the other tuan tanah are branch-offs from him.

Beyond the va'u there are nearly no real relationships, except for the areas where va'u

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621 are established or where the people have mar-
614 riage relations. The dalu area is quite
602 secondary, as it is not genealogical. There
are, e.g., three Veol kampongs in the dalu
Tjibal, and these are closer than the other
non-Veol kampongs nearer in distance or others
in the same dalu but of a different va'u. Even
though a family has lived for a long time in
another kampong and has few close acquaintances
any more in the old kampong, the bond is still
closer than with the neighbors in the kampong
of residence. This shows that residence is
[571] less important here than blood. Still, as pro-
pinquity makes for marriages, there is a ten-
dency for a family to establish new marriage
relations in the place of residence. Thus it
is either the consanguineal or the affinal
group that counts, in order.

There are no relations at all with other
tribes or places.

[648] The Dutch stopped the wars. They say that
721 if there were no police now they would have wars
614 again soon.
578 When a war comes all the va'u kampongs help.
They could also call on the vina-rona families,
i.e., the affinal relatives. These might re-
fuse, however.

Once there was a war between two places (and
usually wars were thus along va'u lines, except
for the dalu wars), and everlasting enmity re-
mained between these two places. Thus the wars
were va'u against va'u and dalu against dalu,
not kampong against kampong, although they
might start that way. And in this area, most
of the wars were dalu wars. Some wars were dalu
or even a va'u against Bima, and there might be
quite an alliance against Bima. Once in awhile
Bima lost. On the border there were many wars
against Ngada.

Some dalu here fought against Todo and Pong-

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721 kor, e.g., Ruteng and Tjibal. But Rahong never
614 resisted Todo and Pongkor. The Dutch fought
578 here (near the pemali grove along the road).
The panglima prang who led this fight is still
living.

Va'u Veol had no traditional enemy, but might join in and help on one side or the other in a war.

There were many wars between the dalu that these kampongs entered. In other regions there were plenty of wars between va'u ("non-dalu wars") but there was not much of this here. These were caused because of borders, molesting fellows, etc. Dalu wars were over borders mainly, but might be for other reasons. The only big wars here were between the dalu. And each kampong had to send just about all of its adult men to fight in these dalu wars.

411 The weapons used consisted of spears, long knives, and shields. They did not use the bow until a few came in very recently. They had no blowguns, but recently a few have come in for hunting birds, although they use no poison darts. Shields were round or rectangular, always of rattan. Helmets were also made of
[714] rattan. Their war clothes were fancy. Feathers were placed on the helmets.

There was no head-hunting, but, for revenge,
266 they drank a little blood. However, there was
721 no war cannibalism. (Note the many things which are lacking in Manggarai which are usually found elsewhere in Indonesia.)

Still, even now from time to time there comes
721 a rumor that men are coming who will chop off their heads. These people are rumored to be coming from outside. It looks like the left-overs of a memory of an old head-hunting experience, perhaps felt from the outside.

[608] There are no traditional alliances between
721 clans or kampongs of the pela sort. But there
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721 578 614 were traditional enmities to some extent between dalu. For example, Ruteng was against Tjibal. Rahong usually helped Ruteng. Tjibal had allies too.

When there was a Todo war against Pongkor, the dalu here often entered, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other.

There are plenty of stories about the old wars. Thus there is the Prang Kuvu (that was against the Dutch near here); Prang Lait (against Bima, at a place near here); Prang Vake (Pongkor against Todo, and the dalus here entered), etc.

621 614 602 [423] There are definite borders here, and the people are quite sensitive about them. These exist between the dalu, gelarang, and kampongs. They are marked by stones, mountains, rivers, etc.

In every gelarang there is a central kampong, for example, Veol and branches. Only one va'u per gelarang is the original va'u. There can't be two. Each dalu has kampongs under direct dalu rule. Some dalu (e.g., Rahong) had kampongs directly under Todo or Pongkor. Aside from the va'u relations, the vina-rona (mother's brother's daughter or affinal) relationship is important. In this mutual help is expected. Thus the pattern of one's own clan and the clan of affinity (and, I suppose, by extension this, could work out to a circle of the Wouden type)[1] is found here.

614 582 However, I get nowhere with the regular marriage class system here. Nevertheless, the old tuan tanah said that there was a preferred clan, Mungges. It does not show in the record of the marriages, however. He will get the clans of the women for me.

756 789 Note: he misunderstood the "magic" here, and says that the mbako could and can make a drink or amulet, etc., to make a man strong, and such is used in war.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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871 old people have been heard to say that they
185 wished they were young again so that they could go to school. "We didn't have these advantages in my day."

871 There is no trouble between the educated and
212 the uneducated. Until recently there was no
[578] conflict between the illiterate older people and the schooled young. Of course, they have only three grades anyway, but in all events they haven't had the problem of the stuck up children at all. There is no disobedience. There are still a few dalu and kepala kampongs who are illiterate, but this is becoming less and less so all the time. And they have assistants who help them.

The young do not teach the old here. The literacy campaign of the East Indonesian government failed here as everywhere. It started and then stopped. (Why learn to read when there is nothing to read? Why learn to write when no one writes? This is my interpretation.)

[787] The schools are run by the mission, but the
[658] government pays all of the expenses except for what the mission wants to give, for example, books. This is a system found all over Flores, I think. Mission schools are paid for by the government. The whole administration is carried out by the mission.

874 There is not a single person from here who
797 has gone to seminary. After the six grades the gurus go to OVO (Opleidingsschool voor Volksonderwijzers), a two year course at the mission in Ruteng. There is also a trade school at the Ruteng mission. The trade school gurus must go to a two year course in Ende Ambachtsschool, in the mission there, after they have finished six grades. There is no other available special education.

614 The assistant worked until midnight getting information for the outline in Veol and Ndung,

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614 and these are the keys to the stuff: wodja bakok are the same as lampang. The meaning is "white rice." Lampang means "stocks" wherein new slaves are put to keep them from running away. The totems newly inserted are:

[784]

lavo	mouse
kaba	buffalo
paku	a leafy vegetable
betu	a kind of mouse
pake	frog
peti	a kind of bird

614 764 784 756 178 Naked burial is called gilo. Note that this used to be a totem of the Pau va'u, and it was given up via a big feast in 1932. At the same time, the buffalo taboo of Pau (Pau therefore does have a food taboo, or rather it did), was given up too via the same feast. In regard to the naked burial, the people decided it was too much trouble, and I suppose they felt they might as well get rid of the buffalo taboo at the same time. To do this kind of thing a va'u must consult a mbako to see if it is all right. If so, they have the feast called kaba oke tjek'i ("buffalo removes the taboo").

nggevo red bean (different from the lusa)

531 622 I asked if it was right that the radja has no horns on his house as he is not a tuan tanah. They said yes. He has no relation with the land. But nowadays there is plenty of illegal use of the horns by non-tuan tanah.

782 It is true that an offering is always made at the vatu Veol before starting garden work. This is as Coolhaas says.

829 No one is able to draw a map of Flores and Indonesia and the world.

212 Fifty years ago (and even forty years ago) no

1 [See bibliography, ext. 113 -- Analyst]

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622 Rahong is just about the same as fifty years
624 ago, except for the kraeng kampongs which have gone out since about fifteen years ago. Also, there have been kepala kampongs since then. The organization runs as follows: Kampong: tuan tanah; kepala kampong; tuan panga; tuan mbaru. These form the kampong council. Some kampongs have the same man as tuan tanah and kepala kampong.

632 Gelarang: the gelarang (and they use the
614 title dangka for him, also) (one can't use "temu" and "gelarang" at the same time; thus it is not "tu'a temu gelarang"), and the kampongs below him are included. There is no council, and there are no scribes, secretaries, oppas, or anything else. The va'u is usually almost equivalent to the gelarang. But this is not always true. Thus va'u Veol covers both Ndung and Veol. And some branches of va'u Veol are in other areas, while, for example, a branch of Tjepang is in the Veol gelarang.

Dalu: dalu, dalu wakil, secretary, oppas, mandur, and the gelarang below. There is no council.

634 State: radja (the radja bitjara post is now empty since the former one died), secretary, oppas, mandur, and the office force. Again there is no council and no ministry. However, there is a Hakim Adat of Manggarai. The chairman used to be the radja bitjara, but now he is the radja's younger brother. The members, chosen by the radja, are four in number. At present they are Kraeng Dalu Ruteng, Gelarang Pau (the assistant's father), Gelarang Tenda, and a man of the Ruteng kraeng family.

692 Adat cases may be settled on the kampong, gelarang, or dalu level; or they may go up to the Hakim Adat.

648 The Dutch removed the death punishment,
681 double repayment in cases of theft, lampang and
634

War

634 646 They said no, but that there was much free talk against the radjas in the parliament now!

622 646 624 888 All hereditary posts are genealogically linked. Most of the kepala kampong are still old illiterates. Parliament members are mainly middle aged people (the oldest literates, therefore). Age is of no concern for the hereditary posts, as one person merely succeeds to the post after another. In the kampong, however, the old men have the most influence, and the young people keep their mouths shut for the most part.

[562] Women may not hold hereditary posts. Until now women took no part in elections, but they may change things here.

829 666 There is still only a very restricted political horizon here, and there is little knowledge about such things. But at least they have elections. This is very important. They start with an election. As they say in Celebes, they catch on fast. [614] [632] Veol is the center of the gelarang, and Rahong is the center of the dalu, and Ruteng is the center of Manggarai. They think nothing about the "place" of Manggarai in Flores; the radja is just a "big man." Beyond this they know practically nothing about the daerah, negara, etc.

648 Most of the people here thought the Dutch were all right and they were too uninformed to criticize them. Also, it must be remembered that they had been under the rule of Bima, and the Dutch at least drove Bima out. They did not even criticize the Japanese! They were simply not concerned. The great memory here is of Bima and slavery. They hate Bima.

609 Except for the pastors, everyone here knows of things and people who are Dutch only by name. Formerly they knew the local civil servants only slightly. They were always afraid of any new men who came here. This is true of my

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533 797 [562] school[1] is overcrowded, and it is the only place where girls can rise above the lowest level in Manggarai. There were plenty of sisters around. The whole thing shows the good organization of the Catholics here.

[124] I used the last two days of work here to get through the rest of the schedule.

585 For weddings, the Christians go to church for a service as well as going through the old rites.

583 Formerly the bride price was not payable in money, but today it is, in part. The bride price (padja) includes buffaloes, horses, and formerly copper or brass (?) boxes. There are no more of these last objects, and money has been substituted for them. Also, cattle are now used, but were not included formerly.

The return gift (vida) includes cloth, bracelets, ear ornaments, etc. Also included are small elephant teeth (used as pendants on bracelets). They are about two inches long. The bride price goes to the girl's family, and the return gift to the boy's family. Formerly the bride price was not very high. Today it is higher. An average bride price includes about five animals.

Both Catholics and pagans still pay the bride [591] price and make the return gift. If a bride [611] price is not paid, the couple must live matrilocally until it is paid. However, the children are always patrilineally descended.

582 614 The distances of mate selection are about the same as they were fifty years ago. There is a bit more marriage within the va'u, which was taboo before. However, the panga remain exogamous.

476 602 614 If the relatives-in-law live too far off, there is no real, actual mutual aid. If they are near, mutual aid is carried out between three groups: one's own va'u ana rona, and ana vina. The help comes especially in aiding a help-mate

1 [i.e., at Veol.—Analyst]

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476 to obtain the bride price, but also in such
602 cases as the building of a new big house. The
614 va'u helps with the costs of a wedding feast.
[585] The rona get animals for their women, and the vina give animals for theirs. The return gifts go in the opposite direction: the rona give the gifts and the vina receive them.

I get the impression that there is more to it than just this simple roundabout exchange. Thus, a family has several relations of rona and vina, and the same ones will not always be involved in a given marriage. The ones not directly involved evidently help out, or can be called upon to help in a marriage in which they are not directly involved. But this is not too clear to me. Cornelius[1] says that the whole thing is quite a burden, as when they are called upon they must give this aid. The nearer the groups live, the more they are called upon. If they are far off, this is not too much of a burden.

582 There are no marriages here with foreigners,
563 but in other places a few Manggarai women have married Chinese men. These are definitely not liked. They are "lost." They are outside the adat and the magic circle.

582 At the time of marriage, local males are six-
291 teen (some are fifteen to twenty-one years old.
178 The majority fall within the age groupings sixteen to seventeen. Females, at the time of their marriage, are fourteen to twenty years old. Formerly they married later. The youngest was about nineteen (I think this was for males). He says that this was because they "got clothes" when they were older. The boys did not even wear loincloths until about the age of sixteen. The girls wore only a little cloth from about the age of twelve on. This was because it was so hard to get clothes. They married only two to three years after getting clothes. The rich

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

Wae

582 people married earlier, because they got their
291 clothes earlier. Cornelius[1] says that until
178 about twenty-five years ago you could see quite old and young people going about naked. He remembers this. They do not like too young marriages (!). Also, they do not like them if the partners are too old.

[561] There are no age grades.

●614 The Veol clan is very large, but there are clans which are even larger. Not a single clan has ever become extinct. However, some panga have. There is one such panga in Veol.

562 Formerly, the position of women was really
178 low, like that of slaves. Now they are a little
584 higher. Today there is a beginning in the direction of freer choice in marriage. Formerly all marriages were arranged by the elders.

611 The system here is all patrilineal, and there have been no changes.

162 In 1930, Cornelius[1] says, there were five thousand extra women in all Manggarai. I will check the records for the ratio.

587 The levirate obtains if there is a widow. If
768 there is no brother, her family must take her back, and pay one horse. The children stay with the dead father's family. If the levirate goes through, the man pays one horse.

[583] If a widow remarries to a man other than the brother of her deceased husband, the price must be paid to the family of the dead husband, and the "bonds" are "broken." The sororate is not required. The bride price is required in the case of a sororate. It is quite usual, because the sister of the deceased is accustomed to the widower and his children. The children of course stay with the father's family always.

586 There is not much divorce, but it did occur and still does.

[587] The main cause of divorce is discord, not barrenness, as in this case a man simply gets another wife.

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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565 291 177 554 dressed, e.g. the kapitan of Roworeke, he is not dominated by an "assistant." However, he dominates (cautiously as yet) the adat dressed mosa laki. This is interesting.

565 576 The Pongkor kraeng said that manners differ by class, and he may be right. However, I met a rough kraeng in Anam. And I think that he was from Todo too. Todo ones have a reputation of being more refined than those from Pongkor. All this probably does not mean very much.

[195] 576 178 Special words are used as part of the language of ceremonies and rites. However, this is merely a matter of occasion. In the old days real respect was shown for the Bima dignitaries, the kraengs, etc. When one approached a kampong where there was a kraeng, one had to dismount from one's horse and remove one's shoulder cloth down to the hips, where it was wound around, leaving the torso bare.

[689] If one did not show the proper respect formerly, a whole kampong might be made lampang. Thus, enslavement was the great mass punishment. Even today there is still a bit of feeling in regard to the rank of the kraeng, although it is nothing like what it was before.

554 621 614 There are grades of pride on the kampong level, and thus Veol feels a bit higher than its branch kampong Tjantjar. Also, Veol va'u feels a bit better than the incoming va'u Tjepang. But this is not a real formulization.

565 582 There are no approved marriages with mendi. This is still very bad. It is possible to marry with other kinds of "slaves" (e.g., lampang). There are a number of such cases now in Veol. Everyone, up to the radja, may marry everyone else except the mendi. There are plenty of such mixed marriages, and even the radja has a commoner for a wife. Here again one can see the ordinary quality of the radjas

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865 young, in regard to the propriety of their behavior.

346 As usual, the church at Tjantjar has no
778 windows. There is no rumah pemali here. The tuan tanah house is the cult center. At each feast all gather here, unless it is a smaller, house or panga feast. The gongs and drums are located here, and also the main post (and in each house is a lesser main post) and the pusaka. The last, however, does not consist of very much--clothes, knives, etc., from the ancestors, and heirlooms of the group.

778 The cult places are: (1) the tjompang with
the tree, and (2) the stones. Here it is the
●614 Vatu Veol, in the form of a human male with
769 arms akimbo, but "someone" broke off the arms.
773 It is near the high hill where the original
532 kampong was located. It was placed there by an ancestor named Padja (thus like the named stones of Ngada). Padja is invited to the feasts at the stone. If there is a war, ceremonies are held there. Any kampong of the va'u Veol may come there and use it. Thus it is a va'u stone. Most kampongs have such a holy stone. Vatu Runtu is the one in Ruteng kampong, whence came the original ancestors of va'u Runtu. Vatu Pau in kampong Pau is where the original ancestors of va'u Pau came out. This was about fifteen generations ago, he says, and he is a member (this is thus quite recent, and curious, but maybe these family trees get foreshortened; or perhaps the period represents a new immigration of "stone people"? It seems to be about three hundred years ago or perhaps a bit less). Vatu La'o is in the gelarang La'o of dalu Rahong. He doesn't know the story about it.

778 It is notable that outside of Rahong, as far
769 as he knows, there are no stone images. Indeed,
776 the only one I know of is the Vatu Veol. And
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Wa

844 graves or go to funerals. The umbilical cord is not cut until the placenta is out. In doing this a knife of bamboo is used. In fact, they use five bamboo cutters. They cut with the first four a little, and then throw them aside. The fifth bamboo knife cuts through.

846 When the child is born, a man (maybe the
● 614 father) comes to the house and bangs five times
[851] on the wall from the outside with a spear, and asks, "Boy or girl?" (The assistant said he banged the spear himself.) The word used for boy means "kampong child"; for girl "outside child," reflecting that the former will swell the population of the kampong, but the latter will leave the kampong on marriage. The placenta is put in a box with ashes, along with the umbilical cord (mba'u means placenta with cord). The box is hung in front of the house until it falls apart and disappears. He says usually a dog or some other beast finally eats it up! However, this holds for some va'u only. Other va'u throw the afterbirth in the river, and others bury it. Thus the custom in Pau is hanging; Pongkor buries, Veol throws in the river, Tjepang throws in the river.

805 The calendar starts with planting. They count the months thereafter. The year has ten moons. The two moons extra (May, June, July period) are not counted. They are "empty." (This may explain the confusion Papajungan had in explaining the Toradja calendar, because there too they had extra, unnamed months.)

The ten months, he said, are named. This is unclear, because later it seemed that he reneged on this at Anam when I pointed out that Anam was just having a New Year feast at the end of January, while other kampongs had had theirs long since. Maybe they just count from the planting time, and the "New Year" feast does not take place at the start of the counting, but is just

We
805 held some time after the planting is done. I think this is it. He says that in other parts of Manggarai they may have twelve moons. The European calendar is seldom used and only by those who have gone to school.

793 The only priests here are the tuan tanah.
622 The tuan tanah of the pusat kampong is the most
614 important. Cornelius[1] agreed that he was like a bishop. The other tuan tanah of the branch kampongs are like parish priests. The tuan panga have certain roles in panga rites. Below the kampong and the panga there are only small rites.

756 Cornelius[1] says that the mbako went secret even before the Dutch came in. He says he doesn't really know why the people keep the mbako identities so secret. Or perhaps he simply will not tell me. He keeps on saying it is because "they do not want to show any pride." Maybe this means that they do not want to appear to "brag" about their special power, or perhaps it is the idea that if they talk about it they may lose it. They are certainly sensitive on this matter. Van Bekkum[2] says that in all the years he has been in Manggarai he has never found out who a single mbako is. This is amazing. There are no dukun apart from the mbako. In a kampong Cornelius says there are usually from one to three mbako.

[754] There are no suwanggi here.

Cornelius[1] says that even though all the people turn Catholic, they must still have a mbako, in the sense of a dukun.

A new point is that in addition to the troubles of the mbako with the police (maybe because of poison? or is it mere suspicion of magic murder?) they have also gotten into trouble with the hospital because of their "practice" of medicine.

771 In terms of religion, the people here are

[1] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]
[2] [pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

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We

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Catholic	565	Pagan:	Male	53
Pagan	123		Female	70
Total	688		Over 60	40
			50-59	33
			40-49	28
			30-39	13
			20-29	4
			10-19	1
			Under 10	4

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Schooled:	269, all Catholics
Over 60	0
50-59	1
40-49	10
30-39	30
20-29	89
10-19	169
Under 10	30

Above three grades:

4th	8	(male 5, female 3)
5th	6	(male 4, female 2)
6th	2	(male 2, female 0)
7th	0	
8th	1	(guru)
Total	17	(male 12, female 5)

All 10 to 16 years of age, except the guru, who is 30 years old.

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Clans:

Ia. Ama Datong Ama Radja		18
Ib. Ama Datong Ama Belolong		51
Ic. Ama Datong Ama Rere		72
Ic1. Ama Datong Ama Rere	62	
Ic2. Ama Datong Ama Rere Ama Tobi	10	
Total I. Ama Datong		141
IIa. Leworita Subamaking		93
IIb. Leworita Harutmaking		48
IIc. Leworita Tapopukang		31
Total II. Leworita		172

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162 IIIa. Ama Hurint Hadumboleng 69
614 IIIa1. Ama Hurint Hadumboleng 56
IIIa2. Ama Hurint Hadumboleng Nipatale 13
IIIb. Ama Hurint Marimaking 58
IIIc. Ama Hurint Melamaking 80

Total III. Ama Hurint 207

IVa. Lewato Ama Waru'ing 25
IVa1. Lewato Ama Waru'ing 21
IVa2. Lewato Ama Waru'ing Nipatale 4
IVb. Lewato Waktukang 21
IVc. Lewato Tuhowutung 31

Total IV. Lewato 77

Va. Lewodoreng Ama Waru'ing 7
Vb. Lewodoreng Engamaking 43

Total V. Lewodoreng 50

Thus the clan members of Wailolong total 647. There are 14 others from Leloba, and 27 from other places. The final total is 688.
[565] The "slaves" (Nipatale groups) total 17.
The "captives" (Ama Rere) total 62.
The "returned emigres" (Ama Rere Ama Tobi) total 10.

The marriages are as follows:

614
582 Ia: IIIb; IIIc; Leloba Keleng Belolong (2); All OK.
Ib: IIIa1, IIIb (3); Leloba Keleng Belolong; Ib; IIa. The last two are taboo. Letter to him.
Ic1: IIIb (5) IIIc (2); Leloba Keleng Belolong; IIIa1. The last is taboo. Letter to him.
Ic2: IIIa1. This is taboo. Letter to him.
IIa: Ia; Ib (3); Ic2; IVa1; outside (3); IIIa1;

5: Kennedy--408 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
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614 IIIa2. The last two are taboo. Letter to
582 him.

IIb: Ic1; IIIa1 (4); IIIa2; IIIb (2). All OK.

IIc: IIIa1; IIIb; IIIc. All OK.

IIIa1: Ic1; Ic2; Va; Vb (2); Leloba Kottang Waktukang; Ib; IVa1. The last two are taboo. Letter to him.

IIIa2: Ia; IIIa2; IVc. All these are taboo. Letter to him.

IIIb: IIa (4); Vb (3); Leloba Kottang Waktukang; outside; IVa. The last is taboo. Letter to him.

IIIc: IIa (4); IIb; IIIa (see note); IVc (3); Vb; outside (3); IIIc (2). The last two cases are taboo. Letter to him. (note: This is the "precedent" incest case. See notes on this.)

IVa1: IIIc. OK.

IVa2: IIIb. OK.

IVb: Ic1; IIa; Leloba Kottang. All OK.

IVc: Ia; Ic1; IIb (2); IIc. All OK.

Va: IIb. OK.

Vb: Ia; IIa (2) IIb (2); IIc.

(Note: The assistant told me that the Nipatale group in IV was IVc2, but in the records his cases are noted as IVa2. Letter to him.)

Outside: outside. OK. 1 case, the guru.

621 The assistant's map gives "wards" of the five
614 clans, although he marks one place as "mainly
582 Hurint, but mixed," and another is the Riang
592 near Leloba, mainly if not all Leworita or Lewodoreng. According to his "wards," these are out of place:

5: Kennedy--409 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
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	House	Suku	"Ward"
621	8	Datong (wife Hurint	Hurint
●614	15	Lewodoreng	Hurint
582	17	Outside (guru)	Lewodoreng
592	18	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	21	Datong (wife Hurint	Hurint
	25	Hurint	Datong
	31	Hurint	Datong
	33	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	37	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	41	Leworita	Lewodoreng
	42	Datong	Lewodoreng
	45	Leworita (wife Datong)	Datong
	47	Leworita	Lewodoreng
	55	Lewodoreng (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	62	Hurint	Leworita
	65	Lewato	Leworita
	66	Hurint (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	67	Leworita (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	68	Lewodoreng	Lewato
	73	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	74	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	75	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	78	Datong	Lewato
	79	Leworita	Lewato
	80	Hurint	Leworita
	81	Hurint (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	82	Hurint	Leworita
	83	Datong (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	87	Leworita	Lewato
	89	Hurint	Leworita

Thus, out of 100 houses, 30 are "out of place." Of these, however, the wife belongs to the "ward of residence" in fourteen cases. This leaves only sixteen cases which are really "out of place."

624 I tried to fill in the offices and ran into
124 some trouble. By using the records and the map
614 on which he indicated the houses of the officials,

5: Kennedy--410 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OBl Indonesia
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[124]

I got the following information. However, in many cases the records did not jibe with the map, and others are questionable, so I sent him a letter about this.

Office	No.
Ama Datong kelake	24
Ama Datong ne'a luka	26
Ama Datong tuno wudjo	
Ama Datong Ama Radja kelake (rank 2)	24
Ama Datong Ama Radja ne'a luka	26
Ama Datong Ama Radja tuno wudjo	
Ama Datong Ama Belolong kelake (rank 1)	35 (277 aide)
Ama Datong Ama Belolong ne'a luka	36
Ama Datong Ama Belolong tuno wudjo	
Ama Datong Ama Rere Kelake (no rank)	14
Ama Datong Ama Rere ne'a luka	(none)
Ama Datong Ama Rere tuno wudjo	
Kepala kottang	140 (Belolong)
Leworita kelake	345
Leworita ne'a luka	361
Leworita tuno wudjo	355
Leworita Subamaking kelake (rank 1)	345 (616 aide)
Leworita Subamaking ne'a luka	361
Leworita Subamaking tuno wudjo	355
Leworita Harutmaking kelake (rank 2)	304
Leworita Harutmaking ne'a luka	
Leworita Harutmaking tuno wudjo	245
Leworita Tapupukang kelake (rank 3)	375
Leworita Tapupukang ne'a luka	
Leworita Tapupukang tuno wudjo	
Kepala Keleng	366 (Harutmaking)
Ama Hurint kelake	186
Ama Hurint ne'a luka	
Ama Hurint tuno wudjo	

5: Kennedy--411 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OBl Indonesia
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614 Ama Hurint Hadumboleng kelake (rank 2) 186
624 Ama Hurint Hadumboleng ne'a luka 205, 399
Ama Hurint Hadumboleng tuno wudjo
Ama Hurint Marimaking kelake (rank 1) 134
Ama Hurint Marimaking ne'a luka
Ama Hurint Marimaking tuno wudjo
Ama Hurint Melamaking kelake (rank 3)
Ama Hurint Melamaking ne'a luka
Ama Hurint Melamaking tuno wudjo 666
Kepala Hurint 468 (Melamaking)

Lewato kelake 547
Lewato ne'a luka 548
Lewato tuno wudjo 552
Lewato Ama Waru'ing kelake (rank 1) 547
Lewato Ama Waru'ing ne'a luka 548
Lewato Ama Waru'ing tuno wudjo 552
Lewato Waktukang kelake (rank 2) 498 (?)
Lewato Waktukang ne'a luka
Lewato Waktukang tuno wudjo 263
Lewato Tuhowutung kelake (rank 3)
Lewato Tuhowutung ne'a luka
Lewato Tuhowutung tuno wudjo

Lewodoreng kelake 235 (?)
Lewodoreng ne'a luka 236
Lewodoreng tuno wudjo
Lewodoreng Ama Waru'ing kelake (rank 1) 235 (?)
Lewodoreng Ama Waru'ing ne'a luka 236
Lewodoreng Ama Waru'ing tuno wudjo
Lewodoreng Engamaking kelake (rank 2) 235 (?)
Lewodoreng Engamaking ne'a luka 236
Lewodoreng Engamaking tuno wudjo

Kepala kampong: (main one) 468 (Hurint)
140 (Kottang)
366 (Keleng)

5: Kennedy--412 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
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624	Djurutulis (scribe)	475
●614	Mandur	382
	Guru sekolah (school teacher)	94
	Mandur sekolah	313
	Molang	616
	Marang besar (prayer leader)	616
	Marang besar	626
	Radja tua (Lewodoreng) of Riang Epu Kehule	672

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Examining the ranks by age, education, and religion, we find the following (and not all information is in yet; see letter to him):

(1) Of the 5 kelake suku, 1 is in his 30's, 3 are in their 50's, and 1 is in his 60's;
1 has finished 3 grades of school, 4 are illiterate;
1 is Catholic and 4 are pagan.

(2) Of the 13 kelake ama, 1 is in his 30's, and 4 are in their 40's, 5 are in their 50's, and 3 are in their 60's;
2 have finished 3 grades of schooling, 11 are illiterate;
2 are Catholic and 11 are pagan.

(3) Of the 3 kepala kampongs, 1 is in his 30's, 1 is in his 40's, and 1 is in his 50's;
2 have finished 3 grades of schooling, and 1 is illiterate;
all 3 are Catholic.

(4) The djurutulis is 36;
he has finished 3 grades of schooling;
and he is Catholic.

(5) The mandur is 40, illiterate, and Catholic.

(6) The guru sekolah is 30; he finished 8 grades

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	Clans												
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Total
Odja	84	1	24	1	-	6	15	2	13	24	-	9	179
Gusa (Tibo)	4	31	15	19	-	12	5	-	3	-	2	9	100
Wanda	4	1	7	-	16	-	9	19	-	11	2	1	70
Ndoru	19	2	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	21	-	3	49
Djawa	1	18	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	7	30
Reandona	8	-	-	-	4	1	1	-	-	3	-	-	17
Woro	7	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	10
Rewarangga	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	4	-	-	-	9
Mboti	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	5	9
Foa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	9
Wadja	-	-	1	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Wai	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	4	-	-	8
Soa	4	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	7
Ndosi	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Bangova	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	6
Gusi	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5
Kora	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	5
Meo	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Mbonggi	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Baoru	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3

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Clans

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Total
Pare	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	3
Lenalaba	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Watu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Penawuri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Songo	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Fongi	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Sue	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Dake	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Unknown	5	-	-	-	4	7	2	1	-	1	-	-	20
Lio Unknown	1	-	-	-	2	-	4	1	1	-	3	-	12
Nggobe Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	5	-	27	-	36
Rewarangga Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	-	-	5
Ende Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2	7
Ceram	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	6
Savu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	9

Big 5 are:	Odja	179	I, III, X, VII, IX
	Gusa	100	II, IV, III, VI
	Wanda	70	VIII, V, X
	Ndoru	49	X, I
	Djawa	30	II

• (10 or over)

5: Kennedy--419 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
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582

I looked at the list of adult married males with wives living, and found some evidence of concentration of clans. In most cases, though I didn't work this out, if the widowed males were included, I would get a slightly more concentrated picture of the clan. As I reckon it, there are 111 cases.

I. Odja 15 plus 5, married with Odja wives: total number of cases 24 (63%, 83%).

II. Gusa 4 plus 3, married with Gusa wives: total number of cases 8 (50%, 88%).

III. Gusa 5 (63%)
Odja 3 (38%)
total number of cases 8.

IV. Gusa 5
total number of cases 5 (100%).

V. Wanda 4
total number of cases 6 (67%).

VI. Gusa 2 plus 2, married with Gusa wives: total number of cases 7 (no good)

VII. Odja 4
total number of cases 8 (50%).

VIII. (Complete spread, 5 cases)

IX. Odja 3
total number of cases 5 (50%).

X. Odja 5 (37%)
Ndoru 5 (37%)
total number of cases 13.

5: Kennedy--420 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OBl Indonesia
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162 XI. Nggobe Unknown 8
614 total number of cases 16 (50%).
582 (Maybe this is Nggobe clan?)

XII. (Complete spread, 6 cases)

Note that this comes out differently from the test made by merely totaling the members of clans.

Marriage Pairs

Odja:	Wanda	7	
	Ndoru	4	
	Meo	4	
	Gusa	3	
	Reandona	2	
	Woro	2	
	Djawa	1	
	Rewarangga	1	
	Soa	1	
	Gusi	1	
	Odja	1	(kapitan; he is really a Gusa)
		27	
	Unknown	8	
	Total	35	
Gusa:	Gusa	4	(they say they are at least 7 generations distant; 3 are in Kopo Edo; could it be that Gusa and Tibo were once separate?; both names are used)
	Odja	3	
	Wanda	3	
	Soa	2	
	Gusi	2	

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162	Woro	1	
●614	Fongi	1	
582	Mboti	1	
		17	
	Unknown	2	
	Total	19	
Wanda:	Reandona	2	
	Rewarangga	1	
	Ndoru	1	
		4	
	Unknown	4	
	Total	8	
Ndoru:	Odja	4	
	Wanda	4	
	Gusa	1	
	Woro	1	
		10	
	Unknown	1	
	Total	11	
Djawa:	Gusa	2	
	Odja	1	
	Wanda	1	
	Sue	1	
	Djawa	1	(case unexplained)
	Total	6	
Wadja:	Odja	3	
Ndosi:	Odja	1	
	Wanda	1	
Reandona:	Ndoru	2	
Woro:	Odja	1	
	Gusa	1	

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162	Penawuri:	Baoru	2
614			
582	Bangova:	Wanda	1
		Unknown	1
	Foa:	Wanda	1
		Unknown	1
	Soa:	Ndoru	1
	Wai:	Reandona	1
	Mboti:	Wadja	1
	Mbonggi:	Unknown	1
	Kora:	Gusa	1
	Outside:	Outside	2
		Odja	1
	Unknown:	Unknown	13
		Rewarangga	2
		Gusa	1
		Baoru	1
		Total	17

Remarks on marriage: Of the six evidently endogamous marriages, one is not really endogamous, because the kapitan was born into Gusa but [597] adopted into Odja. Of the four Gusa endogamous pairs, three, in Kopo Edo, he maintains are distant. The other two are unexplainable: 1 Gusa and 1 Djawa.

These are pairs having frequency above 1:

Odja--Wanda	7--0	Gusa--Gusi	2--0
Odja--Ndoru	4--4	Wanda--Reandona	2--0
Odja--Meo	4--0	Ndoru--Wanda	4--1

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162	Odja--Gusa	3--3	Djawa--Gusa	2--0
●614	Odja--Reandona	2--0	Wadja--Odja	3--0
582	Odja--Woro	2--1	Reandona--Ndoru	2--0
	Gusa--Wanda	3--0	Penawuri--Baoru	2--0
	Gusa--Soa	2--0		

Thus, of the 15 frequencies, 11 are not reversed; 4 are. This might look a bit like mother's brother's daughter marriage. Note that Wanda never marries into any of the Big 5; but perhaps this does occur in Watu Rota (?).

To get anywhere in this area on the subject of marriages, one would have to collect this sort of data for all cases or from many kampongs. My guess is, whatever the original system was, that there are no marriage classes. However, there probably is a lot of mother's brother's daughter marriage.

595 <u>Polygyny cases</u>: (numbers refer to ages)
162

(1) 38: 30, 20 (sisters); Odja-Meo; pagan; illiterate; No. 5.
(2) 30: 25, 20; Odja-Ndoru, Meo; Christian, Christian, pagan; illiterate, 3, illiterate; No. 8.
(3) 50: 50, 50; Odja-Reandona, Wanda; pagan; illiterate; No. 24.
(4) 40: 30, 20; Ndosi-Wanda, Odja; Christian, pagan, pagan; illiterate; No. 54.
(5) 45: 45, 45, 45; Odja-?, Wanda, ?; pagan; illiterate; No. 62 (giri tumba)
(6) 50: 50, 35; Wadja-Odja; pagan; illiterate; No. 313.
(7) 30: 20, 18; ?-Rewarangga; Christian; 3, 3, illiterate; No. 426.
(8) 40: 30, 40; Bangova-Wanda, ?; Mohammedan; 3, illiterate, illiterate; No. 554.

565 There is not much to say about classes and

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565 ranks. There is really no nobility here, only persons who are in line for posts. As for slaves, the assistant gives only the following: No. 183, male, 40, a Gusa, and a pagan. Something is probably queer here.

624 The only offices the assistant gives are:
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1. Ata nggaeh nua: No. 1, 60, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
2. Giri tumba: No. 62, 45, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
3. Guru agama: No. 81, 25, Odja, Christian, 4 grades.
4. Kepala kampong: No. 135, 40, Odja, Christian, illiterate.
5. Kapitan: No. 350, 30, Odja, Christian, 3 grades.
6. Djurutulis: No. 509, 40, Odja, Christian, 5 grades.
7. Mandur djalan: No. 532, 40, Ndoru, Christian, 5 grades.
8. Hadji: No. 554, 40, Bangova (Nggobe), Mohammedan, 3 grades.

Odja has the most posts. The pagans seem to keep the adat posts.

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VEOL--NDUNG

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	Male	Female	Total	Houses	Households	Children	Children under 15
Veol	70	70	140	6	25	82	69
Ndung	89	117	206	9	44	111	105
Total	159	187	346	15	69	193	174

Wae

Clans

162 614

Veol	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol Clan	17	7	70	94
Other Clans	6	28	12	46
Total	23	35	82	140

Ndung	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol Clan	18	17	57	92
Other Clans	21	39	54	114
Total	39	56	111	206

Total				
Veol Clan	35	24	127	186
Other Clans	27	67	66	160
Total	62	91	193	346

[591] I can see that Veol keeps to the patrilocal rule, and that there is a great preponderance of the Veol clan. This is more evident in Veol than in Ndung, where there are lots of matrilocal couples, and also many outsiders. In regard to the marriage pairs, this can be seen below:

Marriage Pairs (including Widows)

582 614 162

	Veol	Ndung	Total
Man (Veol)--Woman (Other)	23	22	45
Woman (Veol)--Man (Other)	4	10	14
Other--Other	4	15	19
Man (Veol)--Woman (Veol) (different panga)	3	6	9

582 124 There is no use working out every marriage pair, because I can see that there is no system of marriage classes here. I note quite a few clearly mother's brother's daughter (tungku)

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582 [124] marriages, and the assistant will send a letter to me about this later.

[591] He will also send me a letter about how many of the matrilocal residence cases are because of a failure to pay the bride price.

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Clan Membership or Derivation: Veol

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol	17	7	70	94
Paka	3	0	6	9
Leda	1	2	2	5
Leko	1	1	2	4
Poka	0	3	0	3
Papang	1	0	2	3
Kepe		2		2
Laru		1		1
Kole		1		1
Ling		1		1
Taga		2		2
Dalo		2		2
Nulang		1		1
Ndadjung		1		1
Tuke		1		1
Watang		1		1
P. Leok		2		2
Ndehes		2		2
Kuleng		1		1
Tjumbi		1		1
Adjang		1		1
Tjarep		1		1
Nanu		1		1
Total	23	35	82	140

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Clan Membership or Derivation: Ndung

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	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol	18	17	57	92
Tjumbi	6	8	14	28
Leko	3	1	6	10
La'o	1	1	6	8
Manong	2	0	5	7
Tjarep	2	2	3	7
Budjung	1	-	3	4
Gulung	1	-	3	4
Kuang	1	0	3	4
Pau	2	0	2	4
Paka	1	-	2	3
Ndoso	0	3	0	3
Nati	0	1	2 (widow's children)	3
Senda	1	0	2	3
Kota		1		1
Kole		1	1 (adi younger sibling)	2
Popo		2		2
Tjepang		1	1	2
Pane		1		1
Ntala		1		1
Tamong		2		2
Nao		1	1 (no explanation)	
Liong		1		1
Ndori		2		2
Bung		2		2
Ruteng		1		1
Ngkaer		1		1
Dese		1		1
Maras		2		2
Pongkor		1		1
Kawong		1		1
Dimpong		1		1
Total	39	56	111	206

5: Kennedy--430 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
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We

Officers: Veol

	No.	Clan	Age	Religion	Education
162 Tuan tanah	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
624 Tuan panga lambar	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
●614 Tuan panga Rinteng	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
771 Tuan panga Rundu	62	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
212 Tuan mbaru 1	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 2	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 3	127	Papang	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 4	122	Leko	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 5	80	Veol	35	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 6	99	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Kepala kampong	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate

Officers: Ndung

Tuan tanah	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan panga Rosong	168	Veol	30	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan panga Nggurus	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 7	304	Tjarep	30	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 8	324	Senda	20?	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 9	347	Leko	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 10	214	Veol	25	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 11	186	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 12	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 13	285	Leko	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 14	260	Manong	45	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 15	151	Veol	60	Christian	Illiterate
Kepala kampong		(Lives in Meler)			
Tuan panga Rosong (helper)	151	Veol	60	Christian	Illiterate

5: Kennedy--431 E-5 (1949-1950) 1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

We

614 Size of Pangas: Veol: 25, 30, 37--62
592 Ndung: 36, 44-80

The houses are usually mixed as far as clans are concerned.

Polygyny: Veol (3 cases)

595
771
614
212 (Numbers refer to ages)

Case No. 1 50: 46, 45, 30, 25, 20, 20.
The 5th is Catholic, the others are pagan.
2 are of the same clan, the others from different clans.
1 is sekontun, 1 mangko pitu, 1 lampang, 1 dalu, and 2 gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 7 50: 46, 30
The 2d is a Catholic, the first pagan.
They are from different clans.
1 is mangko pitu, 1 dalu.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 12 45: 40, 40.
Both are pagan.
They come from different clans.
One is dalu, 1 gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Polygyny: Ndung (4 cases)

Case No. 27 50: 47, 30.
Both are pagan.
They are from different clans.
Both are gelarang.
All are illiterate.

5: Kennedy--432 E-5 (1949-1950) 1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

We

595 Case No. 207 40: 37, 30, 25.
771 The 2d is a Catholic, the others
614 are pagan.
212 All three are from different clans.
All are gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 235 30: 27, 30, 30.
The 1st is Catholic, the others pagan.
All three clans are different.
1 is mangko pitu, the others are gelarang.
The husband has finished three grades; the wives are illiterate.

[517] (Note: The 2d wife lives in another house with her children. Because the children are of the same clan as her present husband, and she is a widow, this is perhaps a case of levirate.)

Case No. 307 30: 25, 25.
Both wives and husband are Christian.
Both clans are different.
Both are gelarang.
The husband has finished 3 grades, the wives are illiterate.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau OD10 Buru OH8
Enggano OD6 Ceram OH9
Flores OF9 Gayo-Alas OD7
Redjang-Lampong. OD12

2. *Localized clans.*—The complex of localized sub-clans seems to occur in the interior of many of the smaller islands (*e.g.*, Enggano, Buru, Ceram and Flores).[16] Along the coasts, however, mixed villages have grown up consisting of over-seas aliens and emigrant family groups from the interior. In moving toward the coast, kinship groups keep their independence. Even though they live together with the family groups of other clans in villages under a village chief (korano), they occupy their own exclusive land. The village chief, however, has but little authority over those who are not his fellow-clansmen.

3. *Regional communities of mixed clans.*—Mutually unrelated sub-clans, which make up a territorial community are reported, in the first place, among the Minangkabau. Matrilineal clan members not living in the same "nagari" do not form an autonomous community. The communities are, firstly, the family group (sub-clan) inside the village. These family groups are parts of the same portions of different clans. Those that are of the same clan have become independent by fission; secondly, some (not all) unions of such parts of family groups belonging to unrelated clans; thirdly, the "nagari" formed of sub-clans consisting of family groups, organized or not into units. Minangkabau clans, like the Gayo and the Pubian and many others, have their own names.

It is impossible to find a description of the Minangkabau which does not begin with the warning, "Do not generalize." In consequence, to an even greater degree than in other regions, only main outlines can be presented. If their social organization is to be formulated through a reconstruction of its development from the basic units on up, it is necessary to begin with a given number of clans. At a given instant, women of different clans (along with brothers and their brothers' wives) settle on either unowned land or desert land in the area of disposal of some territorial community. Gradually, the joint families grow in size, and so also the settlement.

The process is as follows. Family groups spring up from the women who are looked upon as the first mothers of the settlement. Subdivisions of clans group themselves as indivisible autonomous communities around the family property (lands, the residence, heirlooms, the family title of the head of the family). The family group (sa buah paruiq) should be imagined as originally located in a family house of its own, with the oldest man of the senior genera-

[16] In the recently explored interior of Dutch New Guinea, localized clans have also been discovered.

5: Kennedy
●621

OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

/For traditional inter-community enmities, see also category 578./

124 634 632 really most powerful man in Ende is not the Radja but the fat and rather fresh hadji kapitan of Nggobe (a descendant evidently of the age-old tuan tanah Ambu Nggobe, the ancestor of Ende). Anyway the talk went well and I settled down to getting some basic facts.

634 621 648 The border between Ende and Ndona, which is part of the state of Lio, is along the road in front of the kapitan's house. On the other side, in Lio, is Watu Roga. These are really twin kampongs, and there is much intermarriage, and the clans are all intertwined. That is, the Watu Roga are really Endenese, and the border should be at the river Ndona behind Watu Roga. Behind this there is a natural boundary between Ende and Lio, a high ridge. But the Dutch for some reason in 1924 cut Watu Roga away from Ende by moving the border a few hundred feet west and along the road. The people of Watu Roga were recalcitrant and would not follow the Lio radja, but the Dutch came and tied ropes around their necks and hauled them off to jail. They finally gave in, but they still feel more like Endenese. This explains why the fellow yesterday said that the Watu Roga folk are in Lio and the Roworeke folk are in Ende. This is true in administration, but socially they are both Endenese. The kapitan of Rewarangga (the one in 632 Roworeke), however, should be kapitan of Watu Roga too, but he isn't, and the latter kampong falls within the kapitanschap of Ndona, far off and under the Lio radja. This is mad on any grounds, including social, cultural, and personal feelings of the local people.

621 632 Anyway, I found that Ende has nine kapitanschappen: Gunung Rodja (the southern half of Ende town), Nggobe (the northern half of Ende town), Barai, Rukuramba, Numba, Nangapandan, Tangadje, Pulo Ende (the island in the bay) and Rewarangga. This last is the kapitanschap here, and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.

R

778 They agreed that Ndoeria had rebuilt many rumah pemali. I must go there sometime.

574 Back in Roworeke, the kapitan gave us sweet soft drinks and port wine (Chinese). Then he put
291 on his adat dress, including a batik headcloth
386 which was winged in front, and a fine ikat slen-
[287] dang, and a woven sarong. There seems to be no more tapa around here. The colors of the woven and ikat stuff are dark, including blue, black, and dull red. They are not very attractive, and the cloth is quite heavy. I saw women with baskets full of leafy stuff (small leaves) and I asked what was inside. They said tarum [indigo] and that it is used to make the blue and black dye. Thus they still use locally made dyes, but in Roworeke the red dye is bought in a store.

126 I took a picture of the kapitan and his wife and family including the fine type old mother.
621 We then started on a tour of the kampong. We went first across the road to Watu Roga. It is small and evidently most of the Wanda suku are.
342 There is one large house, but most of the others
178 are rather small. They are not of the high pitched roof type. I was told that before the war there were more of the old high roof type, but the Japanese leveled many of them to make the people move into the hills as they said the population was too dense near the town. I can't quite get the point, but new houses tend to be low, four sloped roofed, rather long and squat in type, but still look primitive because of the alang-alang thatched roof and many with the coconut leaf midrib walls. The walls, however, are usually low or invisible because they are under the low-hanging roof. Hence they are hooded.

349 In Watu Roga there is a high concrete struc-
769 ture looking something like a watchtower with
614 steps leading up. It has a four-sloped tin roof.
766 There is a low wall around a small rectangular space under the roof. The flooring is of tile,

349 and in the corner is a long wooden drum used in
769 certain ceremonies. Most amazing, however, is
614 a box under the roof and set on planks across
766 beams. This box is covered with old ikat clothes
and measures about 3x2x2 feet. In it are the
bones of the great ancestor of the Wanda suku.
The kapitan said they are "hundreds of years"
old. When they have a suku feast, hundreds of
people come here and kill buffaloes and dance and
sing and pray, asking the ancestors for favors.
They do not call them but call on them. All a-
764 round[1] are the stone heap and slab graves of
lesser folk. Bodies put in them are bound in the
knee-to-chest posture. They often are too small
to allow lying down anyway. I was told that many
are placed in one cist, and new bodies are put in
by lifting the slab and moving the old bones over.

286 I saw a back-bar loom and two women spinning
126 on primitive wheels from cotton fluff. It is im-
181 pressive and the threads they make are good.
One old and one young woman were so employed. I
started to take a photograph of the old one and
a young lady came up and said that she was his
mother and that if I took a photograph of her I
had to give him one too. I closed the camera and
went away. These are the least agreeable folk I
have met yet in Indonesia. Still there are plenty
of fine people here. Nevertheless, they are not
uniformly polite as, for example, are most of the
Buginese.

181 We then got out of Watu Roga, leaving discon-
126 tent, it seemed, as we had taken photographs but
given none to the people as we had done across
the road in Roworeke. I get the impression that
the Watu Roga folk are a bit antagonistic possibly
to the people in Roworeke. I also suspect that
these Ende people are aggressive and competitive
and grasping anyway.

621 Then we went around the sections of Roworeke.
These are, so far as I can get them up to now:

[1] [i.e., Watu Roga.—Analyst]

R

621 Nuamere (the kapitan's house is located here), Pudjambu, Aibod, Aiutu, Roworeke proper (the original kampong after they moved down from the negri lama), Kopodo (all Tibo suku, and small), and Wolomere. Thus there are seven. To the south, below Aiutu and Wolomere, is an open land stretching out toward Ende, on which various mixed folk have settled sparsely. The Roworeke [778] sections run up hill gradually from the road to the west, and the negri lama is located high above. All are on the west side of the road except the far south Wolomere, where the secretary lives. Wolomere is on the Watu Roga side of the road. There is an offshoot of Watu Roga on the Roworeke side. This is Paudari, and most, if not all, here are of the Wanda suku.

764 In Nuamere there is one high-roofed house, near the kapitan's. And here is a large concrete tomb set high above the houses. In the upper part, and alone, is the body of the kapitan who died in 1939. In the large lower part are tens of bodies of the Odja suku. When a new body is to be put in, an earthen section is dug up, which exposes an opening in the concrete tomb. The bones are pushed back and the body placed in and the earth replaced (are these bound in the knee-to-chest position?). There are many other rougher stone tombs which the kapitan said contain tens of bodies also. They do not know how many are contained in some of them as they are so old and have been used for so long.

621 Then we went to Pudjambu, the next place, and
766 it is like a small separate kampong by itself.
349 Then we went to another, rather farther off and
769 up on the rising stone-faced levels. It was fine.
614 This was the Roworeke proper, the ancestral kampong whence all others spread after moving down from the negri lama. It is a very fine place and I took a photograph. Here there is a high-set roofed tower like the Wanda one, and on planks

R
349 set on the rafters a similar chest with bones of
766 the old ancestor of the Odja suku. I was told
769 that this has been there for hundreds of years,
614 but then it was reckoned that it had been there
621 for at least seven generations. It too was
covered with ikat clothing. There was no drum
in this one. They said that when the ancestor
suku feast is held, hundreds of people gather
here and buffaloes are killed, as was true in
the other place. All around are many other stone
cist tombs, all graves of descendants of the big
342 Odja. There are some high houses here, but most
of them are lower in construction.

286 In Padjambu we saw many women spinning and
weaving. One girl was pressing cotton fluff on
a primitive wooden wringer arrangement in order
to flatten it before spinning. It looked just
like an old-fashioned clothes wringer. We saw
an old woman preparing the loom threads in the
first stage of ikat work. The white threads were
wrapped with fiber windings. We saw several ikat
sarongs, all of which were heavy and dull in
[435] color. The kapitan said that I could buy one for
[181] fl. 150.00 and another for fl. 250.00. This
again shows the grasping character of these folk.

123 I forgot to say that the kapitan wants to go
to Larantuka with us. I refused to let him go
along. Also, at the Odja ancestral bone bundle
tower an old mother said we had to leave an offer-
ing. We left some cigarettes. Perhaps they
wanted money.

286 These ikat things are all over. I don't like
386 them very much, but they are genuine. The cotton
531 is grown locally and is pressed and spun. The
dyes are blue and black and are made from indigo
leaves. The ikat work is done with ties of fiber.
[438] Indeed, the only trade material used here is the
red dye they buy in the stores. They also weave
regular cloth, but the colors are always dull.
The designs are small and indecisive.

R

778 I asked if there were no rumah pemali here. They then called it rumah berhala and said that there was none in either Watu Roga or Roworeke. They said there is one at kilometer 17, two kilometers up on a hill. It is the rumah berhala of Wolofea. They said that in it are many pictures painted by the ancestors and that it is big. The people who care for it live nearby. I would like to see this and may have the time to do so.

142 On this tour we saw plenty of good looking folk, especially the proto-Malay female type. Some were handsome. Many were bare to the waist.
736 Many were children. The kapitan said there are many orphans here, perhaps ten per cent of the children, because so many die. They are taken care of by others.

721 They said there used to be lots of wars here.

Then we went back to the kapitan's house and
342 thence took the secretary along the road to Ende, and along this road are Aibod and Aiutu. The latter is a magnificent place with high houses. They said that this is because the Japanese did not level them in this place. This is the best house area. The secretary went to his section,
634 621 Wolomere, on the Watu Roga side of the road.
578 Just beside the kapitan's house is an upright stone. It is said to be the boundary marker between Watu Roga and Roworeke. However, it is in from the road on the Roworeke side. Evidently, from his statement, although the road is the boundary of Lio and Ende states, Watu Roga has a slice on the Roworeke side of the road in Ende territory. This shows again the senselessness of putting any of Watu Roga in Lio. He said that there were many disputes, and when he ascended to the kapitan post he would put a marker up and then put his house half in Watu Roga territory and half in Roworeke. Thus he is "neutral." This again
[181] seemed to show up rivalry and the disputatious nature of these people.

621R
578 nature of these people. He said there are many
632 boundary disputes and have been many in the past.
144 Now I see the truth of the racial mixture zone here. All types are represented.

614 I get the impression that the suku were originally localized largely if not entirely. This is still so. Thus one part will be all or nearly all Odja, another similarly Wanda, another Tibo, etc.

591 I met a lad in Roworeke proper who is from a kampong which is rather far off. They said he had married a woman of Roworeke, and I thought perhaps this might be a case of ambil anak. This is not the case, however, and he had merely come there for a day, because his wife has land here. They live in his kampong. Residence is patrilocal usually. Kattenburg remarked that in
178 material culture and in level of living the young
578 people are not much different from the old. They
561 do wear different clothes, however, and as he says, in general outlook, religion, knowledge of and adherence to old thoughts and ways and religion, they differ. There must be an intergenerational conflict here, especially as they are so disputatious anyway. I must check on this.

The next day we[1] set out early and got them to
344 let us work in the office. This is an amazing
217 place, with cocoanut stalk walls and a dirt floor.
124 In one room (they are all empty of furniture), scattered on the floor, are the "files" of the kapitanschap. Some of them are in paper boxes and others are just on the dirt. They call the kapitanschap the "gemeente." We sat on the front "porch" on chairs that almost collapsed and at a table that leaned loosely at an alarming angle and slowly leaned more and more until it seemed impossible that it would keep from collapsing.
124 With us was the giri tumba of Rewarangga and later the kepala kampong (ata nggaeh nua) of Woro-

[1] [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg --Analyst]

R

124 wai, a kampong a kilometer to the north which used to be part of Roworeke. Later still a policeman came from Ende who was there to help collect taxes. The kapitan drifted in and out and played around with the policeman's bike, and asked Kattenburg to get him a watch. He then asked Kattenburg to sell him some U.S. gold pieces. In general, he is a nuisance. If he could settle down he knows a fair amount about the genealogies, etc.

124 197 829 We started, as usual, with social organization and had a terrible time with it. They are all mixed up, or it is so partially wrecked that there is no order to it. I can't get to it because they don't get much of my Malay. Regarding the latter, they said not even twenty per cent of the people here can speak Malay, because the school has taught Malay only since the 1920's. Before that nobody here could speak Malay. Their Malay is full of queer words. Also, they know very little or nothing about the kampongs even a little way off although they may still be in the same gemeente. They know little about anything except in a very narrow circle.

632 621 I got the names of the kampongs in the gemeente (kapitanschap) Rewarangga:

	My spelling	Kapitan's spelling
1.	Roworeke	Rowo Reke
2.	Worowai	Woro Wae
3.	Manunggo'o	Mano Nggoö
4.	Worowaku	Woro Wekoe
5.	Arereke	Are Reke
6.	Pu'uperi	Poeöe Peri
7.	Kekawi'i	Keka Wiï
8.	Koavena	Koa Wena
9.	Vavoeö	Wawo Eoe
10.	Ratebedi	Rate Bedi
11.	Kekambero	Keka Mbero
12.	Nioreko	Nio Reko

R

	My Spelling	Kapitan's spelling
632	13. Pu'umbindi	Poeoe Mbindi
621	14. Mbago	Mbgko (?)
	15. Pemodjera	Pemo Djera
	16. Volofeo	Wolo Feo
	17. Bu'ube'i	Boeoebeï
	18. Sokopedji	Soko Pedji

The w and v are, or seem to be, separate, but the spelling here seems to indicate that they are the same. F, however, is separate. Of the eighteen, Roworeke and Worowai used to be (up until the Japanese time) together, but now they are separate kampongs. I wonder if this did not happen before so recently. Also the three (Vavoeü, Ratebedi, and Kekambero) were once one, named Rabu. This is still used evidently once in a while for their general area. We got onto the
624 matter of the mosa laki, and it develops that in-
632 deed there are the Big Four for the gemeente, and in addition there is a Little Four in each kampong. The Big Four, however, are also the Little Four of both Roworeke and Worowai. Thus the mosa laki mere of Rewarangga is also the mosa laki mere of both Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The giri tumba of Rewarangga is also the giri tumba of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Roworeke. The ndeto au of Rewarangga is also the giri tumba of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The sike sani of Rewarangga is also the sike sani of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The kampong combination is because Roworeke and Worowai were still one kampong until recently.

624 Each of the other sixteen kampongs has its own
622 Little Four. Also, each kampong of the eighteen has a kepala kampong or ata nggaeh nua, and his assistant, the oro kuni.

614 In each kampong there seems to be one suku

Wa

771 I see many old pagan men and women here, un-
301 like in Leloba. They wear necklaces, earbells,
291 and ikat sarongs. I saw one old man getting gin with bamboos. Many women here go about bare breasted.

304 Most people have their teeth filed. They are flattened.

621 The kepala kampong, who has sore eyes, say
124 that Leloba and Wailolong were combined in the negri lama. There is still much intermarriage and a very close relationship between these two. Later, when I got to work with the guru and he saw that I needed to get every name, etc., he was scared and said that it is easy if he has to do this in his kampong but hard in Wailolong. Thus there is a big gulf between even nearby kampongs. This question took us until 7:30 to talk over and we are still in trouble.

124 I knew this morning that I should not take a
123 man who is not a member of my kampong, but he is
115 so good in other ways that I yielded to the priest. It is clear that the main rule in this kind of research is: never take an assistant who does not live in the kampong. If you do he will not be received easily and he does not know the local gossip and intimate personal matters which would prove helpful. Also, I can't sit in his house in the kampong, and this is important for impressions. I may be able to work out a compromise at greater cost by using the Leloba guru but another assistant in Wailolong. This is a mess and from now on I follow my instinct on choosing an assistant. We finally left after dark.

797 At noon today I went to the mission headquarters to get gas. It alone has any, because V. and W. has no trucks here. I can see that the mission has everything. It is really the administration here. The pasanggrahan boy said that the Catholics here do not use the name "Christ" because this is taken to mean Protestant. In-

578 wars. There is no more head-hunting (but the
721 priest in the mission thinks it still goes on secretly, especially for the main post of a new korke).

53 The arts here are poor in all ways.

583 The bride price must be paid, but ambil anak
611 can occur. In the latter case a daughter or
237 daughters are given to the family in place of the
[556] price. This is especially true for the poor. Elephant tusks are needed for things such as the bride price, but this is evidently mainly for the uppers. And Krol said that nowadays, when the tusks have become rare, they often merely make the transfer in their heads, talking all night, and never actually transferring the real tusks from one family to another. It is a kind of clearing-house procedure. The tusks may be "transferred" up to twenty times in their heads, and they balance out in the end. Thus there is no real cost. It is a matter of delayed payment and really works out to a system of woman exchange between families. The tusk transfer is fictional. Thus A will "pay" tusks to B for a girl, and B will "pay" these to C for a girl, and C will "pay" them to A for a girl, and so on. The tusks, however, may even be non-existent in a particular case, and since they balance out in the end, no one really pays.

764 I was told that they used to put the bodies of
766 the war dead (I think) in trees before burial. Newborn children were buried in the kampong in front of the house. Cemeteries here were evidently placed outside the kampong.

124 We will return to Leloba tomorrow and try to
621 get the assistant matter straightened out. It
578 is notable that the guru said he is more comfortable working in an outside kampong. If the kakang gives the order the people must cooperate. This shows that the kampongs here are fiercely separatistic and only the upper government controls this atomism.

000 say it.

621 614 There are three levels in the organization: the kampong, the suku, and the ama (subsuku). There may also be sub-subsuku, but there is no term for this. The chief of the kampong is the kepala kampong (I must get the local term for this). There is also the kepala suku (but I have yet to get the local term for this). The subsib or ama chief is called the kelake. One man may have all three ranks in any one given case, but in another case may have only one or two. For example, the guru is the kepala suku of Hurint and also kelake of the Ola Demo(ng) Maki(ng). The kepala kampong of Leloba, however, has no other rank.

Thus the system is as follows:

I. Ama Kottang
   1. Belepe Lolong (Buto Talu Maki[ng])
      (a) Belepe Lolong Lango' Bele' (big house, big power)
      (b) Belepe Lolong Lango' Kene' (small house, small power)
   2. Waktuka(ng)
   3. Ama Marang
      (a) Ama Marang Do(ng) Lau(ng) (bale-bale sea side, big)
      (b) Ama Marang Do(ng) Rae(ng) (bale-bale land side, small)

II. Ama Keleng
   1. Tuakerura
   2. Ama Belemang

III. Ama Hurint
   1. Ama Waru'i(ng)
   2. Eramolik
   3. Ola Demo(ng) Maki(ng)
      (a) Ola Demo(ng) Maki(ng) Lango' Bele'
      (b) Ola Demo(ng) Maki(ng) Lango' Kene'

IV. Lewodoreng
   1. Lewamaki(ng)
      (a) Lewamaki(ng)

621 (b) Lewamaki(ng) Nipatale' (slaves before)
614 2. Ekimaki(ng)
V. Lewonuhah
1. Lewonuhah Ama Kottang
2. Lewonuhah Ama Keleng

[567] Note the slave group which is worth later investigation. Note also the Ama Marang inside the Ama Kottang. Usually this is separate, but here it is assimilated to the Kottang. Note that the Ama Kottang and the Ama Keleng subdivisions of Lewonuhah are listed. The latter was once a separate kampong and the two subdivisions were suku in it. Lewo means kampong.

614 The people here refer to the "sixteen kelake" and there are sixteen groupings. Thus there are sixteen kepala ama. But actually there are only twelve kelake or kepala ama, in addition to the five suku chiefs. Some of the latter are double positions as is the kepala ama also, and they may even be kepala kampong at the same time. Anyway, the kelake are as follows:

I. 1. (a and b). Belepe Lolong
2. Waktuka
3. (a and b). Ama Marang
II. 1. Tuakerura
2. Ama Belemang
III. 1. Ama Waru'i(ng)
2. Eramolik
3. (a and b). Ola Demo(ng) Maki(ng)
(he also is the kepala suku Hurint, that is, guru Roy)
IV. 1. (a and b). Lewamaki(ng)
(he is also the kepala suku)
2. Ekimaki(ng)
V. 1. Ama Kottang
(he is also the kepala suku)
2. Ama Keleng

Thus of the five suku chiefs, three are also

000 of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

582 583 237 614 621 The next day I questioned the guru about this, and after a long talk about kinship, which revealed that the mother's brother's daughter type of marriage is a regular type of thing, he came out with the classic statement that usually the tusks come back to the original payer in three moves. Thus, ideally this is a three-class, mother's brother's daughter, rotating system. However, the route of the tusks may be longer, involving up to twenty moves before they return to the original giver. But they try to make the circle as fast as possible, doing it in three moves if they can. Naturally, this is not always possible. We examined some cases of possible long routes, and he said it might be true that it would take up to twenty moves before the tusks returned. They try never to let the tusks go outside the kampong, and this may be why probably there is not much extrakampong marriage. But even if they did, they could close the circle by careful planning. He said, just as Wouden[1] might, that the mother's brother's daughter marriage and the bride price and the sib system are all part of a complete system. We will have more of this later.

114 Today, Friday, December 23, we started in on the Vatter[2] book which the mission lent to me. It is amazingly correct.

Among the corrections, etc., are the following: [304] tattooing against illness is not done in Leloba; [775] a tattoo mark is needed to be recognized on entering the deadland; [301] feather decorations are used only festively; [302] the special woman's horsetail coiffure is not used here any longer; [755] cotton is not placed in the ears for illness (55)[2]; [614] one of the sibs from Sina Djawa is Lewonuhah; [784] the term suku wung is used here (74)[2] wung having the sense of taboo.

[1] [See pp. 19-21, 85-88 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

782 suku, does the praying, as the Kottang, Kelen,
788 and Hurint do their jobs. The guru has seen old
614 men of all suku do the praying, but has never
happened to see a Marang doing it. This is conclusive. He agrees that perhaps some relation exists between the term and the function and the suku, but he doubts it.

I read how Vatter,[1] shortly after he left
721 Leloba, heard that there was a war between Le-
682 loba and Waibalun. And right now while we are here, after nearly twenty years, there is a war between Leloba and Waibalun. They ask whether aliens here bring the wars. At present there are several Leloba men in jail because they have killed a Waibalun man (just the other day).

I read the passage in Vatter which tells that the guru's father, when he was kepala kampong, killed (I think) fourteen suwanggi in one day. The guru said that this was true and that nowadays even though there are still suwanggi the government will not allow them to be killed. The kepala kampong said that it happens once in a while that a man, plagued by the wickedness of a suwanggi, kills someone and is then sent to jail.

Then we started to work on the social organi-
614 zation of Wailolong. What is happening is that
621 I am getting material on the two kampongs and maybe that is the way to present it, not explicitly, but with emphasis on Wailolong. There
[184] are noticeable contrasts with the one hundred per cent Christian community.

Ama Datong, Leworita, Ama Hurint, and Lewato,
[788] and Lewodoreng are the suku. The first plays the part of Kottang in ceremonies. Kottang is not found here. Leworita plays the part of Kelen, which is not here. Hurint is O.K. The Datong are the original settlers here.

I. Ama Datong

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Wa

614 a. Ama Radja
● 621 b. Ama Belolong
c. Ama Rere

II. Leworita
a. Subamaki(ng)
b. Harutmaki(ng)
c. Tapopuka(ng)

III. Ama Hurint
a. Hadumbole(ng)
(1) Hadumbole(ng)
(2) Hadumbole(ng) Nipatale (slave descendants)
b. Marimaki(ng)
c. Melamaki(ng)

IV. Lewato
a. Ama Waru'i(ng)
b. Waktuka(ng)
c. Tuhowutung

V. Lewodoreng
a. Ama Waru'i(ng)
b. Engamaki(ng)

582 The marriages run as follows (I checked a few
614 from the woman's side and this is enough):
835

Men of	Marry Women of
Ia	IIIa2, IIIb, IIIc
Ib	IIIa1, IIIb, IIIc
Ic	IIIb, IIIc
IIa	I, IVa
IIb	Ia, Ic, IIIa, IIIb
IIc	III
IIIa1	Ic, IVb, V
IIIa2	Ib, IVb, V
IIIb	IIa, IVb, IVc, V
IIIc	IIa, IIb, IVc, V, (IIIa) (Note)
IVa1	III

We

584 true no more for the Christians in Leloba. Here
184 they have only adult betrothal. In Wailolong, however, there is still plenty of this child betrothal business. This may take place at the age of three to four years. They are told of this when they are from five to six years old. As children they think nothing of this until
584 they become older. Sometimes the tusks are paid
583 early; at other times they wait until actual marriage. If the boy's father agrees to pay for a girl and later the boy refuses, he must pay the bride price anyway. In the old days, however, a boy never refused, or almost never. The younger brother of the guru hated the girl he was betrothed to as a child and ran away to Badjawa. His father paid the tusks anyway and they were lost by so doing. Later the brother married a woman from Roti.

621 The guru was the first man from the Belakang
582 Gunung [behind the mountain] area (consisting of eight kampongs) who married a Larantuka woman. His wife was from Balela. Later, the present kakang (who is a Leloba man) married a woman from Balela too. Balela is a foothill kampong now a part of Larantuka town.

595 A man may have up to three wives, but no more.

The guru's father had much magic power. He
789 was the panglima perang [war leader] here. He
776 had familiar spirits who helped him and usually
178 he alone saw them. Other people would see them
825 sometimes. Thus the guru heard a noise like a horse in front of the house one night when he was young. He looked out and there stood a buffalo. There are no buffaloes in this area. He called his father and the latter told him to shut up. This buffalo was one of his father's familiars. Another time the guru was in the fields with his father and heard stones rattling. He saw a crocodile. There are no crocodiles here either. He called his father, and again his

R

291 similarity. The ikat work and weave patterns
184 of sarongs especially show certain differences.
302 In Sikka the children have the front half of
482 their hair shaved. Here also the women and children usually employ a tumpline.

[527] We had one day in Roworeke as December 27
123 was Independence Day. We left for Badjawa on the latter, after a ceremony. As appears to be usual in Roworeke, which is a most annoying environment with constant requests for jeep rides and a general lack of respect, the kapitan and a large group had to be taken first to kilometer 10 where they had a garden. The kapitan and the kepala kampong pleaded that we come to haul them to Ende for the ceremony tomorrow, but we refused firmly. Today the kepala kampong
[292] wore a woman's felt hat with a chin string.
304 His wife who is pregnant had a tattoo over her arm, but it consisted of a name and random marks. I see this sort of thing everywhere. The old patterns seem to have gone. Today the thing to have tattooed is your name. Then we went back to Roworeke and went to work in the "office" which was full of flies and people.

621 The kampongs in Roworeke are as follows (the
361 area extends from kilometer posts 5 to 8):

1. Nuamere (kilometer 7; the kapitan's area)
2. Bita (across the road, north of Watu Roga)
3. Kopoëdo (inside from Nuamere)
4. Puüdjambu (same)
5. Roworeke Asal (same)
6. Ae Boü (along the road below Nuamere)
7. Ae Utu (along the road below Ae Boü)
8. Wolomere (across the road from Ae Utu; the secretary's area)
9. Tana Ri (kilometer 6)
10. Ndetu (kilometer 5; many Ende folk live here)

[i.e., Kennedy and Kattenburg--Analyst]

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All
727 of them were sold or taken during the Japanese
436 time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese
563 time too, but new ones are being made by
326 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from
metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked
up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and
families. They had been in the mountains making wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They
use the natives' gold. Much silver is now
mixed in with the gold. They both had complete
[142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large,
and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they
611 use money and animals for the bride price, but
591 they may also work it off, although it is not
237 really a case of ambil anak because the children follow the father's suku anyway. The girl
must stay with the parents until the bride
price is paid. Also, residence remains matrilocal until the bride price is paid. Thus we
have an illustration of this in the case of a
Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several
children, because the bride price has not yet
been paid. The children belong to his suku,
however. Thus there is bride service, matrilocal residence, but the descent remains patrilineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally,
has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to
get the assistant to say that they still had
tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the
624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before
632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evidently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the
local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases
[691] are concerned only with land and marriage questions.

771 We the young folk are Christian. Most of the old
[624] people are largely pagan however. There are
no other obvious signs of pagan religion in
the lower kampong. The same goes for Weol.
342 Here there are more round houses, but the new
ones are all rectangular. At the entrance of
778 the kampong there is a mound which I must ask
about. It looks as though it might have been
a cult hill. Then there is the holy tree and
the stones around it. The photo, of the stone
figure, Ine Amba, which Vroklage gives as from
Weol, is really from a kampong which can be seen
across the rice fields.

621 There are many old people here, including two
[624] remarkable old men, one of whom is one of the
two tuan tanah in the kampong. This is a double
kampong, with two main parts, and it has there-
fore two tuan tanah. The children here are
[515] dirty and so are the adults, for the most part.
[231] There are pigs all over. However, the houses
[361] are better spaced than, for example, in Laran-
tuka kampongs. The people here have poor clothes,
[291] and many, especially the women, were seen with
304 filed teeth and some of them with teeth beauti-
fully blackened. We noticed no tattooing nor
cutting.

243 Looking off from the high kampong one can see
the wet rice fields below. These are in wedge
shapes with a common center. There are many
adjacent, star-shaped arrangements. This is
unique in Indonesia. The priest says this is
because it is easier to fence them in this fashion,
but I suspect there is some cosmological signifi-
cance, perhaps reflected in the circular houses
too. The houses have all sorts of decorations
342 on top of them. The round ones seem to have an
531 upright wooden thing on them. The rectangular
ones have at the ridge ends a stylized pair of
wooden horns, often with a bird in the middle,
and some with two birds, one at each horn tip.
[See pp. 389-91 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography
cat. 113--Analyst]

Wo

842 too uncommon. If relatives help out in this
583 matter, they must be repaid.[1] The assistant
[602] said that if there are no children or if there
[597] are very few children, it often happens that a man buys a child, who then becomes one of his own. (From whom does he buy?)

565 The ranks are:

582
595
1. Radja bangsawan
2. Dalu bangsawan (he says, since 1880) (Kraeng)
3. Gelarang bangsawan
4. Leke (commoners)
5. Mendi (slaves)

The first three may intermarry, either way. The last two may intermarry, also either way. Polygamist marriages are possible, and this goes even for the Christians who do so in order to have more children. He talked as though polygamy, if done for this purpose only, was not so bad. He is of the gelarang and his wife of dalu. The children are of gelarang.

624 Then we got onto the subject of the social
621 organization of Weol. He said that there is a
342 tuan tanah and also a second man, whom he will
534 explain later, as it is a long story. There is also a medicine man, and he is important in ceremonies. He will give me the posts of the kampong later on the sheets.

Weol has two offshoot kampongs. One is Tjantsia (where he lives) and the other is Tjara, on the next hill. The former has a tuan tanah tjabang (a branch tuan tanah). Incidentally,
[178] the present tuan tanah of Weol lives in a rectangular house, which was an unknown thing here before ten years ago. Even in this rectangular house, there is a main post or rather a place which serves as a main post, and here the tuan tanah sits as the center of rituals. The tuan tanah must have in the house a gong and a gendang

[1] [i.e., meeting the bride price --Analyst]

We
621 or drum. Thus they may speak of his house as
624 the rumah gong-gendang. These instruments are
534 used in the rites, and as tuan tanah he must have
342 them. If there is a branch kampong, the tuan tanah tjabang must get a gong and a gendang from the mother kampong tuan tanah. Thus the gong-gendang is a symbol of power, like the Celebes aradjang.

There have been men who from time to time try to become tuan tanah-like by getting a gong and a gendang. This is not possible, however, as they must come directly from the old tuan tanah. Sometimes a tuan tanah tjabang is not happy in the branch kampong and he may come back to the mother kampong, taking his gong-gendang with
621 him. I think he said that a branch is often
614 caused by the fact that there are two va'u in a kampong, and one may split off and move to a new location. Evidently there is a tendency to keep the rule of one va'u per kampong. Thus I note that he says that the Ruteng kampong, which has two va'u, is having internal trouble between the two. There might be a split off in such a case.

797 He said finally that Catholicism has made
178 just about no change at all in the adat. It stands fast. Maybe here we have a case of greater technical change than in Larantuka or Ende where there has been practically no technical change, but on the other hand, there has been very little change in the adat here, which has been much modified in Larantuka and Ende.
[242] Thus one can see beautiful farming techniques here, and the mission is strong in this type of development. There are also wooden houses with nails (cost about fl. 2000.00 in meat and gift salaries and materials). In Larantuka and Ende the economic conditions remain at the same old miserable level. Thus the mission changes adat and religion a lot in Ende and Larantuka, but only technical changes have occurred here.

Wa

784 There is definite totemism here though some
614 clans have no taboos or totem ancestors. But
611 it is the usual thing. Weol may not use one
769 kind of bamboo, because the ancestors were born
562 of this bamboo. Pau may not eat a certain kind of monkey, as the ancestors were linked (this is the assistant's va'u). Women marrying out of the va'u may eat the totem of their own clan but must go through a special rite. Men may never give up the totem taboos, even if they live in an ambil anak arrangement.

574 The next day we went to Weol and up to the
273 kampong with the assistant. We brought native
276 tobacco and gin which we had bought for fl. 2.00
123 in Ruteng. As we entered the kampong, on the right we noted the house of the kepala kampong. Next to it is that of the tuan tanah, where we sat on the front porch. Both of these houses are of the new style, but are sooty because there are no chimneys. The children carried two chairs up from Tjantjar for us and later brought a table from the school. However, the assistant and the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong sat on a mat on the floor. Others were in the background. On the rise in front was a great crowd. We gave gin and tobacco to the old people and
[262] were later served first coffee and then two hard boiled eggs. Others got no eggs. The eggs came by chain-passing from the next kampong, Ndung. Evidently eggs are something special. The old tuan tanah knows everything, and his brother the kepala kampong is old and smart too. The kepala of the third panga of Weol kampong sat in the rear. He too is old.

632 The daluschap Rahong is one of the thirty-
621 nine in Manggarai. The dalu are of Bima origin, or at least this is true of most of them. There are thirty-three kampongs in Rahong. The tuan tanah knows all of them, including the constellations. They are as follows:

We

632 1. Weol, with Weol as the center kampong and
621 three branch kampongs. They all trace from Weol. There are three other Weol kampongs in the daluschap Tjibal to the north.

2. Ndung, with Ndung as the center kampong and five branch kampongs. All of them, including Ndung, stemmed originally from Weol. Indeed, the dual kampong Weol-Ndung is the center whence spread out all the kampongs of both Weol
[614] and Ndung. And they evidently were all of the same clan, the va'u Weol. Thus this covers two gelarang districts.

3. Tjumbi, with seven branch kampongs.

4. La'o, with three branch kampongs.

5. Rahong, with seven branch kampongs. But this is a special case as it is the directly governed complex of the dalu. The dalu lives, however, in kampong Waukung, in the gelarang Tjumbi. These kampongs are scattered over the four gelarang into which the daluschap is divided. Thus, in all, there are thirty-three kampongs.

622 There is a tuan tanah in each kampong, but
624 not a kepala kampong in each. See below. The
632 big tuan tanah, the gelarang tuan tanah, are in Weol, La'o, Tjumbi, and Ndung kampongs. I wonder if perhaps, before, these were the district chiefs, that is, before the dalu came in.

Some of the tuan tanah are also kepala kampong. That is, they have two posts. This is so
[565] in about half of the cases, but all kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah "nobility." Thus the kepala kampong of Weol is the brother of the tuan tanah. Thus they have managed to keep even the purely administrative officers in the adat-chiefly families.

The post of tuan tanah goes to the eldest son, but the kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu, after quietly finding out the will of the folk in the kampong.

614 Weol get larger and split. Thus there are many panga
173 in the va'u Weol (are they grouped under the original seven sons?).

614 The three panga of Weol kampong are: Lambar
621 (the tuan tanah is chief of this), Rinteng (the
592 kepala kampong is chief of this), and Rundu. It happens that there are two houses in each of the three panga in Weol, making six houses in all. Thus each tu'a panga has two houses under
342 him. The houses of the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong are built in the new style, as
178 are two of the others. There are then two old round houses, one with old non-wood walls. Most of the present round houses have wood walls and are built with nails. The roof does not reach the floor as in the real old time houses. The new style houses are all the same pattern, which was introduced by a certain priest. This is the only new style they know, and all new ones are exactly the same.

592 Often the whole panga will live in one house.
621 Ndung, which originally was linked with Weol, is
614 now a separate kampong and is even located in
624 another gelarang. The border is the mound above the small house area of Weol. They are
[778] continuous, but each has its own sacred tree. The kepala kampong of not only Ndung and Meler, but of the other four kampongs in the gelarang as well, lives in Meler. Thus there is only one kepala kampong for all the six kampongs. But each kampong must have a tuan tanah. The tuan tanah besar, however, lives in Ndung, just as the tuan tanah besar of Weol gelarang lives in Weol (this is our host). The big kepala kampong and the big tuan tanah of each gelarang has the rank of gelarang. In the gelarang Weol there are three kepala kampongs only, for the seven kampongs. Thus the Weol kepala kampong is also kepala kampong of Tjantjar.

614 The Ndung folk are all of the va'u Weol and
784 have a taboo on lusa.

We

624 In the house of the tuan tanah of Weol there
342 are four households. The tuan tanah has a sec-
592 tion to one side, since the old place in the
554 rear, as in the round house, is impossible be-
534 cause the rear door is located there. He keeps the gong-gendang, which is the symbol of his being tuan tanah. One might even call the tuan tanah house the drum house. These drums are important, as they are used in agricultural rites.

778 There are no holy stones (yet see later) in the kampong here. I hear that there are some in kampong Ruteng, which I must see. In each kampong there is a tree (the Weol one died some time ago and was replaced; the new one is rather small). Around these trees (the assistant knows nothing of the significance of the tree) are placed stones. He says they have no magic power, but in sacred rites animals are sacrificed there below the tree. In the cleansing of the kampong rite these stones are rearranged nicely.

178 Nowadays it is possible to marry in or out
582 of the clan. It is also possible to marry
614 within or without the kampong, and the kampong
[621] usually consists of one clan. But even now one may not marry in the same panga. Thus there is lineage exogamy.

Formerly clans too were exogamous, but in special cases one might marry in, for example, if the girl became pregnant. Evidently there were other cases too. But since about fifty years ago endogamous marriages within the clan have been possible. Nevertheless, most marriages are outside of the clan. The first case of clan endogamy in Weol kampong involved the parents of the present tuan tanah. This occurred fifty yeargs ago. He said that they cannot remember what trouble was caused if any. The assistant has heard tales of evil following such cases of endogamy. I must follow this up. What has

Wa.

614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and Rundu.

784 824 614 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The other kinds, for example betong, which is thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung pesi is also tabooed for the members of the Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only on the first-born of each family. The first-born is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 114 624 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his material. There are now two more kampongs in the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas is in error in stating that Ladja is the fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung. Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung. The Manggarai 624 824 796 name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Tenó is the kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post which is set in the center of the star of fields for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a [533] [562] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum. Some of the beats are the same for the men and for the women, but others differ by sex. Another term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 423 651 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which are basically the property of the tuan tanah. Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay tribute for his house space. This tribute is used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 778 [104] Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on the side of the highest hill. It is in the form of a rough human figure, which used to have

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

567 a stage where they were taken into the clan of
565 the master. The slaves who were paid as a tax
114 (taki) to Bima in Reo were not longtime ones,
[651] but newly bought ones. This is because long standing slaves were used to the house and would not run away. If they were sold and then had to be replaced, this would mean breaking in new slaves. Most slaves were owned by nobles, but some rich commoners had them too.

567 The ata lampang, slaves of the sultan or
565 dalu who used to live in separate kampongs,
● 621 are now living in mixed kampongs, although there
114 is not much mixture. That is, other people have moved into their kampongs, and they also have moved into other kampongs. It is remembered, however, that they are descendants of slaves. In regard to what Coolhaas[1] says on page 346, he is right about the kind of slaves called sekontu. They were directly under the kraengs of Todo and Pongkor, and had special duties. Their descendants are still numerous in their kampongs: Tengka, Levur, and Levat (i.e., these are the Rahong ones). There has not been much mixture.

567 The mangko' pitu are so called because they
565 are located in seven kampongs. The name means
651 seven cups or dishes. Their duties are to see
621 that rice, etc., are delivered if the kraeng of
114 Todo or Pongkor are on a trip, and also they must provide supplies for law cases on tour. Their kampongs are Tjera, Lerong, Se'ing, Ngadjok, and three others. These are now mixed. These kampongs are not under either the dalu or gelarang, but are under the direct rule of Todo and Pongkor (until fifteen years ago). They are now assimilated just about to commoners, but they still remember their descent.

114 Coolhaas[1] is all right on page 348.
601 Coolhaas's[1] kin terms are O.K.:

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

241 five times. Then two men imitate mice and run
782 around, while others pelt them with clods of
231 earth. This part is called mburu pusu. After
624 this weeding can be done.

527 (4) Tege rego, when the crops are ripening. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok five times. (The tuan tanah always leads the procession of the people who have shares in the garden being rited.)

(5) Tjepa, just before the harvest. Each family concerned gives a pig, rice, etc. If the garden is a lingko randang, a buffalo must be sacrificed. The animals are assembled in the kampong, and the crowd, with one of the pigs, goes to the garden. Each one plucks a stalk and a hair. The pig is killed. Then they go back to the kampong and go around the "adat house" five times and then go inside to dance. Then all the other beasts are killed and the
[195] whipping starts. While harvesting, special words are used for animals and aliens.

776 At all feasts the poti empo are called and
769 the setan are chased. Therefore, the dead are never buried far from the kampong, and perhaps inside the kampong. Thus it is easier to call them. They live at their graves.

124 We talked with the assistant Sunday and then
[524] took him home. (We discovered in Ende later that the bamboo clapping game is also practiced there.) Then we set out for Badjawa, which we reached in the evening. The next morning a lad named Alfons appeared and said that the Radja Kedua had told him to show us the Soa area when we were in Badjawa. He is the former guru agama [religious teacher] and had taught Malay and Ngada to many priests. He is good looking and intelligent and wears leather puttees.

361 Then we went to Soa, but first stopped at a
●621 spectacular kampong named Lekedjere, on the side
614 road to Soa. It is pure Ngada, really a double

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
614 living on the level of the road and the other
●621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they
are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo.
At the road border of the kampong a bit in from
[211] the road, standing against the skyline, is a
row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars
looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe
heads. They are thin and tall. They are set
on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
[417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical
of all kampongs in this region, so that the
kampong itself is located down in a stone wall
enclosure.

Below the first row of stone pillars there
346 is another with just as many stones. It is also
769 set on a mound. Just below this stands the
531 umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on
one side there is a living tree with Y-branches
at the fork. Stones are heaped around the
ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet
high, and consists of a single pillar with
thatched cap. The pillar is made of hebuh wood
and is carved in fancy designs which are hard
to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a
mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were
made of white shell). Looking under the cap I
could see that the pillar forks were in the
shape of a U, and so it is really about the
same as the Nagoh peo, but less clearly Y-shaped
and covered with a cap.

To either side of the plaza, which was of
342 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small
361 and had rather low roofs. These houses are set
on piles. On one side was the house of the
624 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
769 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
346 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
565 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
554 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in
574

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443 basis. They obtain products by purchase in the backland and sell them in Ende. They also sell gewgaws which they bring along with them.

186 829 Interest in local, foreign or international news is at a very low level. They insist that nearly everyone here knows just about nothing in regard to anything outside of the kampong. They are even ignorant of Rewarangga.

614 621 They said that originally each kampong consisted of only one suku. Then others moved in. Thus, at one time Wawatonda was the kampong of suku Rewarangga. Then they came down to Worowai. Here today there is a rumah berhala, [764] but it is a mere bone-grave hut, like Odja in Roworeke.

Rabu is now in three kampongs. It was one at some former time. It is ten kilometers from here. This is the place where the original kampong of the Odja suku was located. But they have now lost contact, and indeed, so complete was the move to Roworeke that probably no Odja folk are left in Rabu today.

24 829 The kapitan said an interesting thing when I was pressing him to give information in this regard. He said that only since I came here had he learned very much about the culture and the past of Rewarangga.

778 614 346 764 These rumah berhala, with images and a real house, or merely with the grave-bone shrines, are suku shrines. There are four real rumah berhala houses in Rewarangga. These are as large as a real old style high roofed house, [753] and in them there are images (ana deo) and per- [782] haps bone bundles too. These run as follows: (and anyone who visits them and looks into them must leave an offering, for example, money or cigarettes, etc.; otherwise he may get sick):

1. Volofeo has a real house and in it there are four ana deo, wooden images. There are no bones. This house was used by all four suku

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538 there are a few who are great story tellers.
533 Some stories are told with singing, i.e., real ballads, and may last as long as two days. The kapitan sang one for a bit, softly. They warmed up and began to appear to be quite proud of these songs. They insist, however that only a few are clever at these things.

They tell such stories when the rice is
[243] ripe, and they may sit all night listening. Most of the stories are about the ancestors. Thus it is the free time--rice-ripe period as usual in Indonesia. This is the time for stories, when they have plenty of time. Perhaps this is also true in the post harvest season. Anyway they do have plenty of stories. And it is not only the old people who know them. For example, there is a rather young lad named Ero who is famous for chanting long stories. These sung stories are voi.

621 They are very clear about the location of
423 boundaries in the district, kampong, and sections of the kampongs, as well as in the gardens. Markers are stone posts, trees, streams, etc.

609 There are different grades of being a for-
621 eigner. The crux of the affair seems to be
[563] people who come from other islands. Thus, though the Sikka are outsiders, they are not foreigners to the same extent that the people from Kupang are. It is a bit hard to fit into a kampong if one is an outsider, although it can be done. The Ende papalele in the huts at the lower end of the kampong are still outsiders, although many have been there since the end of the war. They have few relations with the kampong folk, and there have been few if any marriages. The community is closed.
609 I asked about the teachers and found that the
582 Ndona one found it easy for two reasons: He
608 lives in Waturoga, which is in Lio, and also

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609 has a friend-bond with the kampong of Ndona;
582 and he married a Waturoga woman. The Maumere
608 teacher has a somewhat harder time, but he married locally and this helps. (I think he married locally, although I am not sure now.)

632 In the district, the "pusat" kampongs are
624 Roworeke and Worowai. The latter is the older
●621 and the kampong of the real prime suku, that
778 of the oldest of the original brothers, Rewarangga. There live three of the Big Four (mosa laki mere, ndetu au, and sikesani), and it is thus a sort of adat center. Roworeke is newer, and it is the administrative center, where the kapitan lives. Here also, however, is the big giri tumba. Formerly, these two were one kampong. In the kampong, the section or hamlet Roworeke Asal is the oldest, and there the grave-bone shrine of the Odja suku is located. It is the adat center. There also is the tubu musu. Nuamere means the big village, and this hamlet is where the kapitan lives. Thus it is the administrative center. Still, the ata nggaëh nua, the adat kepala kampong (Bapa Metjil) and his adi, the administrative kepala kampong, live in Ae Utu (I think).

361 The present Nuamere was newly established
621 here in 1907. There had been a previous ham-
632 let Nuamere up the hill. The Dutch, however,
[648] as usual made most of the hamlets move down to the road. Thus there is a general pattern here that in each district there is a kind of original kampong, and in each kampong there is a sort of original hamlet. But it is not a constellation arrangement as in Toradja country, where all the kampongs and hamlets spread out from the center like a star. This is truer of the kampongs than of the districts, because the latter here are coming to be more and more a coming together of independent kampongs, some old and some younger. Thus

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621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are still formed partly of suku or suku sections coming in and joining the old settlers from the negri lama.

443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series as in Celebes. These wheels run in different directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru, and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The traders follow the pasar week from market to market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kam-
583 pongs, although there is gift exchange in
562 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male" things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a woman gives in return "female" things (cloth, mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere, and said that many had drowned there recently. The water is deep, he said, and there lives a "head" of a human being. It is still living and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has seen it several times, in daylight. It moves around as though on short legs. It is just a human head, with hair. They don't know what it is or where it came from. However, the people are now scared to bathe here. The victims have been sucked under. He asked me my opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
[123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith, because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere. They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head alone").

622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

We.
778 notable little stone with lots of agricultural
789 power. The objects which are possessed by the
614 suku and ama have no magic power; they are
823 only a form of wealth.

The eight kampongs of the Mudakaputu ge-
621 meente are:
832

1. Leloba
2. Wailolong
3. Lewohala
4. Lewoneda
5. Mudakaputu
6. Watuwiti
7. Riang Kamië
8. Riang Kanali

237 Economic note: The tusks are like the stone
583 money of Yap. They are the basis for the local
436 economy, but have little intrinsic value. The
452 non-existent tusks of Larantuka are even better, and the folklore concerning them is fantastic. They are reckoned with and theoretically exchanged when they don't even exist. They keep the marriage system going. They are parallel to pure paper credit--something like international balances.

621 The first six kampongs are the old time kam-
173 pongs. They were founded by the five sons of Lenurat or their descendants, who came out of Ili Mandiri. Thus the situation runs something like this:

Sons: (1) Belawaburak founded Leloba. (2) Keweluk founded Wailolong. (3) Kewaka founded Lewohala and Lewoneda. (4) Bampowa founded Mudakaputu. (5) Mado founded Watuwiti.

Daughters: (6) Emma married a man of Tandjung Bunga (and the folk there call the people of the Blakang Gunung region "blake," i.e., mother's brother). (7) Hingi married a man of Adonara (perhaps the people there would also

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621 call the people from the Blakang Gunung region
173 "blake").

Lewoneda is now mixed, as people came in later from Sina Djawa. Riang Kanali is a branch of Lewohala. Riang Kamië is very mixed. It includes people of the original (that is, Lenurat descended suku) and others. However, it was evidently founded by people from Kroko Putang, the island which disappeared, and whose refugees are all over Larantuka. For example, this is true of the radja kedua here. These folk are called Tenemau (meaning "sailed here in a prau"). Riang Kamië is the largest of all the kampongs. Formerly there was plenty of war between it and Leloba.

578 Lewowitin is the term for a traditional
721 enemy kampong. Formerly heads were exchanged
346 for the korke. These heads were not buried but hung in the korke (like animal jaws today? I also thought as I saw a pig killed, how easy it would be to imagine a human sacrifice instead).

614 In Riang Kamië there are many suku. The as-
621 sistant cannot list all of them, but he remembers
173 Kottang, Marang, Molang 1, Molang 2, Belowen,
829 Lowalia, Lolamaki, Keleng, etc. There is no Hurint.

He says there are four kinds of people here, according to their origin:

1. Padji. They were here in plenty before, but they were all driven out by the Lenurat people, who are here called the Ili Djadi (Ili means emerged), the second group. The Padji were driven to Tandjung Bunda where they are still numerous, and also to the islands, for example to Adonara. They were evidently the aborigines, but he says there was no physical difference, even in the legends.

2. Demon or Ili Djadi. They drove the Padji out after emerging from the mountains, or rather after their father's emergence. The Demon or

Wac The Demon or

614 Ili Djadi are the original people here because
173 the Padji are gone. They also are found else-
●621 where, and where they and the Padji are found
829 together, as in Adonara, they still fight.
[578] The constant murders there are partly caused by this endless feud. They never live in the same kampong together.

3. Sina Djawa. These are descendants of people who came from the west. There are suku here which came from there. Thus the suku Lewonuhah (kampong, island) of Leloba is of Sina Djawa. So is the suku Lewato of Wailolong.

4. Tenemau. These people came from the submerged island Kroko Putang. There are suku here from these people. Thus, Lewarita suku of Wailolong is Tenemau. In the ceremony this
[769] morning the genealogy used to call the ancestors went back to the Tenemau. He says you can tell at once the origin of any suku by listening to the genealogies recited at the rites, because the ancestors are called.

582 Then we got onto the inter-kampong marriage
124 system, and this is not so complicated as the intra-kampong marriage system. I jokingly said that perhaps he got so tired figuring out the internal system that he decided to make the extra kampong rules simpler. He was amused. He also seemed amazed at the building-up process of anthropological research which I use; for example, when I first asked the names of the eight kampongs and then went right on to ask the names of the sons of Lenurat, he saw that
[791] I was getting directly at the system. He said that if the folk here heard me leading straight into the heart of the complete cosmogony they would think me a suwanggi. I also said jokingly that they couldn't call me a pontianak. He was also delighted with my admiration of how everything here falls into a system. He has learned
124 the word "sistim" and uses it all the time. He

We

831 goat; and buffalo?). During other months they
614 may eat such food. This figures out to be
241 roughly about one half of the year. Some of
796 the ama have no nu'a luka, for example, Ama
784 Rere. Indeed, Roy says they must not be too strict about this system because there are plenty of holes in the ideal scheme. As we
115 were finishing up the work he got a note tell-
124 ing him to meet the Radja at the kakang's house for a conference. Evidently he is becoming a big man here. We are perhaps partly responsible.

He is making a map, and his daughter, who goes to the nun's school in Larantuka, is doing the drawing.

632 The next morning, Sunday, we went back, and
796 arrived while church services were being held. They expected the Radja to visit today, so they had removed a section of the fence to let his car in. He never showed up, which was a disappointment to them, as they were all waiting
[621] around. The name of the section of Wailolong where we saw the rite yesterday is Apukule(ng).

578 We asked about the bonds of friendship and
721 enemy relations here. It is clear that seven of the kampongs are always friendly, and are never at war with one another. The eighth, Riang Kamië, has been the traditional enemy of each of them in turn. They are all descendants of Lenurat, whereas the folk of Rian Kamië are descended mainly from Kroko Putang folk, mixed in with some Sina Djawa. Most enmity against Riang Kamië has been, as usual, by kampongs bordering Riang Kamië. Always, border wars are the most frequent here. Thus, Leloba, Wailolong, and Lewohala are involved. The traditional enemy kampong is Lewowitin. The others are brothers, just as in fact or legend their founders were.

The main causes of wars were, in order:

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578 land disputes, head-hunting, and women. Or
721 perhaps the latter two should be reversed. Another cause was molesting a child if done by a neighboring kampong. There were also radja wars, in which the people served, but this was involved in high politics. Finally, there were also the early wars against the aborigines, the Padji folk.

721 The reasons for head-hunting were linked
346 with the new korke (this is still a reason for
796 the largest feast, when all kampongs come to-
782 gether. Nowadays, the feast for the new church takes over this function). When a new korke is built, if the six posts do not fit into the rafter posts, it is a sign that the posts are not happy because they are in need of food, so they are pledged food. Formerly the people then went out and got a head and hung it in the korke. Then everything was all right. Note that nowadays at such rites they give food to the posts. For example, yesterday they smeared rice on the four barn posts. The korke must have six posts.

346 The korke was the center of the war cult and
769 the ghost cult (ancestor cult). The barns were
343 the center of the agricultural cult. The little
241 kebang (barn) of the suku and the ama is called sebua.[1]

582 Relations between villages are kept up by
621 marriages. In fact, they are almost the sole
602 reason for such relations. This shows that genealogical relationship is nearly everything here. It shows also why descent is the basis for the whole organization of power, etc., and why marriage rules are so complex and strongly held to. There have even been marriage relations with Riang Kanié, although they have not been too pronounced.

476 Another reason for relations with other com-
582 munities is work. That is, there is mutual aid
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[1] [See cat. 116, p. 202 -- Analyst]

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582 in other areas, or working in the gardens lo-
476 cated in another kampong. Here again, it is a
602 matter of marriage. Indeed, only if marriage
621 gives a person some sort of privilege to work in the other kampong does one usually engage himself in such work.

632 Relations between districts have not changed
582 much in recent years. If there are marriages
602 between the districts involved, the same situation obtains as between the kampongs just described. Similar situations are those involving different tribes. Bonds are formed if there are marriage links; if there are no such links there are no bonds. Trade is so small a
[438] factor that it is unimportant in intercommunity relations.

186 The people here love their own kampong and
621 feel that they are lost when they are outside.
166 Figuratively and literally, they have no place in another kampong. They can see good in another kampong, however, and if they go elsewhere and return they tell about the good things there and may even adopt them themselves. Only the young people, and few of them, want to get out and see other places. Once they are married they never leave.

609 They say that if they leave their own kampong for another they become outsiders. They are then nipatale (beyond the fence). The other term used in suku terminology for outsiders is rere. It means "low." The opposite term, which also occurs among the suku, is belolong ("high").

578 All seven kampongs have been enemies of Riang
621 Kamië. The seven have remained about the same
614 in relationship to each other, but tales tell a
173 bit about the ranking among them. Riang Kamië was formed by a union of several kampongs which were separate formerly. These united into one kampong in defense against the Bai Pitu (seven

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578 children). There are no Ili Djadi descendants
●621 in Riang Kamië at all. The folk are mostly
614 descendants of Kroko Putang, although there are
173 some from Sina Djawa. Among the kampongs which
united to form Riang Kamië were Lamalewa, Beluwela, and Lamaliang. There are now fifteen suku in Riang Kamië. The old kampongs are still used for the sections (as is so often the case in Indonesia).

[211] The Kroko Putang origin (Tenemau) is symbolized by the wooden prau model in the korke of Riang Kamië.

621 The Sina Djawa folk were liked by the Ili
614 Djadi people, however, because when they entered
173 they brought iron, flint and steel and other
177 "high" things. Many suku were taken into the
773 kampongs from the Sina Djawa. They brought
with them good weapons. Riang Kamië is the largest kampong here. Its population is about
[161] one thousand three hundred (Wailolong and Leloba have about seven hundred each). There is a lot of material on the legendary relationships between the ancestors as seen now in the kampongs. Thus, the two original Ili Djadi were a brother and sister, covered with hair. They came out of the mountain and a Padji girl on the shore saw a fire on the mountain. They were then discovered, and the Padji girl, Hadumboleng (a different person from the Ama Hadumboleng in the suku list), married Lenurat. Thus the Ili Djadi are Padji on the mother's side. The girl, however, sister of Lenurat, married a Timor man, Pategolo. The Radja of Larantuka is descended from the latter union. Thus Timor is involved in the male origin and Ili Djadi in the female origin. Also, the kampongs which are descended from the Pategolo-Watuwele (this was the name of Lenurat's sister) union are on the beach side of the mountain, and they are Waibalun, Balela, and Lokea. The last is the Radja's kampong.

War

000 Radja's kampong.

721 There used to be much warfare with the Mohammedan coastal folk too. And war was waged with other districts and tribes, but this was rare, and was largely tied up with the higher politics of the radja. A pure border war, however, was one carried on with the district Lewotala.

186 Only a very few people locally have been in
621 other places enough to have inferiority feel-
484 ings about their own village. They have all seen the town of Larantuka, but this is not much and they get tired of it after a little while. Those who have, for example, seen Makassae, of whom there are very few, are less happy when they come back. This is a real difference. They tell a lot about the big town. Thus, the truth is that in all Flores the towns are so little and are so much like the kampongs (i.e. dull), that there is little contrast. Therefore, they see no advantage locally as over against the kampongs. Of the kampongs here all are about the same in wealth and land holdings. Lewohala and Watuwiti have a bit better land and perhaps more of it; thus, in general, one place is about as good as another.

721 Wars were waged over borders, women, and mo-
178 lesting children. Now warfare is outlawed, al-
578 though they still carry it on in a modified way.
691 For example, there is a dispute of this kind
693 going on now between Leloba and Waibalun, although the chief says that they must not carry on a war. There have been repeated grievances; their patience is gone. A band goes out hot for revenge and although the chiefs in general try to keep the people from war they are unsuccessful. Most disputes are settled by legal procedures, with the kakang as the main judge and the kepala kampong, radja tuan, and kelake of the
693 kampongs concerned making up the court.
614 For inter-suku cases, the court is made up

Wa.

609 belebang. It means "not known," in the sense of being a stranger. In the case of whites, etc., this is very clear. In dealing with other Indonesians, they know the people in their own kampong so well that they can spot a stranger immediately. They can spot this also because of his clothes and hairdo. Thus as we rode along today we were asked to stop by the guru. He said that there was a Tandjung Bunga man whom he had spotted. He was a tall pagan with a long bob and wearing red beads. He was fine looking. He could be identified as a Tandjung Bunga man even in the way he walked. And if he speaks, one can tell immediately. This is especially true here, where the pho-
[194] netics are hard, even for the Larantuka folk. The Radja has a hard time getting the sounds right. I asked whether the pastor was belebang, and they said that they were so used to him that he was not considered such. It is a matter of use and acceptance.

173 There is, of course, a long story connected with the cosmological meaning of the social
●621 organization. There seems to be a vague rank-
595 ing according to the relative age of the brothers who founded the kampongs. Leloba was the oldest brother, Wailolong the second oldest, etc., and Watuwiti was the youngest. But this is not strictly the case. Nevertheless, if they have a great rite for the building of a new korke in a kampong when all kampongs gather and animals are cut, the head, feet, cutting and betel passing functions show something in regard to rank. He is uncertain as to the ranking and functions involved, but will try to find out more about this.

This led to a long story without much point to it except that it told about the negri lama and the migrations of the brothers outward. The story starts with the oldest negri lama,

173 which was inhabited after the Lenurat days.
621 This was Bluhur, near Watuwiti. The place is
565 still there, and whenever a kampong has a new korke feast, they must go there too and sacrifice an animal. While the five brothers were still living in Bluhur, there was a war against the Padji aborigines in Adonara. The Demon folk there called on the Ili Djadi to help, and the five brothers went. The first brother, Belawaburak, was killed there in battle. The other four asked the Demon folk for an indemnity, and they paid this in gold (lots of it). This money was to replace the lost one. The four brothers were still together, and had only one korke. Nowadays no one lives there, but if a new korke feast is held, they must go there and sacrifice an animal. This was eighteen generations ago. Thus it was perhaps five to six hundred years ago, or perhaps a bit less.

Then came a war against the Padji, who lived all over the present territory around Ili Mandiri. They tried to drive them out. There was some fuss over a deceitful trick played by the Padji, in which the Ili folk gave their gold in good faith to the Padji, but the latter cheated. They decided they could stand these folk no longer, and so they went to war. Keweluk, the second brother, stayed in Bluhur, handling administrative things, and the other three brothers went to war. There were ten Padji kampongs. The Ili folk won, and killed one of the women at once, and brought the head back to Bluhur. But evidently, after some further grievances, they went to war against the Padji again. This time they captured the two main war leaders of the Padji, and afterwards, as usual, they killed one and brought the other back to Bluhur. This time, Bampowa had remained behind to do the administrative work. Instead of killing the

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173 war leader of Padji, they stripped the skin off
●62) his face and body and arms, and rubbed salt and
565 pepper into his raw flesh, and then instructed him to go to all the ten Padji kampongs in turn and destroy their korke one by one. Under a magic spell, he did as he was told, and as he knocked over the last korke, he fell dead. The Padji, afraid of the magic power of the Ili folk, decided to sail away. Some were still left, however. I think these were on the beach on the way to Larantuka town. Then the four brothers set fire to the grass and bamboo thickets, and the latter burst with loud booms all the way from Larantuka to Konga. (Perhaps this is a rationalization for the agricultural burning off of fields which has evidently denuded the area here. Although I thought perhaps they might have thought that the Padji hunters would have lost their hunting lands by this kind of burning off of the forest cover and this would be why they would have to get out, they said that the Padji were already good agricultural folk and in fact that the Ili people had first learned agricultural techniques from the Padji. Hence this theory looks bad.)

Anyway, the last remaining Padji, scared stiff, went off. There are no Padji left here. Then a fight started between the second and third brothers, Keweluk and Kewaka. (The "enemy-brother" theme.) The former wanted to marry the widow of the deceased eldest brother, Belawa-burak, but the latter became angry because he wanted her for himself. The latter won the fight and married the widow, Ninidadja. Keweluk ran off to a place near Wailolong (in Wailolong territory, but far away) named Lewokeda', and there founded a kampong. This was the start of
[171] the bertjerebre, or separation (note the similarity with the watu mpoga'a, or stone of separation of the seven siblings ancestors of Toradja).

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173 tion, of the seven siblings ancestors of Toradja).
● 621 Then Bampowa went away and founded Mudakaputu
565 (after some previous moves); and Mado, the youngest brother, after a number of moves, went and founded Watuwiti. Kewaka, already in power in Tiwa, moved his kampong to Lewohala. Thus occurred the arrangement whereby Keweluk was the founder of Wailolong, Kewaka the founder of Lewohala (from which Lewoneda later branched off), Bampowa was the founder of Mudakaputu, and Mado the founder of Watuwiti. I am not clear as to how Belawaburak is linked with Leloba, but evidently his descendants went there and founded it.

Somewhere in all of this material is a kind of local glorification for all of the kampongs and perhaps a kind of ranking. The latter, however, is very unclear and it would seem that the fame of the brothers and their "functions" in the legend were something like this:

Belawaburak was a war hero and his death brought a great store of gold to the Bai Pitu.

Keweluk was a war leader, and at one phase was an administrative leader too. The latter was during the second Padji war.

Kewaka was a war leader and also won the fight with Keweluk. He also married the widow of Belawaburak.

Bampowa was first a war leader, but stayed home in the last Padji war and did administrative work. This gave him a real privileged hold on administration, and his kampong, Mudakaputu, was for a long time the holder of the kakang post here. Recently other kampongs have had the post. Today Leloba has it.

Mado, founder of Watuwiti, seems to have the least claim to fame, and he was the youngest brother. Something is said, however, about how
[789] Watuwiti folk are famous for making "medicine" which can make men mad, or rather silly. This

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173 can be used in war, as magic, and thus perhaps
●621 Mado was the war sorcerer who perhaps did the
565 magic stuff which in the last analysis scared
789 the damned Padji away. This kind of medicine is called breni.

173 I asked if all the children and other people here know this story, and he said yes. It is evidently the main legend. He said that they do not know it perfectly, but the main facts and events are clear and everyone knows the story.

443 There is a market place at Okka crossroads every Wednesday. There used to be another on the beach on the way to Larantuka (where the Padji once lived) at Delang, but it is no longer there. It was held on Friday. There is a market place in Larantuka town, and the market is held there every day. However, there is no market week system. He knows of one in Adonara. He says it is no use to hold elaborate markets because they have no surpluses to sell.

583 The only exchange here is that connected
614 with marriage. The woman-giving suku gives fish to the woman-receiving suku, and the latter gives fowl to the former. If these suku are in different kampongs, there is the exchange, but it is a matter of suku and not kampongs. And again it shows how marriage is the basis of the whole organization.

829 As a result of the last World War the hori-
[178] zons in terms of the world at large were somewhat extended. For the first time, the people here heard of Japan, the United States and other countries. This was much the same thing that took place all over Indonesia. Fifty years ago no one here knew about such countries. As for other places in Indonesia, all they knew fifty years ago was Sina Djawa, to the west. Since the war they have learned at least the names of a few other islands. This is really epochal on

5: Kennedy--197 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

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	Male	Female	
127 Watuwiti	127	124	
162 Mudakaputu	128	123	
Laneda	143	167	
Riang Kanale	107	114	
Lewohala	286	285	
Riang Kamië	430	427	
Wailolong	290	288	
Leloba	272	298	
Totals	1783	1823	3606

The Christians then totaled 1973.

133 Ili Mandiri is at an elevation of 1501 meters, the highest around here.

582 Wailolong intermarries with all of the other
●621 seven kampongs, a bit more with those which are
578 near than with those which are farther away. During the period after the Dutch entered (1912) there were practically no marriages with Leloba, because Wailolong was sore that Roy's father would not fight the Dutch. (The present enmity of Roy against the Dutch may be delayed reaction to this.) Since then, there has been more intermarriage, but extra-kampong marriage is relatively rare. Roy estimates that not more than ten per cent of the cases are extra-kampong marriages. This holds for both sexes.

591 If a man lives matrilocally (which is optional
583 if no bride price is paid, or if the bride price is paid only in part), he keeps the privileges he has in his own kampong, but he works for his food with his father-in-law in the latter's kampong.

If the bride price is not paid, he may live in either kampong, and this is merely something which has to be agreed upon. Roy says that about half of such marriages follow patrilocal residence and about half matrilocal residence.

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611 However, all children are descended patrilineally.
583 That is, there is no ambil anak here. In any
614 case, the bride price must be paid eventually.
591 It may even take two generations to do this, but the debt is remembered and the books must finally be balanced. This eventuates as follows: If a man can't pay with tusks, he pays with a daughter. It may be any daughter, the first, second, or later daughter. If the man has no daughters, the debt remains and must be paid someday. But, she does not become a member of her mother's sib. She remains a member of her father's sib and marries as though she were a full member of it. That is, all that happens is that when she marries, her price goes to her mother's sib. This is a very peculiar arrangement, and it is purely for monetary reasons. The sons are called anak suku. The daughters are called anak gading ("elephant-tusk children"). Thus the price of a woman is either tusks or a daughter. The daughter who is given for the price may live matrilocally or patrilocally, depending on where her parents live.

582 There are some marriages between Wailolong
●621 and other districts. Roy can think of cases
614 with Lewotala, Wolo, and Lewinga, and he thinks there are others. I asked him how they figure the marriage rules in such cases. He said that if there were already suku there which corresponded to those in the kampong, the situation was easily resolved. If previous marriage relations existed between the two areas, it is also a simple matter to figure out the marriage relations. If no previous marriage relations exist, it is easy to figure out anyway, as none of the rules applies. Thus Roy's brother married a girl from Roti whom he met on his travels. This was no problem, as she was far outside the
582 pattern area. What usually happens, however, is
584 that a boy, for example, sees a girl at the

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582 Larantuka market and likes her. He finds that
584 she is from, for example, Lewotala. Then he tells his father, and the latter goes there and asks "whence her blood." If the relationship is not close, or there is a relationship but they figure it out to be all right, then they go ahead with arrangements (how these people work at their rules!) Anyway, when
[583] they marry outside the area of the local pattern, they must pay a higher bride price in order "to fix it up." Thus, this is not the right thing to do, and it requires the same kind of thing in a way as a breach of exogamy. In a way, it is a breach of endogamy, in a sense that one should marry within the "adat belt."

"The Ordered World of Ili Mandiri."

582 Roy says that he believes that if more people
•621 traveled outside of the area there would be more marriages outside of the area. This might, I think, lead to a final confusion of the rules. To keep such a complex scheme going they have to keep the marriages from going out of bounds, where the rules are off. If the rules get far enough off they may go out of vogue.

Marriages outside of East Flores are very
[484] rare, and only in a few cases has this happened. They have been local men who have traveled outside, for example, the few soldiers.

There is not a single case of a marriage
[609] with foreigners.

582 The average marriage age used to be older.
178 It might be even thirty or thirty-five for men. Now it tends to be anything over eighteen for girls and anything over twenty for boys. They still have the feeling against too early a marriage. They say that if the couple are too young, it is not good as the children will not be so healthy and it will not be too good for the health of the parents. Young people can marry more easily today because the children

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585 is to get the outfit ready. The outfit is
583 provided by the girl's family. Then they go
178 to the boy's house to settle down. This represents a big change. Elopement was never an established custom here, and it does not exist today. Formerly, marriages were arranged, and the girls and boys simply obeyed. Nowadays, the young are consulted, but there is still plenty of prearranged marriage.

582 Sib exogamy is still favored in the majority,
614 by far. Formerly, this rule was very strong.
●621 There are a few cases of endogamy with distant relatives, but not many. Formerly this never took place. Most marriages are inside the kampong. The only frequent exception is marriage with Watu Roga, across the street. There are plenty of marriages with Wanda suku, the main one there. Indeed, with the mother's brother's daughter arrangement, and so many Odja-Wanda marriages, it is just about a regular thing. Of course, however, there are plenty of Wanda people living in Roworeke too.

An extra-district marriage is very rare, except for Watu Roga, which happens to be in Lio, which is even in a different radjadom, although it is just across the street.

582 The average age for men at the time of mar-
178 riage is about twenty-five. Today, for women, the average age is twenty-one. And they insist that in the old days the average ages were much older. They said it was usual for a man to be well over thirty, and many women were thirty-five at the time they got married. The kapitan said that they "aged" much slower than they do today. He said that he didn't even have clothes until he was very old, relatively speak-
836 ing. I asked about virginity under these conditions, and he said that all women stayed virgins until they were married. If a husband found that his wife was not a virgin today, he would

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000 of and pride in the legends and old things. One
●621 further matter I asked about was from my notes. He[1] said it is true that there were five po. They called the po (meaning "radja's army") suku lema ("5"). They were Waibalun, Balela, Lewolere, Larantuka, and Labao. Lewerang was absorbed, but it is still a place name near Larantuka town. Lokea was the radja's own kampong. Lohayong was the radja kedua's kampong. All this seemed to me a bit vague, and he has clearly forgotten much of this. He went on to say that aside from the Radja, there were indeed three "big kepala": of Balela, Larantuka, and Waibalun (thus three of the po are accounted for). The kepala of Larantuka is Meo Fernandez, a descendant of people coming from Malaya. Thus this bit of information about the Malaya folk gets a bit tied. But the whole thing is not clear to me. Maybe I can work something out
[114] from the sources, but I notice that Wouden, who cites all of this, is also vague, and complains about the inadequate source material.[2]

Roy said that in addition to the five po there were seven riang in Larantuka town: Ponsiri, Pantei Besar, Kota Riang Wido, Tabali, Gege, Kampong Tengah, and Kota Sau.

There were thus, in Larantuka town (or district perhaps?): seven riang, five po, Lokea, and Lewohayong.

This is the best I can do. Perhaps this includes all the communities in the area in front of the mountain ("Muka Gunung"). And behind the mountain are the eight kampongs of the area, under the kakang of Mudakaputu. Roy said there are either ten or eleven kakang in the Larantuka radjadom. I can check this from Seegeler.[3]

I left Larantuka on Friday, January 20, and after a day's run I got to Ende. I didn't stop, but wondered if perhaps they have a rumah berhala in most of the Lio kampongs.

[1] [i.e., Roy, the assistant -- Analyst]
[2] [See p. 87 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]; [a former Controleur -- Analyst]

567 said that this was true in Ruteng town especially. I get the definite impression that there is a lot hidden under this slave secrecy, the kind of evidence that seeps out when I ask about the dalu and kraeng. These folk have had a hard time, and were not liberated from Bima, which ruled with a hard hand, until relatively late. They are still, I think, under the dalu and the kraeng a lot.

567 621 565 He said that there are kampongs where all the inhabitants, though originally commoners (and note the difference between the "gelarang kampongs" and the "leke kampongs" below), were made into virtual slaves by the sultan and the dalu. These were the ata lampang, and their kampongs were called the "lampang kampongs." In Rahong they were Adjang, Limpong, Teras, Pokka, Kina, Ketok, and Lenteng. Here the people are all of this background, except for a few newcomers, and they are not ashamed to tell it. And nowadays they marry with other commoners and even with gelarang (although the assistant later grimaced when he said that he wouldn't want his family to marry certain people). The main areas for this kind of kampong were and are Todo, Pongkor, and here in Rahong.

Then there are kampongs nearly all of whose population is descended from commoners who were sekontu, i.e., virtual slaves of the kraeng of Todo and Pongkor. In Rahong these kampongs are Tengka, Levur, and Levat. And there has not been much mixture yet. The folk there are not ashamed to tell about it, as everyone knows, and everyone in the kampong is in the same boat. They too now intermarry quite a bit.

The mangko' pitu kampongs were under direct rule of Todo and Pongkor until about fifteen years ago, and these, although not exactly slaves, were like servants of the kraeng and had to render supplies to them when they came

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621 there. They remember their descent vividly.
567 These include, in Rahong: Tjera, Lerong,
565 Se'ing, Ngadjok, and three others.

Thus it turns out that the "slave class" people were located largely in separate kampongs. But there were other slaves too. The lampang-sekontu type were commoners who were enslaved en masse, but there were the mendi too, who were either bought or captured in war. These were located in many kampongs, and were owned by nobles, gelarang, and even rich commoners. These were the ones who had to be paid (some of them) as a form of tax to Bima. These are probably the ones who would be most sensitive today, or rather their descendants would be. But the chances are that the lampang who no longer live in the separate kampongs are also sensitive. Thus I note that there are people from Teras, Tjera, etc. living in Veol or Ndung now, either married in or by some other means. They probably would get angry if this matter were brought up. He imitated the reaction that one might expect to such an insult. He looked very fierce. This shows that the fear is quite real. I suppose they might even kill him if he asked too much.

Cornelius[1] says many slaves were made so by the dalu or kraeng on one pretext or another. Thus a man might ride past a noble's house with bells on his horse. The noble would say that he was insulting him and hence enslave him and his family. If this really happened, and he gave it as a circumstantial kind of case, this was a land of real oppression until recently.

178 He says that up until twenty or even fifteen
567 years ago there were heavy duties on the lampang,
565 and this was long after the Dutch came in. Only fifteen years ago everyone was open about the slave stuff. This is thus a place where there has been very rapid change: the covering up of

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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567 178 565 slave descent and the removal of slave or slave-like services.

The kraeng of Todo and Pongkor, who were all over this area, were evidently the worst, because they were more numerous and more omnipresent. Bima was rather far off, and asked only peace and taxes, including slaves.

[578] 565 614 567 In regard to Todo and Pongkor, I got plenty of undercurrents of resentment here. Cornelius says the people here regard them as aliens (as indeed they are in this area, especially considering the localism of "nationalism" here). [173] And they themselves say that they are from Minangkabau via Makassar. I wonder if there is a tie-up with the Datu ri Bandar who brought Mohammedanism to Makassar from Minangkabau about three hundred years ago? I would like to see the treasure chest of the Pongkor kraeng, as perhaps I could decide whence their ancestors came. I then asked why all the people of the kampong were noted as gelarang. And here I ran into the same thing as in Ende. Indeed, all the members of certain clans are a kind of nobles, like Odja there. This goes for the va'u Veol. It also goes for the va'u Pau, to which the assistant belongs. I tried every way to plumb this matter, and first got this information about the kampongs:

565 567 621 614 (1) There are kampongs in which all the "locals" are of the gelarang class, for example, kampongs Veol and Ndung. But there may be included among these, descendants of slaves who were admitted into the va'u after long residence, or who now claim membership, and although no one gainsays this, all know that they were from lower depths before. Still, I wonder if possibly some of the many men from the outside va'u, who are especially common in Ndung and who are married to outside women too, may have been here a long time and may have been slaves before.

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565 For example, they may have been bought or cap-
567 tured in war. In regard to the latter possi-
621 bility, a kraeng who came from Pongkor and who
[614] now lives in Tjantjar and who was standing by
during all this with his father, said that
there were plenty of wars between the kampongs
here formerly, and the kraeng and dalu had to
control this. Bima put in the dalu, he says,
[177] for this end.

(2) There are kampongs which are nearly one hundren per cent descended from commoners (leke) who were made lampang en masse by the kraeng. That is, they are kampongs which were made up of commoners before, and which were depressed to the lampang status. In these, very few of the people are from the outside.

(3) There are kampongs which are nearly one hundred per cent descended from sekontu. These were originally commoners (leke) but were made into slaves en masse by the kraeng. Evidently the lampang and the sekontu, as well as the mangko' pitu, might have been made thus by the sultan, dalu, or kraeng. Indeed, the three seemed to work together, and the dalu are called kraeng too.

(4) There are kampongs which are just about one hundred per cent kraeng, for example Puruk here, and Pongkor and Todo. These are still in the gelarang Rahong here, that is, under the direct control of the dalu. There are eight of them, including Puruk. The assistant says the kraeng prefer to get out of these, as in them they are nobles among nobles, but in other kampongs they can play on their status and the folk have to give them respect. Formerly they gave them more evidently. He says that up to the present time they still receive various forms of respect. Indeed, the kraeng who was here said so too.

The mangko' pitu were directly under Todo and

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621 Pongkor until perhaps fifteen years ago, and
565 the kraeng kampongs are still directly under
567 the dalu. It seems that the ata lampang kampongs were under the dalu formerly too, but maybe they were merely slave kampongs under local rulers. The sekontu were indeed directly under Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps the picture was: under the dalu, the kraeng and the lampang kampongs; under Todo and Pongkor, the sekontu and mangko' pitu kampongs.

(5) There are kampongs which are about one hundred per cent of the dalu class. These are evidently the "capitals" of the dalu, for example, Rahong kampong.

567 Cornelius[1] says again that in his time, at
565 the most twenty years ago, there were still
624 plenty of slaves, and the Dutch hit this system
423 hard in order to get them out. Evidently the
[177] real mendi, the bought or captured ones, were merged first (as the slave trade and war were forced out), but the lampang type persisted until very recently. He later told me how much the lampang had to give in tribute to the kraeng. This links with what the kraeng (who was from Pongkor and a very soft spoken lad) who is now in Tjantjar said. He said that the kraeng had and have the right to settle and get land in any kampong. He has gotten land here. But they have to ask the consent of the tuan tanah first and have to pay the regular tribute to the tuan tanah. But the permission is not refused. I asked if they could take a lot of land, and he said no, that they had to be reasonable.

621 He said, the Todo and the Pongkor rulers (and
565 the dalu too, evidently) also placed kraeng in
661 the kampongs to keep order (as so many wars were held that the folk would let them judge the cases, although they were not really administrative men, but rather prestigeful men) and to act as spies of the Todo and Pongkor rulers

1 [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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621 and of the dalu. (Later the assistant said that
565 they were spies all right; they checked to see
661 that the lampang didn't chisel on tribute and paid the proper share of produce to Todo, Pongkor, and the dalu. The assistant said they had to pay plenty.

567 Thus there has been a very rapid change here,
178 in the disappearance of the slaves as a class. And the recency may explain some of the sensitivity. These folk are just trying to make their way into full freedom and won't be held back.

565 When I first started on this, the kraeng, whose identity I didn't know as he was just dressed in shorts and was very unimpressive, said that all men were equal now! Then he went on to say that the kampong folk gave respect to the kraeng.

621 Possibly three hundred years ago there were
565 only two sorts of kampongs (see Coolhaas;[1] had the dalu in the eighteenth century). The dalu were not in yet then. The two sorts were: the ones where most of the population was gelarang (for example, Veol), and the ones where most of the population were commoners (for example, Adjang, which later became lampang). I asked whether any of the gelarang kampongs were made lampang, and the assistant said that he thought not, as the kraeng had to keep the native nobles in in order to keep things going (indirect rule!).

Cornelius[2] says that he does not know whence came the dalu or what the situation was before they came in. Evidently the Todo and Pongkor kraeng were conquerors and rulers here before the dalu came in (see Coolhaas)[1]. It looks as
[177] though the dalu were put in by the Bima administration.

567 In regard to the recency of slavery here, note that the Sarasins[3] in 1902 or thereabouts

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst] [2] [i.e., the assistant -- Analyst] [3] [See 2:Kennedy, OB1 Indonesia, cat. 116, p. 242 -- Analyst]

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567 saw hundreds of Toradjas being brought into Palopo as slaves by the Buginese.

177 565 621 174 [614] If it is so that the dalu were put in by the Bima administration, perhaps originally there might have been only the gelarang, the tuan tanah that is, and the commoners. Maybe the latter were aborigines, and the first conquest brought in the gelarang class. But this seems unlikely, as the gelarang tuan tanah class looks very ancient here. (For example, the Veol clan ancestors came out of bamboo right at the Veol spring.) Anyway, some clans seemed to be higher and others lower, perhaps as in Lio, where some are of the tuan tanah rank and others are not, or like the situation in Ende, where some have mosa laki and others do not. Long ago, and the assistant says perhaps three hundred years, the kraeng came in from Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps they were Minangkabau who came in through Makassar. They say so. But they have no matrilineal system so far as I know, and they have the va'u system like all the people in Manggarai. And the language is the same. However, I asked the assistant if I was right in that the kraeng had a different accent, and he said yes, but this may be a mere local difference.

The assistant says that he knows the legends say that the dalu came from outside somewhere. But their names are Manggarai, and they have the va'u system too. Question: are they Todo-Pongkor kraeng who were elevated, some of them, to the dalu status by Bima. Are they Bimanese in origin? Are they gelarang who were elevated by Bima? It is certain that Bima put them in. I would favor the first explanation, but am bothered by the fact that some kampongs were under dalu and others under Todo and Pongkor kraeng. It looks as though they had a double rule here above the gelarang level, which was

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565 the old adat:
621 (1) The dalu rule, centering on Bima.
174 (2) The kraeng rule, centering on Todo and
177 Pongkor.
177 Thus the locals may have been merely under a
565 double rule, and the actual supremacy of Todo-
621 Pongkor or Bima was never really resolved. It
634 may be that it was like the Madjapahit situa-
[174] tion in outlying areas: the local princes were partly to a largely degree independent and oppressed the locals (the Todo-Pongkor ones here), and the proconsuls of the central government got what they could for the sultan (the dalu). The question remains, whence the dalu? And I must find out whether the dalu family trees are the same as those of the kraeng. Note, incidentally, that the radja is of the Todo kraeng.

It may be that there is a strange unassimilation of rule here. There is the radja, whose supporters would be the kraeng scattered all over (and I heard the first day that "there are a few kraeng of the radja's family now in Tjantjar; they have gotten land there." I wrote at the time: "Any story here?" There seems to be one. Now comes the question whether the dalu
[578] work with the radja, or are still a bit independent, as sort of survivals of the Bima days (and the Dutch days that replaced Bima)? And what of the gelarang? Are they more for the radja or for the dalu? Or are there no tensions at all?

578 I remember that the Radja when he was a bit
634 drunk during the feast told us that he would
565 advise us and tell us of possible dangers, etc. My guess is that all is not peaceful and happy here. Why? There seems to be no real exploitation any more, but perhaps there is a remembered resentment against the kraeng. And the mandur said that the Radja was not really Manggarai,

565 (3) There are one hundred per cent kraeng
614 va'u, e.g., Puruk.

(4) There are one hundred per cent dalu va'u, e.g., Rahong.

(5) There is a radja va'u, of kraeng rang, i.e., Todo.

174 The history may be something like this:

621 (1) Originally, and until about three hundred
565 years ago: the gelarang tuan tanah district
634 chiefs were in, with kampong ramifications.

648 (2) About three hundred years ago until 1900: the period of Todo-Pongkor kraeng conquest, with also some Makassarese rule from the north (Goa) and Bima rule also.

(3) 1909--1929: Dutch rule without radja.

(4) 1929--1941: Dutch rule with radja.

(5) 1941--1949: Japanese, and later Dutch influence, the latter putting in the East Indonesian negara.

(6) 1949-- : The new Indonesia, with the Dutch gone, but the radja still here, as well as the dalu and the kraeng.

The only real power still alien in this area is that of the Todo-Pongkor kraeng (radja). What will happen?

582 I checked over the marriages in Veol and
614 Ndung, but the assistant will get the va'u of the inmarrying women. However, it looks as though there is no pattern. Looking only at the kampongs whence the inmarriers came, I can find just about no system; the twenty-seven women who married men of Veol came from twenty different kampongs (highest frequency was three). The four men who married women of Veol and came here to live are from three kampongs (highest frequency two).

The twenty-nine women who married men of Ndung came from twenty kampongs (highest frequency four: Tjumbi; another three: Tjara).

The nine men who married women of Ndung and

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614 784 773 ask; and (3) the latung pesi corn: this is true of the firstborn only (I will ask about this too).

Note the firstborn theme here too. This is also found in Sikka totemism. The Pau va'u [764] has only one taboo aside from the custom that the stone must not be used for anything, and it is that the members must be buried naked. The story is that once, when the dead were still dressed, a child was ordered to get clothes for a dead person. The child refused, and an old man who was angry said, "All right, from now on our descendants cannot be buried in clothes." It is a kind of curse.

Manong taboos are mice and dogs. They cannot be eaten. I don't know the story, but I can ask the assistant's wife. Now, however, the assistant's wife can eat these, because she has married out. But she has taken on a taboo (tjek'i) of Pau and will be buried naked. He asks, "What about the Catholics?" I said there was no trouble, I thought, because there is no rule in the Church that a person must be buried with clothes on! Each taboo has a story of rationalization behind it. Usually there are two or three taboos per va'u.

[262] I found out that cats are eaten here.

These kampongs have long since been separate, ● 621 but once they were one. There was a man named [361] Pong Ndung who came from Veol, but didn't want to live in the kampong, so he moved down to lower land and settled under a tree. The Veol people got angry and asked him to come back, and he said all right, but moved only into the present Ndung area, which was then vacant. He thus founded the new kampong, and since then it has been called Ndung.

Before 1870 to 1880 they had only kampongs and va'u. Then, under Bima, came in the dalu and gelarang divisions. The line between gela-

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621 rang Veol was run between the two kampongs. This was because if it had included in the Veol gelarang all the kampongs inhabited by va'u Veol, it would have been very large. And Bima wanted to have as many gelarang as possible, because thus a greater tax yield was made certain.

342 592 656 178 Fifty years ago all houses were round. There were three of them, two in Veol and one in Ndung. These houses were about two times as large as the present round ones, that is, about twenty meters in diameter rather than about twelve meters in diameter. In one such house there might live up to three hundred people!

The assistant until about five years of age lived in a house in Pau with three hundred people. There were only two in the Pau kampong, one for each of the two va'u there. Then, in 1926, came a law stating that not more than three families could be housed in a single dwelling. It took some time before the houses became smaller.

In 1927, came a law stating that all houses had to be rectangular, not round (the paternalistic Dutch!). The people were willing to make their houses smaller, but they refused to make them rectangular. Also, they didn't know how to build a rectangular house. They had to call in specialists, carpenters. It is notable here that a really complex style of building, the round house type, was known to the primitive folk, but not the simpler rectangular type! Anyway, the law about having to build rectangular houses was rescinded after three hopeless years. Since then, houses until very recently were mostly round but smaller.

342 178 The next change was to have low walls on round houses, and also they began to use nails (I noticed that in the new rectangular house

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166 578 affect mainly the younger branches of panga. The older ones are too important to leave.

[592] Most of the people who leave go as households, except for the men who marry out.

166 574 621 527 Those who leave never come back, as far as the assistant knows, but there have been returnees in other kampongs. They do come back, however, for the big feasts in the mother kampong. There are five kinds of festive returnees: (1) for kampongs in the gelarang Veol, all must come to Veol for the big feast, and so must Veol go to the tjabang kampong feasts. (2) for kampongs in the dalu Rahong, but in other gelarang, if there is a big feast, a delegation must be sent to the mother kampong, and vice versa. These kampongs have their own tuan tanah in the new Veol kampongs, whereas type (1) kampongs have only a tjabang tuan tanah. (3a) For kampongs outside the dalu Rahong, they may come if they want to, but they need not do so, and vice versa. They have their own tuan tanah. (3b) Isolated Veol families which live in kampongs among other va'u always come back, as otherwise there is no ritual life for them in relation to the ancestors, etc. (4) The Ndung and Veol folk, because they are nearby and of the same va'u, always come to each other's big feasts. (5) The Ndung area kampongs (Ndung gelarang) come to the Ndung feasts. Any of them may come to the Veol feasts too, and vice versa. The pattern in the gelarang Ndung is not so complex, as it is actually a branch of Veol.

527 574 756 The big feasts so treated are: (1) "New Year" which comes in November or December. It is not on any set day, but takes place when the gardens are all set and growing. The work is then over; (2) the building of a tuan tanah house; (3) a "buffalo feast," i.e., a cleansing of the kampong, a time decided by one of mbako, who decides that

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565 Pongkor. The whole thing is in the dark. I
624 must check Coolhaas at length. The names of
167 the dalu are all Manggarai, and simple. The
174 Radja merely has a Manggarai name.

The newcomers in the kampongs here are no
166 cause for worry, because the original kampong
621 dwellers keep control, no matter how many new-
614 comers there are and how few of them are left. There is a kampong where there are only three old households left, and there are about forty outside households. The three keep control.

Those who have come into the kampongs here comprise both unmarried and married folk. The former all marry in. Some of the present folk [567] who are named as of va'u Veol may well be of slave origin. Slaves were taken into the va'u of their owners. Everyone in the kampong knows which families in the va'u are of slave origin, but they will not tell outsiders. It is certain that the slaves are among the va'u Veol folk, if any.

Usually newcomers have relatives within the kampong, and this is the way so many Tjumbi entered. These relatives form an opening wedge, and others follow. This is like immigration in the United States.

Very few come into the kampong and then leave. The only case is the Tjepang clan. It entered long ago and left about twenty years ago for Tjantjar, en masse. This happens often. A clan enters and increases so much, while the original clan also increases in size, that in the end the original clan says that the immi- [624] grant clan must move. Then the other clan is given a gong-gendang, one of them becomes the tuan tanah of the branch kampong, and off they go. This is what happened in the case of Tjantjar.

624 The man who becomes the branch tuan tanah is
[614] the tuan panga of the clan. He gets the gong-

We

484 In the Japanese time trips were made to
166 seek cloth, etc., but now this is done to a
lesser degree, and the people never leave Mang-
garai although there is quite a bit of movement
[438] within the area. The people who do this moving
are the men who buy and sell horses, tobacco,
etc. If they are away for long or at some dis-
tance, there is a feast when they return. The
four who have left the area have not yet re-
turned. When they do there will be a great
gathering to hear their experiences. The as-
sistant has seen this happen in Pau. Formerly
there were no relations really with even near-
by places like Tjumbi, except for marriages,
and if they went to war in the dalu's army, or
had internal wars, (which were rare). Nowadays
there are many more relations within Manggarai.
[621] In the rituals the only environs mentioned are
the environs of the kampong. This comprises
the ritual world and the social world of yore.
484 Today they travel more than they did before,
178 but still they do not go very far. Formerly
492 any outsider was fair game for robbery and
166 murder. Thus they were afraid to go afar.
[609] There is little in the way of transportation
here. Also, the kampong is a bit too far from
Ruteng to make regular trips back and forth
easy. However, the horses make Manggarai peo-
ple greater travelers than, for example, the
inhabitants of Larantuka. Every household has
[422] at least one to two horses. They are a big
thing here, and now I see why I got the impres-
sion at once that there is more internal move-
ment here than in most of the Flores areas. It
is the horses. The people are fine riders, and
the horses, although small, are fast and
[562] spirited. Women used to mount carefully and
the horse on which they rode was led. Now they
jump on and gallop off (still, I don't see many
women riding horses).

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621 614 554 There is certainly no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village. Still, the gelarang kampongs feel a bit superior to the former slave ones, for example, sekontu and lampang. They look down a bit on Tjantjar, as it is not of the Veol va'u. But the branch kampongs which are of the va'u Veol are as good as the central kampong. Thus Ndung is just as good as Veol, and so is, for example, Sampar. They are original people too. Thus the blood bond comes first. As for outsiders who live in the kampong, if they get angry they may throw this up. For example, the assistant said it might happen to him.

He also said that no matter how long a person is away, no matter how many generations intervene, he and his descendants are still Pau people and go there as often as possible; that is, unless the case involves people who have been established as real members of an independent clan kampong elsewhere. However, they still remember the real, old ancestral kampong. 614 621 602

As yet there have been no returning villagers to tell anything about the outside world.

In inter-community relations the important thing is the blood bond. The va'u comes first, and then the kampongs or clans or families with many marriage bonds. Thus it is mainly genealogical. The gelarang is important, as generally all the kampongs in a gelarang are of one va'u. The only exception here is the unusual Tjepang kampong. Tjantjar and other kampongs here have many marriage relations with it. Ndung is close in all ways.

[622] Thus the gelarang is just about the same as a "clan district," and the tuan tanah in the central kampong is the head, and the other tuan tanah are branch-offs from him.

Beyond the va'u there are nearly no real relationships, except for the areas where va'u

We.

621 are established or where the people have mar-
614 riage relations. The dalu area is quite
602 secondary, as it is not genealogical. There are, e.g., three Veol kampongs in the dalu Tjibal, and these are closer than the other non-Veol kampongs nearer in distance or others in the same dalu but of a different va'u. Even though a family has lived for a long time in another kampong and has few close acquaintances any more in the old kampong, the bond is still closer than with the neighbors in the kampong
[571] of residence. This shows that residence is less important here than blood. Still, as propinquity makes for marriages, there is a tendency for a family to establish new marriage relations in the place of residence. Thus it is either the consanguineal or the affinal group that counts, in order.

There are no relations at all with other tribes or places.

[648] The Dutch stopped the wars. They say that
721 if there were no police now they would have wars
614 again soon.
578 When a war comes all the va'u kampongs help. They could also call on the vina-rona families, i.e., the affinal relatives. These might refuse, however.

Once there was a war between two places (and usually wars were thus along va'u lines, except for the dalu wars), and everlasting enmity remained between these two places. Thus the wars were va'u against va'u and dalu against dalu, not kampong against kampong, although they might start that way. And in this area, most of the wars were dalu wars. Some wars were dalu or even a va'u against Bima, and there might be quite an alliance against Bima. Once in awhile Bima lost. On the border there were many wars against Ngada.

Some dalu here fought against Todo and Pong-

We

721 were traditional enmities to some extent be-
578 tween dalu. For example, Ruteng was against
614 Tjibal. Rahong usually helped Ruteng. Tjibal had allies too.

When there was a Todo war against Pongkor, the dalu here often entered, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other.

There are plenty of stories about the old wars. Thus there is the Prang Kuvu (that was against the Dutch near here); Prang Lait (against Bima, at a place near here); Prang Vake (Pongkor against Todo, and the dalus here entered), etc.

621 There are definite borders here, and the
614 people are quite sensitive about them. These
602 exist between the dalu, gelarang, and kampongs.
[423] They are marked by stones, mountains, rivers, etc.

In every gelarang there is a central kampong, for example, Veol and branches. Only one va'u per gelarang is the original va'u. There can't be two. Each dalu has kampongs under direct dalu rule. Some dalu (e.g., Rahong) had kampongs directly under Todo or Pongkor. Aside from the va'u relations, the vina-rona (mother's brother's daughter or affinal) relationship is important. In this mutual help is expected. Thus the pattern of one's own clan and the clan of affinity (and, I suppose, by extension this, could work out to a circle of the Wouden type)[1] is found here.

614 However, I get nowhere with the regular
582 marriage class system here. Nevertheless, the old tuan tanah said that there was a preferred clan, Mungges. It does not show in the record of the marriages, however. He will get the clans of the women for me.

756 Note: he misunderstood the "magic" here,
789 and says that the mbako could and can make a drink or amulet, etc., to make a man strong, and such is used in war.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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000 and such is used in war.

Correction: When there is a big feast in the
621 central kampong, all members of the tjabang
574 kampongs must attend. However, if a big feast
171 is held at a tjabang kampong, it is a matter of choice whether the other tjabang kampongs and the pusat kampong attend. However, each must send a delegation. (This is like the big feasts in the Ambon pela kampongs. The pela radja and saniri must go, and others may do so if they want to.)

It is true that the pusat kampong has more
621 power in a way than the others. Its drums,
622 gongs, tjompang, main pillar of the tuan tanah
346 house, main garden (lingko randang), and the
351 tuan tanah besar himself are all part of this
788 power. All others stem from these. However, the picture is not one of a clear hierarchy. Nevertheless, if a man is very sick, for example, they may decide that it is well to go to the tjompang of the pusat kampong and go through some ceremony. However, there is not a real vivid ranking or constellation of rank.

The assistant says that the round house and the round garden are definitely related. But here again he is unclear. The house is linked with the garden, and after the rites which are held in the garden, they come back to the main house. Also there is a saying: mbarun one uman peang, i.e., "house has link with garden." When a tuan tanah besar gives a drum and a gong to a new branch kampong, he also gives it a "big garden" (lingko randang). Here is where the biggest rites are held. (Lingko means only "round garden.") And when they have rites in the garden, they go directly from the lodok there to the main post in the tuan tanah house. Thus, there seems to be a definite link between
346 the main post of the big house and the main
351 garden's lodok. There is the same parading
788

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864 very sure about this. Nothing is a mystery.

178 565 634 621 567 There have been no changes in the last fifty years in regard to social classes here, except that the kraengs have lost their power, and that Bima is no longer in. Also, the radja is now superimposed. But the regular classes are the same, and even the kraeng still get a bit of respect, although this has suffered a marked decline. Note that the Radja is a Todo kraeng, and I can see that he tries to do the best he can for his enormous "family" by getting land for them, etc.

Cornelius lists in his notes:

tu'a kilo	household head
tu'a mbaru	house head
tu'a panga	lineage chief
tu'a tenu	va'u or kampong chief
tu'a beo	elders of the kampong, collectively
gelarang	who is also a tu'a tenu
dalu	district ruler
radja	new Manggarai ruler
ata leke	commoner
ata mendi	slaves who were bought or captured
ata lampang, ata sekontu, ata mangko' pitu	other slaves

The general term for "population" is ro'eng.

651 567 661 178 In the old days a tax was paid to Bima in slaves (taki). It is remembered that three men from Veol were taken off in this fashion, but it is not known where they were taken. Others were taken as slaves because they didn't behave correctly toward the Bima dignitaries. [689] Enslavement was evidently a great form of punishment here for any infringement in showing the proper respect to authority. Today there are no more "slaves"

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565 291 177 554 dressed, e.g. the kapitan of Roworeke, he is not dominated by an "assistant." However, he dominates (cautiously as yet) the adat dressed mosa laki. This is interesting.

565 576 The Pongkor kraeng said that manners differ by class, and he may be right. However, I met a rough kraeng in Anam. And I think that he was from Todo too. Todo ones have a reputation of being more refined than those from Pongkor. All this probably does not mean very much.

[195] 576 178 Special words are used as part of the language of ceremonies and rites. However, this is merely a matter of occasion. In the old days real respect was shown for the Bima dignitaries, the kraengs, etc. When one approached a kampong where there was a kraeng, one had to dismount from one's horse and remove one's shoulder cloth down to the hips, where it was wound around, leaving the torso bare.

[689] If one did not show the proper respect formerly, a whole kampong might be made lampang. Thus, enslavement was the great mass punishment. Even today there is still a bit of feeling in regard to the rank of the kraeng, although it is nothing like what it was before.

554 ●621 614 There are grades of pride on the kampong level, and thus Veol feels a bit higher than its branch kampong Tjantjar. Also, Veol va'u feels a bit better than the incoming va'u Tjepang. But this is not a real formulization.

565 582 There are no approved marriages with mendi. This is still very bad. It is possible to marry with other kinds of "slaves" (e.g., lampang). There are a number of such cases now in Veol. Everyone, up to the radja, may marry everyone else except the mendi. There are plenty of such mixed marriages, and even the radja has a commoner for a wife. Here again one can see the ordinary quality of the radjas

Wa.

614 582 IIIa2. The last two are taboo. Letter to him.

IIb: Ic1; IIIa1 (4); IIIa2; IIIb (2). All OK.

IIc: IIIa1; IIIb; IIIc. All OK.

IIIa1: Ic1; Ic2; Va; Vb (2); Leloba Kottang Waktukang; Ib; IVa1. The last two are taboo. Letter to him.

IIIa2: Ia; IIIa2; IVc. All these are taboo. Letter to him.

IIIb: IIa (4); Vb (3); Leloba Kottang Waktukang; outside; IVa. The last is taboo. Letter to him.

IIIc: IIa (4); IIb; IIIa (see note); IVc (3); Vb; outside (3); IIIc (2). The last two cases are taboo. Letter to him. (note: This is the "precedent" incest case. See notes on this.)

IVa1: IIIc. OK.

IVa2: IIIb. OK.

IVb: Ic1; IIa; Leloba Kottang. All OK.

IVc: Ia; Ic1; IIb (2); IIc. All OK.

Va: IIb. OK.

Vb: Ia; IIa (2) IIb (2); IIc.

(Note: The assistant told me that the Nipatale group in IV was IVc2, but in the records his cases are noted as IVa2. Letter to him.)

Outside: outside. OK. 1 case, the guru.

●621 614 582 592 The assistant's map gives "wards" of the five clans, although he marks one place as "mainly Hurint, but mixed," and another is the Riang near Leloba, mainly if not all Leworita or Lewodoreng. According to his "wards," these are out of place:

5: Kennedy--409 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

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	House	Suku	"Ward"
621	8	Datong (wife Hurint	Hurint
614	15	Lewodoreng	Hurint
582	17	Outside (guru)	Lewodoreng
592	18	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	21	Datong (wife Hurint	Hurint
	25	Hurint	Datong
	31	Hurint	Datong
	33	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	37	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	41	Leworita	Lewodoreng
	42	Datong	Lewodoreng
	45	Leworita (wife Datong)	Datong
	47	Leworita	Lewodoreng
	55	Lewodoreng (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	62	Hurint	Leworita
	65	Lewato	Leworita
	66	Hurint (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	67	Leworita (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	68	Lewodoreng	Lewato
	73	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	74	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	75	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	78	Datong	Lewato
	79	Leworita	Lewato
	80	Hurint	Leworita
	81	Hurint (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	82	Hurint	Leworita
	83	Datong (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	87	Leworita	Lewato
	89	Hurint	Leworita

Thus, out of 100 houses, 30 are "out of place." Of these, however, the wife belongs to the "ward of residence" in fourteen cases. This leaves only sixteen cases which are really "out of place."

624 I tried to fill in the offices and ran into
124 some trouble. By using the records and the map
614 on which he indicated the houses of the officials,

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162 of schooling; and he is a Catholic.
624
871 (7) The mandur sekolah is 37; he finished 3 grades,
771 and he is Catholic.
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(8) Molang is 48; he is illiterate, and pagan.

(9) Of the 2 marang besar, both are in their 40's;
1 has finished 3 grades, the other is illiterate;
1 is Catholic (!!), the other is pagan.

(10) The Radja tua of the Riang is 40, illiterate, and pagan.

(11) Of the 7 ne'a luka, 1 is in his 40's, 4 are in their 50's, 2 are in their 70's;
1 has finished 3 grades of schooling, 6 are illiterate;
1 is Catholic, 6 are pagan.

(12) Of the 5 tuno wudjo, their ages are 3, 4, 5, 6, 54; all are illiterate;
4 are Catholic (small childre); 1 is pagan.

Note the large percentage of offices still held by pagans. This is far out of proportion to the actual numbers involved in the local population.

R

ROWOREKE

621 Sections are:
162

I.	Ae Uta	VII.	Nua Mere
II.	Ae Bou	VIII.	Bita
III.	Puu Djambu	IX.	Ae Mura
IV.	Kopo Edo	X.	Wolo Mere
V.	Pau Dari	XI.	Tana Ri
VI.	Rowo Reke Asal	XII.	Ndetu

5: Kennedy--414 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
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	Male	Female	Total	Sex Ratio	Houses	Households	Population per House
I	80	73	153		12	27	13
II	25	33	58		7	10	8
III	25	24	49		5	11	10
IV	9	12	21		2	5	11
V	18	13	31		2	8	16
VI	19	18	37		7	8	5
VII	21	19	40		8	8	5
VIII	15	26	41		8	10	5
IX	13	17	30		5	7	6
X	37	38	75		10	14	8
XI	34	31	65		16	17	4
XII	19	26	45		9	10	5
Total	315	330	645	95.2	91	135	7.1

	Children	Children under 15	Children to Adult	Children to Household	Children under 15 to Adult	Children under 15 to Household
I	92	82				
II	37	35				
III	28	28				
IV	12	9				
V	18	17				
VI	19	14				
VII	20	18				
VIII	24	24				
IX	18	18				
X	44	39				
XI	29	28				
XII	27	23				
Total	368	335	1.3	2.7	1.1	2.5

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565 ranks. There is really no nobility here, only persons who are in line for posts. As for slaves, the assistant gives only the following: No. 183, male, 40, a Gusa, and a pagan. Something is probably queer here.

624 614 771 871 The only offices the assistant gives are:

1. Ata nggaeh nua: No. 1, 60, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
2. Giri tumba: No. 62, 45, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
3. Guru agama: No. 81, 25, Odja, Christian, 4 grades.
4. Kepala kampong: No. 135, 40, Odja, Christian, illiterate.
5. Kapitan: No. 350, 30, Odja, Christian, 3 grades.
6. Djurutulis: No. 509, 40, Odja, Christian, 5 grades.
7. Mandur djalan: No. 532, 40, Ndoru, Christian, 5 grades.
8. Hadji: No. 554, 40, Bangova (Nggobe), Mohammedan, 3 grades.

Odja has the most posts. The pagans seem to keep the adat posts.

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VEOL--NDUNG

162 ●621 592

	Male	Female	Total	Houses	Households	Children	Children under 15
Veol	70	70	140	6	25	82	69
Ndung	89	117	206	9	44	111	105
Total	159	187	346	15	69	193	174

5: Kennedy--425 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
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	Sex Ratio	Population per House	Children per Adult	Children under 15 per Adult
Veol	100.0	23.3	1.4	0.97
Ndung	76.1	22.9	1.1	1.04
Total	85.0	23.1	1.3	1.01

	Children per House	Children per Household	Children under 15 per House	Children under 15 per Household
Veol	13.7	3.3	11.5	2.8
Ndung	12.3	2.5	11.8	2.4
Total	12.9	2.8	11.6	2.5

	Households per House (The law requires that the maximum ratio shall not be over 3!)
Veol	4.2 (5, 8, 2, 4, 3, 3)
Ndung	4.9 (3, 7, 4, 3, 6, 6, 1, 4, 10)
Total	4.6

Population per House

Veol		Ndung	
No. 1	38	No. 7	11
2	46	8	32 (round)
3	9	9	20
4	11	10	10
5	19	11	25 (round)
6	17 (round)	12	28 (round)
		13	6
		14	19
		15	55

I E B C F 12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau OD10 Buru OH8
Enggano OD6 Ceram OH9
Flores OF9 Gayo-Alas OD7
Redjang-Lampong. OD12

2. *Localized clans.*—The complex of localized sub-clans seems to occur in the interior of many of the smaller islands (*e.g.*, Enggano, Buru, Ceram and Flores).[16] Along the coasts, however, mixed villages have grown up consisting of over-seas aliens and emigrant family groups from the interior. In moving toward the coast, kinship groups keep their independence. Even though they live together with the family groups of other clans in villages under a village chief (korano), they occupy their own exclusive land. The village chief, however, has but little authority over those who are not his fellow-clansmen.

3. *Regional communities of mixed clans.*—Mutually unrelated sub-clans, which make up a territorial community are reported, in the first place, among the Minangkabau. Matrilineal clan members not living in the same "nagari" do not form an autonomous community. The communities are, firstly, the family group (sub-clan) inside the village. These family groups are parts of the same portions of different clans. Those that are of the same clan have become independent by fission; secondly, some (not all) unions of such parts of family groups belonging to unrelated clans; thirdly, the "nagari" formed of sub-clans consisting of family groups, organized or not into units. Minangkabau clans, like the Gayo and the Pubian and many others, have their own names.

It is impossible to find a description of the Minangkabau which does not begin with the warning, "Do not generalize." In consequence, to an even greater degree than in other regions, only main outlines can be presented. If their social organization is to be formulated through a reconstruction of its development from the basic units on up, it is necessary to begin with a given number of clans. At a given instant, women of different clans (along with brothers and their brothers' wives) settle on either unowned land or desert land in the area of disposal of some territorial community. Gradually, the joint families grow in size, and so also the settlement.

The process is as follows. Family groups spring up from the women who are looked upon as the first mothers of the settlement. Subdivisions of clans group themselves as indivisible autonomous communities around the family property (lands, the residence, heirlooms, the family title of the head of the family). The family group (sa buah paruiq) should be imagined as originally located in a family house of its own, with the oldest man of the senior genera-

[16] In the recently explored interior of Dutch New Guinea, localized clans have also been discovered.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Gorontolo OG4 Mori-Laki OG7 Atjehnese OD4
Flores OF9 Javanese. OE5

In earlier times, the desa elders were the most important functionaries throughout the entire domain of the life of the community, but today they seem to have atrophied in most regions. JE 623 624

There are a number of "free" desa (perdikan, pekunchen, mijen, pesantren), which received special immunities and privileges from the native princes in the past and whose special character has been recognized by the Dutch Government. JE 621

Communities of Christians are not desa in the native sense, but simply communities of Christians belonging to a desa and possessing their own property (church and funds) and autonomy.

12. *The territorially-based community in Atjeh.*—The autonomous communities of Atjeh are also exclusively territorial. This is true for the large regional communities, as well as the villages. Patrilineal clans (kawon) still have some measure of importance in the highlands, but they do not enter into the structural organization of the territorial community. At 621 614

Atjeh is broken up into a hundred or more regional communities for which there is no native term, and which today exist as territorities or sub-divisions of territories under autocratic, hereditary governors (uleebalang or chiq), and in the directly governed territory, native communes. At the head of each village is a village chief (keuchiq or peutua), a man formerly appointed by the regional chief, but now the holder of an hereditary office. He is "the father of the village." Beside him stands the male "mother of the village," the spiritual ruler who attends to religious and Islamic affairs. Assisted by a council of elders (ureueng tuha), these two rule the village. At 621 622 793 623 Gr F I

13. *Additional territorially-based communities.*—The last group of peoples to be listed as having purely territorial communities are those on the islands of Bangka and Billiton, and in the Malayan territory of Borneo and the East Coast of Sumatra, in addition to which are the "subdistricts" of Gorontolo, and the villages of Bolaang Mongondow. 621

The natives of the Banggai Archipelago live scattered over their islands without any form of political union. Such chiefs as do exist appear to be foreign intrusions established by the native princes. The Ngada people, who live on the island of Flores, are also without community organization. The small family groups, which make up the population, live entirely independent of each other, without any higher community organization. ML [361] F [596]

The various types of community, which we have now outlined,

634 Badjawa is the center of Ngada.
Boawai is the center of Nageh.
622 Kraeng Ngambut is the successor to the dead Radja of Mangegarai, but has not yet been installed.
631 In Flores there are many kapitanschappen, for example, there are two in the town of Ende. Other regions may be divided into kapitanschappen under kapitan, or into landschappen under more important rulers.
124 In general I did not get much information from him. I will see Pastor Raats, a member of parliament from Flores. Perhaps the radjas who are here now are going on the same ship to Ende. And Soumokil will send a cable to Papakai, a friend of his and possibly a member of parliament or something similar.

Flores: Before I left Makassar on December 12, three days late because of a ship strike and general irregularity of KPM, I went to see Pastor Raats, a member of the parliament from Flores. He is Dutch. He gave me some information about locations and general facts concerning Flores, but I did not learn anything very specific from him.

634 Following this we spent a wasted day and then on Monday, at 5 P.M., we sailed on a small ship "Kaimana". Most of the Flores radjas who had been in Makassar for a radja conference were on board this ship. The Sikka radja, Dom. Tomas da Silva, appeared to be a spoiled and rather impolite person similar to the Arompone. He had a large mustache and looked like a Black Portuguese. I saw a photo of him in Levij's office and will receive a copy later. It shows him in a remarkable satin moujik blouse of black and with a Portuguese gold helmet. He is shown standing between two long upright elephant tusks.
634 He is decked out with gold stuff. He appears to
578 be vain and could be troublesome, but I heard

632 and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.

103 Roworeke means: rowo is a bandjir river, dry in the dry season, and one can see this plainly; reke, a kind of red fruit. Watu Roga means a kind of soft stone. The scribe who will become 115 my assistant is a mild looking little fellow, of the suku Ambu Odja, and of the kampong Roworeke. He is married, however, into the kampong Watu Roga. His name is Adrianus Migo, and he is a Catholic. In the kapitanschap Rewarangga there 632 are eighteen kampongs (the kapitanschap Gunung ●622 Rodja has fifteen kampongs). In each there is 614 a kepala kampong. There are also six main suku in the kapitanschap: Rewarangga, Wanda, Ambu Odja, Rea Ndona, Tibo (or Gusa), and Ambu Tara. There are members of other suku in the kapitanschap, but they are not old inhabitants. They [171] have moved in (like the "newcomer non-dati" fams of the Ambon negri). The kapitan of Rewarangga were formerly of suku Rewarangga, but after three of these in succession the kapitan passed into suku Ambu Odja, and there have been four of these. Thus about seven generations are accounted [173] for, or about two hundred years, but the man says that Roworeke is at least four hundred to five hundred years old. This may indicate that the kapitan organization came in only about two hundred years ago. It is not at all certain and I must ask further questions about this kapitan business.

632 The kapitan must be chosen from any of the 565 noble families of any of the five suku. In each 614 suku there are two families which are noble and therefore may become kapitan. Generally the son of a dead kapitan is chosen, but if he is not satisfactory they may choose a kapitan from another noble family of the same suku or from any of the noble lineages of any of the other four 632 sukus. The big reason that the Rewerangga suku 614 lost the kapitanschap was that it had become al-

614 R They did
582 say, however, that Mohammedanism is tending to
178 break down this suku exogamy. Here in Roworeke, however, the old adat is still strong and the exogamous rule still holds. The young people who have gone to school are beginning to rebel, but the elders remain strong and hold to the adat.

771 I asked about religion and they said that at
797 least fifty per cent of the people here are pagan. Most of the rest are Christian, although there are a few Mohammedans. The picture is the familiar one of the younger generation becoming Christian while the older generation remains pagan.

565 If I can believe the story about the nobility,
632 it looks as if there are about ten noble fami-
614 lies eligible to the kapitanschap in all Rewarangga, because there are five suku and about two families of this nobility to each suku.

632 Then I got onto the subject of the officers. In the kapitanschap there is the kapitan, and he is assisted by a scribe, a mandur and an oppas. Evidently these are a secretary, a sort of public works man, and a messenger--sheriff.

622 In the kampong the chief is the kepala kampong,
565 the ata nggaeh nua (ata nggaeh itself is a term
624 for noble). Some of these belong to the nobility and others not (I must find out more about this). The assistant to the kepala kampong is the oro kuni. Then tere are four mosa laki, which seems to them to be the equivalent to the tuan tanah elsewhere. One of these is the main adat chief (thus exactly like the tuan tanah) and he is called the mosa laki mere, or mosa laki pu'u (pu'u is the term for clan, and I must check on this as it may be a survival of a purely genealogical localization of clans in a single kampong). He may also be called merely by the term laki pu'u. The three other mosa laki are: the giri tumba,
624 the ndeto au, and the sikesani. The giri tumba

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624 in the Lio mountain kampongs is called the wiwi-
ria lama lewa, or, as van Suchtelen[1] says, "big
mouth long tongue". He is like a talking chief.

632 The kapitan and the kepala kampong (as well
●622 as the mandur of the kapitan, who on second
624 thought may prove to be a kind of assistant
614 kapitan; and the oro kuni) are clearly adminis-
trative officers, and are not "adat chiefs."
The true adat chief is the mosa laki mere (as
well as the other three mosa laki). This in-
dicates that the kapitan and the kepala kampong,
territorial chiefs, are of a later date, and the
old chief was the tuan tanah or mosa laki mere.
Since the latter is also called laki pu'u, and
pu'u means suku, it looks as though before the
territorial organization, they had only localized
clans. Thus they have the dual division of
chiefs into the administration--territory and
into the adat--genealogical. Going on, I found
693 excellent substantiation of this in that a big
632 case, involving murder or big theft, etc., for
624 example the case in which the Dutch government
614 was interested (a law case, as it were) is judged
622 by the kapitan with the assistance of the four
kepala kampong chosen for him for that case. In
a small case, however, involving adat, judgment
is made only within the kampong (thus adat cases
involve the kampong, which comes before the clan,
I think). And the judges are the mosa laki mere,
acting as chairman, the giri tumba, the ndeto au,
and the sike sani. It looks as though the old
localized clans were ruled by this quadrivirate.
And, these four are completely hereditary. Thus
even in succession they have the genealogical
principle. It comes out clearly in these four
adat chiefs. I must find out from which suku
these officers come.

614 I asked about the present localization of the
suku, and they seemed to agree that the suku are
still largely settled in certain clusters. They

[1] [See p.90 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I must find out how the funerals are run now. Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.
[797] The assistant has finished five grades of schooling in Ndona.

291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
178 men (old style) although this is changing fast, a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
[302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
286 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
531 looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the designs are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
124 I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan. Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they have a holiday whenever there is the slightest excuse for one.

● 622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I must find out about later, is how the kepala kampong is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some re-
624 marks about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan and others are not. I must get this kepala kampong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

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	My Spelling	Kapitan's spelling
632	13. Pu'umbindi	Poeoe Mbindi
621	14. Mbago	Mbgko (?)
	15. Pemodjera	Pemo Djera
	16. Volofeo	Wolo Feo
	17. Bu'ube'i	Boeoebei
	18. Sokopedji	Soko Pedji

The w and v are, or seem to be, separate, but the spelling here seems to indicate that they are the same. F, however, is separate. Of the eighteen, Roworeke and Worowai used to be (up until the Japanese time) together, but now they are separate kampongs. I wonder if this did not happen before so recently. Also the three (Vavoeü, Ratebedi, and Kekambero) were once one, named Rabu. This is still used evidently once in a while for their general area. We got onto the
624 matter of the mosa laki, and it develops that in-
632 deed there are the Big Four for the gemeente, and in addition there is a Little Four in each kampong. The Big Four, however, are also the Little Four of both Roworeke and Worowai. Thus the mosa laki mere of Rewarangga is also the mosa laki mere of both Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The giri tumba of Rewarangga is also the giri tumba of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Roworeke. The ndeto au of Rewarangga is also the giri tumba of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The sike sani of Rewarangga is also the sike sani of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The kampong combination is because Roworeke and Worowai were still one kampong until recently.

624 Each of the other sixteen kampongs has its own
622 Little Four. Also, each kampong of the eighteen has a kepala kampong or ata nggaeh nua, and his assistant, the oro kuni.

614 In each kampong there seems to be one suku

We
511 as I see more of this country. This area is terribly poor and overcrowded, full of stones, and has little water. The girls and women have
[312] to haul water for Leloba from the coast, which is three kilometers off. And there is little food in the town. They are really hungry.

Vatter told of great illnesses here, and I
164 can see many examples of this today. Sore eyes
511 are terrible and probably caused by lack of vitamins. There are many children with large bellies, skin sores, etc. Nowhere before have I seen such misery in regard to mere existence. Last year, a priest told us later, there was a famine here. And now I can see how vital the old rainmaking and the practices of the tuan tanah must be here.

797 At the mission headquarters in Larantuka we
634 were told that it is hard for the mission to
661 make plans here, because every time they get an
423 improvement, for example, in the land system,
427 the radja comes in and seizes the best land.
624 Also the tuan tanah stands up against all changes, and he is a "chiseler" also. Thus if they have a project which brings acres of improved land, the bigwigs wait until the work is done on it and then take the best part for themselves. The local people thus lose their land and many have thus been forced to work on the radja's land or for other big men as sharecroppers. Evidently the common division here is one-fourth of the crop for the sharecropper. The priests seem to regard the tuan tanah, who is the ritual and adat leader, as the worst.

622 We had some gin with the priest and then went
159 to the house of the guru Roy. He was Vatter's[1] assistant, and his house is the biggest in the kampong. He could be the kepala kampong, but because he is a guru, he passed the post on to his younger brother. They belong to the Hurin suku, which is different from the usual thing,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113—Analyst]

159 wherein the kepala kampong is a Kottang. This is
[622] all right according to adat, he says. The guru is
an old fellow, sick with a cough. He was not there,
and his daughter, who might be any age from eighteen
to thirty, talked with us. She seems to be a queer
type, and it is strange that she is not married. I
get the idea there is some friction between her and
her father. She had five years of schooling at the
sisters' school in Larantuka. A son of the guru is in
Makassar as a clerk (I think in a church office),
and he married a Leloba girl recently. The guru
[582] married a woman from the same suku, but the daugh-
ter says this is all right as she was from Laran-
tuka. If she were from any kampong behind the moun-
tain, this would have been impossible. The house
was adorned with holy pictures. The guru said he
[797] was converted in 1907, and as he is now perhaps
771 sixty, that was when he was about eighteen. There
178 are no more pagans in Leloba, a change from Vatter.
The old pagan stuff in a material form is all gone.

124 After our talk we decided that perhaps Wailolong
121 was the best community in which to work, because
Leloba is entirely Christian. In addition, Leloba
was done by Vatter. Wailolong is about the same
size as Leloba and at the crossroads below. We
talked a great deal about adat and then came back
to Larantuka with the guru, who wanted to visit
the children in the school there.

In the afternoon we picked him up and went to
312 Wailolong. On the way we picked up the kepala kam-
pong Leloba and a few others. They were at the
[515] other crossroad near the spa, and here there were
many women bathing (there is no water in the kampong
for this). Women were also hauling water from this
place. The guru said they had to go even farther
778 for water originally. It seems as though all of the
kampongs have a higher negri lama, as in Ambon.
There are holy stones here too.

361 Wailolong is along the main road and is located
161 on both sides of this highway. It may have as
many as one hundred houses and a possible population
of seven hundred.

[See bibliography, Cat. 113-Analyst]

000 trols this atomism.

124 The next day we went to the kampong, stopping
212 at Mudakaputu, and Watuwiti, and other places on
115 the way. These all seemed less good than Wailolong. For example, Riangkamiß had only two suku; others had none or only one korke, etc. At Leloba, the guru had another guru with him, and said that we must use him as he was not so good at writing. Then I asked about whether or not it might not be a good idea to use an assistant who lives in Wailolong, but they said nobody there can write well because most of them have attended only three grades of schooling. Then we went to the district chief, the kakang, who was formerly in Boschwesen, and who is a man with good authority. He said he would order the Wailolong folk to help and would put at my disposal a lad from Wailolong. Also, he said he would order them to let us use one of the rumah pemuda, or boys' houses, in Wailolong. We talked at length about the situation and it seems that there are really no people in Wailolong who are able to write well.

773 We talked about the way the old stories are
178 dying out and the young people won't listen any
872 more. The guru Roy and a few old men only are the ones who know very much. The guru is the best, and he knows all of the ancestors back for nineteen generations. He also complained about how the schools do not have books about Indonesia and the local affairs, but rather about Europe, which the children cannot understand.

632 We had taken in the jeep a lot of kepala suku
622 and kepala kampong of Wailolong to the kakang
693 where they were to have a case hearing. It is
614 evidently a case concerned with marriage. The kepala suku are clearly old style fellows. Several
[30] of the old men had long hair and necklaces and one had a tattoo on his chest. The kakang gave a
614 speech ordering them to help us. Then we went to

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Men of	Marry Women of
IVa2	III
IVb	I, II
IVc	I, II
Va	I, II
Vb	I, II

582 614 835 583 684 178 The case of IIIc intermarrying with IIIa (perhaps it is IIIb) was one of incest which involved three virtually simultaneous marriages which occurred two generations ago. There were three men from one family who paid a very high bride price. This is like the similar case in Leloba. I asked how much higher the bride price was in these cases, and he said that they had to pay more tusks, but the man had to kill all of his animals. Thus it seems like a kind of tremendous purifying feast in order that the incest may be allowed. He said that the Leloba incestuous arrangement is still technically in, and anyone who wants to follow it now may do so without paying the tremendous price the pioneers once did. Both of the men who did it in Leloba are dead now. As for the Wailolong cases, this arrangement has been stopped, or rather, if it is carried on today it is wrong. They don't do it any more. There were the three men and then it ended. I asked about any resulting disasters and he said it is true that these sinners had had terrible troubles. I must ask what these troubles were exactly.

624 The offices are as follows:

622 614 --Kepala Kampong Kottang (Ib)

554 I. Radja Tuan Datong (kepala suku, tuan tanah) (Ia)

(2) a. Kelake Ama Radja (kepala ama (same man as I)

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(1) b. Kelake Ama Belolong
c. Kelake Ama Rere

--Kepala Kampong Keleng (Leworita) (IIb)

II. Radja Tuan Leworita (IIa)
(1) a. Kelake Subamaki(ng) (same man as II)
(2) b. Kelake Harutmaki(ng)
(3) c. Kelake Tapopuka(ng)

--Kepala Kampong Hurint (IIIc)

III. Radja Tuan Ama Hurint (IIIa)
(2) a. Kelake Hadumbole(ng) (Same man as IIIa)
(1) b. Kelake Marimaki(ng)
(3) c. Kelake Melamaki(ng)

IV. Radja Tuan Lewato (IVa)
a. Kelake Waru'i(ng) (same man as IVa)
b. Kelake Waktuka(ng)
c. Kelake Tuhowutung

V. Radja Tuan Lewodoreng (Vb)
a. b. Kelake Waru'i(ng)--Engamaki(ng)
(same man as V)

(The arabic numerals to the left of the lower case letters in the above list refer to the relative rank of the offices listed.)

The last of these five suku is small and so has only one officer. There are only nine men in this suku (they reckon the size of a suku by the number of men in it), and thus there are perhaps only about thirty to forty people in all. They mentioned other suku with forty or more men. Lewato is also not very large. They say it has about twice as many as Lewodoreng. (These are IV and V.)

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The kepala kampong is purely an administrative chief. The adat chiefs, who were evidently the only chiefs formerly, are the radja tuan and the

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622 kelake. Evidently the kepala kampong have been
624 superimposed on the other system.
614 The purely administrative chiefs are:

Kepala Kampong Kottang (he is the kepala kampong)
Kepala Kampong Kelen (IIb)
Kepala Kampong Hurint (IIIc)

The latter two have this as their only titled rank. If I am right that the kepala kampong is also the kepala kampong Kottang, then there are really sixteen officers, i.e., actual men in office, but the total number of offices is twenty-three. Some men have more than one office. When
[788] there are ceremonies, the praying (marang) is
[887] done, not by the man from suku Marang, but by the oldest man who is clever. Here it is a man
[756] named Bugis, from IIa. He is also the molang, or medicine man. Can it be that often the two go together? The guru, as noted above, says that even in Leloba, where they have a suku named Marang, this is not the praying suku at the rites. The chief of the Marang suku is merely a bander around of betel. In Vatter's time in Leloba the one who prayed was Laba, says the guru.

614 Note that an alternative term for Ama is Mela. Thus one can say, for example, either Ama Hurint or Mela Hurint.

693 Yesterday we met the chiefs of Wailolong.
624 They were at the kakang's office for a marriage
302 case. They were partly made up of short-haired Christians, but there were also pagan longhairs. I must get a photograph of all of them together with the information on who they are. Probably the administrative ones are the modern and the adat ones are the old pagans.

614 For the kepala suku they always have an old
887 man if possible. If no old man is available, however, they may have to take a younger one.

614 I must get on to the method of choosing the
622 & [See bibliography, c.22.113 --Analyst]

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614 chiefs and also clear up the exact differences
● 622 between the kepala suku and the kepala kampong, if any.

622 The next day I got an explanation of the
624 officers. The three kepala kampong (called
614 Kottang, Kelen and Hurint) are the administra-
574 tive officers. They are chosen by their respec-
796 tive suku. They have no ritual function as such,
231 unless they happen also to be either kepala suku of their suku or the kelake of their ama. The radja tuan and the kelake are also chosen by their respective suku and ama, but from the noble lineage within the suku. They must come from the "big house" (Lango' Bele'). Each suku has one such big house, and so does each ama. I have seen them in Leloba. I found out, however, that the head and feet are not actually held by the kepala suku Kottang and Kelen, but rather by some man, evidently it matters not who, from their suku. Also, the kepala suku Hurint himself does not actually cut (though evidently he may do so if he wants to), but usually delegates the job to one of his fellow suku members.

It happens then, in Wailolong, that there are five radja tuan and three kepala kampong. Then there are the kelake.

If they hold a suku feast, i.e., a feast on the land of the suku itself and which concerns only the suku, it runs something like this in each of the suku:

Ama Datong	Head:	Man from Ama Radja.
	Feet:	Man from Ama Belolong.
	Cut:	Man called in from Ama Hurint, but may not be from Nipatale.
Leworita	Head:	Man from IIa.
	Feet:	Man from IIb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

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●622 624 614 796 574 231

Ama Hurint	Head:	Man called from Ia or Ib.
	Feet:	Man called from IIa or IIb.
	Cut:	Man from Hurint, except Nipatale.
Lewato	Head:	Man from IVa.
	Feet:	Man from IVb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.
Lewodoreng	Head:	Man from Va.
	Feet:	Man from Vb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

If a kampong feast is held for all of the people, the setup is as follows:

Head:	Man from Ama Radja (Ia).
Feet:	Man from Subamaki(ng) (IIa).
Cut:	Man from III, except Nipatale.

614 567 423 582 [796] [753]

The Nipatale groups--in Wailolong they are IIIa2 and IVa2; in Leloba IV-lb--are former slaves, bought respectively by the Ama Hadumbole(ng) Waru'i(ng), and Lewamaki(ng) amas. They have no ritual standing and they may never hold or cut. They just look on. Also, they have no land of their own, but use the land of their masters (i.e., the ama who bought their ancestors). They must give the first fruits of their gardens to these masters, and if they do not they get sick. He says that they were bought from Adonara not long ago, perhaps about four generations. They are not really free yet. They must obey the orders of their masters. In ordinary life, however, this is a matter of adat and respect (hormat), and they are not ashamed. It is really a matter of (a) owning no land of their own; (b)

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693 632 624 [622] tions. Murder, theft, etc., come to the kepala kampong or kapitan. Such cases are not within the adat sphere. These officials do not interfere with each other's spheres.

632 624 622 The situation in regard to the offices is as follows: The Big Four of the gemeente who are also the Little Four of Roworeke (combined with Worowai) are respectively from Rewarangga, Odja, Rewarangga, and Rewarangga. All except the giri tumba are from Worowai, and here there is a rumah berhala. Only an Odja or a Rewarangga man (and he must be a resident of Roworeke) may be elected kapitan or kepala kampong of Roworeke. In each of the other kampongs there are families in which the Little Fours are hereditary posts. This position is inherited from father to eldest son.

[796] There are no set ritual functions associated with these offices, but the mosa laki mere of the Big Four (I think) must always be there for a big ceremony, and he must receive the lower jaws of the animals slaughtered. I note that an alternative term for the four mosa laki is tuan tanah.

771 796 Some of the people here are Catholics, and I asked if they still did the ritual and prayed when they held a big ceremony. He say yes, and that Catholicism makes no difference in this matter. He was firm in stating that there are Catholic things and adat things. They are separate. The two main feasts of the year are those held at planting and at harvest time, when the crops are brought in ritually to the kampong. At these feasts the mosa are the leaders and the big leader is the local mosa laki mere. There is animal slaughter, dancing, singing, and praying. They wear festive clothes. And there is also a big suku feast when the bone house of a suku is rebuilt. Thousands attend. Smaller private rites are held for such

796 241 574 527 [614] [341] 000

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614 here the process has gone much further and they
124 are slower in general to respond. Anyway I got
to the point where they said that there are
really only two "native" suku here in Roworeke,
[622] Odja and Rewarangga. Only an Odja can become
kepala kampong.

622 Incidentally, they agreed that in the old
624 days they had only four adat chiefs. The kepala
[177] kampong were superimposed by the Dutch. They
know this. I asked who were really higher in
rank, the mosa laki mere or the kepala kampong,
and they said that they were just different.
614 Other suku than the main two here are for example, Wanda, Ndoru, Songo, Soa, Fongi; all of which are from Lio, and are represented here by women who have married in mostly. Then there is Djawa, which has been here for a long time. Also there is Meo, from Nggobe; Gusi, from another Ende gemeente; Gusa (or Tibo), from Koavena; another Rewarangga kampong; and Woro (same).

778 Koa is the negri lama of the Gusa suku, and there the rumah berhala is located. It is the one that has the images. Many of the oldtimers live there. It is one kilometer uphill from the km. 10 mark on the road, just above the kapitan's garden. There is a rumah berhala in Worowai, where rites are held. I must get to see this.

There is no question here but that the
614 Rewarangga suku has the greatest power in all the gemeente. It may also have been the original suku. Next in order is Odja, and evidently next in line comes Reandona, whose native kampong is Manunggo'o, in the hills above Roworeke.

527 On December 27, after the ceremony of independence, came the same sort of thing as on flag day, but now for nearly a week there will be no
487 work. We left for Badjawa, the capital of Ngada. The road went along the coast through a number

311 241 cover for agriculture too, and this causes a great[1] economic problem.

114 He said that much of Arndt's[2] and other scholars' findings were wrong as they use Christian
124 gurus as assistants, and the latter do not tell
159 them exactly what the old men say. The young
634 assistants "doctor up" the information. They also misunderstand some of the old ideologies. This was one of many implications in his talk that showed he was not uncritical of the Christians. He has been radja longer than any other in Flores, thirty-one years and seven months. In his youth he was a Dutch army man too. He says that there was no road built when he was first made radja but the mission was already there. He also says that he is the most important radja in West Flores, although all of the royal families here are interrelated. He says he represents the older sibling branch, and Nageh and Manggarai radjas are the younger sibling branches. It is true that the Manggarai radjadom dates only from 1929, and before this there were only dalu, three of whom were most powerful.

194 The Radja speaks Malay with remarkable gutteral sounds which Arndt[2] says are characteristic of Ngada folk. They also have at least one implosive, as in bhaga. He has his house in the kampong Radja, not far from the town.

361 The town is notably modern in appearance, with
797 the mission influence as usual. In the center there is a large plaza where the football field
[485] is located, as usual. The pasanggrahan is a
622 good one, and the mandur looks like a nickel-
634 head Indian. He was in the army once too and served in Sumatra, especially in Atjeh. He is evidently a friend of the Radja, as he enters
[565] and talks with him freely. The Radja mixes
443 freely with the people here, as we noted at the pasar malam. The latter, to which we went at

[1] [i.e., the Radja of Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

632 1. Weol, with Weol as the center kampong and
621 three branch kampongs. They all trace from Weol. There are three other Weol kampongs in the daluschap Tjibal to the north.

2. Ndung, with Ndung as the center kampong and five branch kampongs. All of them, including Ndung, stemmed originally from Weol. Indeed, the dual kampong Weol-Ndung is the center whence spread out all the kampongs of both Weol
[614] and Ndung. And they evidently were all of the same clan, the va'u Weol. Thus this covers two gelarang districts.

3. Tjumbi, with seven branch kampongs.

4. La'o, with three branch kampongs.

5. Rahong, with seven branch kampongs. But this is a special case as it is the directly governed complex of the dalu. The dalu lives, however, in kampong Waukung, in the gelarang Tjumbi. These kampongs are scattered over the four gelarang into which the daluschap is divided. Thus, in all, there are thirty-three kampongs.

622 There is a tuan tanah in each kampong, but
624 not a kepala kampong in each. See below. The
632 big tuan tanah, the gelarang tuan tanah, are in Weol, La'o, Tjumbi, and Ndung kampongs. I wonder if perhaps, before, these were the district chiefs, that is, before the dalu came in.

Some of the tuan tanah are also kepala kampong. That is, they have two posts. This is so
[565] in about half of the cases, but all kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah "nobility." Thus the kepala kampong of Weol is the brother of the tuan tanah. Thus they have managed to keep even the purely administrative officers in the adat-chiefly families.

The post of tuan tanah goes to the eldest son, but the kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu, after quietly finding out the will of the folk in the kampong.

Weo

614 All the people in Weol gelarang are of va'u
166 Weol. There is one exception, the va'u Tjepang. These folk came in before from Boleng, in North Manggarai. They settled in kampong Weol, but when things became crowded, they went below to kampong Tjantjar. The latter alone has many people who are not of the va'u Weol, except for real newcomers, such as the Ruteng folk in Ndung, who came to work in the gardens (evidently as coolies) and settled down. There are many outsiders in the mixed and new kampong Tjantjar.

614 The original ancestors of the va'u Weol came
773 out of a bamboo at a spot near the present spring
824 below Weol. There are bamboo trees there de-
784 scended from the original one. The original ancestors were a pair: Vako Dangka and Ine Karas. Not only is the bamboo taboo but also the lusa (red beans). For example, if a child eats these unwittingly, a fowl must be killed. They do not "cut off" the tongue symbolically with a leaf as is done in some other areas.

614 Women from other clans marrying into Weol
784 must take on the taboo of their husbands. A
562 Weol woman marrying into another clan may eat
783 lusa, but only after performing the rite called ela penteng pitak, which means "to clean off the mud." She must take on the totem taboos of her husband's clan. The woman marrying into Weol gives up her own taboos, but must also do the ela penteng pitak. This ceremony involves a pig sacrifice. Thus every woman marrying into another clan must do this rite to give up her own totems. The name of the totem taboo is tjek'ki.

565 There is a nobility which applies to the
632 radjas, dalu, and gelarang. The gelarang are
624 the tuan tanah (and kepala kampong) of the cen-
622 tral kampongs of the gelarang districts, for
[634] example, Weol. Thus Weol has two gelarang, and Ndung has only one, because the kepala kampong

565 of Meler, the main kepala kampong of the Ndung
632 complex, lives in Meler. The dalu came in
624 about 1870. They were put in by Bima, and the
622 tuan tanah said that they were of Bima origin.
(Does this mean that no native chiefs were made dalu? Evidently.)

622 There is no native term for the kepala kam-
624 pong. The tuan tanah is the tu'a tenu. In each
592 house there is a house chief, the tu'a mbaru. The latter word means house. He is chosen by the men of the house.

623 The kampong council, which must be called
592 together for each case, includes the tuan tanah,
693 the kepala kampong, and the tu'a mbaru of their own houses. If the case involves adat, the tuan tanah is the chairman. An example of this would be a case concerned with land. If the case is concerned with administration, for example, with theft, the kepala kampong acts as chairman. In all cases, however, all of the members of the council are present.

614 The clans are divided into subclans called
624 panga. Each of these has a chief, the tu'a panga. In Weol there are three panga and three tu'a panga. Two of these are also the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong. There are two panga and two tu'a panga in Ndung. The tuan tanah there is also tu'a panga of his panga and tu'a mbaru of his house.

614 I asked about the origin of the panga. The
173 original ancestors, Vako Dangka and Ine Karas, had two sons: Lando Kakor and Naloholles. They married wives of another va'u and between them had seven sons (their daughters were forgotten, a reversal of the Ngada story, where the daughters of Djawa are remembered and the sons forgotten). Each of these became an ancestor of a panga, and in the course of time their descendants split into many more panga. New panga may be formed at any time, even now, as the old ones

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872 one-half years ago. Children of, for example,
[177] fifteen can't enter this school because they
are too old. This is a big reason why there is
less acculturation here than in Larantuka.
624 Also, Larantuka has lost the power of adat
●622 chiefs to a greater degree, as has Ende. Here
177 they still are the most powerful leaders, and
even the kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah
family. This is clearly the area of least ac-
culturation, although in agriculture and tech-
nology they are just as advanced if not more so
than in the other areas. For example, witness
the wooden houses. But adat is stronger here,
and the mother's brother's daughter marriage
still stands. The priests still compromise
527 more with the old. There are many many feasts.
574 There are feasts at birth, death, marriage, if
796 there are many children, at planting, at har-
756 vest, when a new garden is made, when a new
755 house is erected, and on many other occasions.
Some of these are large and some are small.
Some are for the family, and some are celebrated
by larger units. Some are celebrated by the
entire kampong. The biggest is perhaps the
cleansing of the kampong ceremony. The medi-
cine man, mbako decided when one is needed.
Thus he says there is a lot of illness, etc.,
and it is time they had a "tjutji kampong."
756 There is at least one mbako in each kampong,
609 and some kampongs have more. He learns his
trade from his father, but there are cases where
such succession is not followed. There is one
in Weol. However, they will never tell an out-
sider who the mbako is. He is secret. They all
know who he is. However, even during a rite,
he keeps in the background so that he can be
kept hidden. Query: Is this because of the
fear of the mission or the government or what?
I couldn't get much about the latter, but I
will try later. This is amazing!

R

614 like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now. Woro
361 came from Ndungga (Lio). It is unknown at present where Soa, Songo, and Mboti came from. Fongi came from Wolotope (Lio). Sue came from Tombe (Rabu; Rewarangga). Wai came from Wolotolo (Lio). Mbonggi came from Volofeo (Rewarangga). Pare came from Mbomba (Berai). Lenalaba came from Dile (Lio). Watu came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Gusi came from Watusipi (Berai). Wadja came from Potu (Nggobe).

622 Then we got onto the matter of who may be-
565 come kepala kampong. They said that he must be of the bangsawan class or the people will not follow him. Thus he must be of a mosa laki family. There are three possibilities in the rank of the kampongs:

(1) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are the same man.

(2) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are brothers.

(3) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are of the same family.

Thus Roworeke has a kepala kampong of the mosa laki family. The same situation is true in Worowai and Manunggo'o. Worowaku has a kepala kampong and mosa laki mere in the same person. In Arereke they are in the same family, and so on.

632 The offices in the gemeente are: kapitan, the Big Four, the oppas (oppa), djurutulis (djurutuli), and mandur (oro kuni).

624 The officers of the kampong are: kepala kampong, the Little Four, mandur (oro kuni).

875 The two school teachers live in Waturoga. The head teacher is from Maumere, the other from Ndona. The religious teacher lives in Roworeke.

484 Everyone here in Roworeke has at least gone to Ende. They have seen little else, however. When they go to Ende they usually go for a single

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621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are still formed partly of suku or suku sections coming in and joining the old settlers from the negri lama.

443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series as in Celebes. These wheels run in different directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru, and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The traders follow the pasar week from market to market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kam-
583 pongs, although there is gift exchange in
562 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male" things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a woman gives in return "female" things (cloth, mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere, and said that many had drowned there recently. The water is deep, he said, and there lives a "head" of a human being. It is still living and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has seen it several times, in daylight. It moves around as though on short legs. It is just a human head, with hair. They don't know what it is or where it came from. However, the people are now scared to bathe here. The victims have been sucked under. He asked me my opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
[123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith, because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere. They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head alone").

●622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

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622 the Bapa ketjil. I might never have found this
693 out if I hadn't seen him dressed in adat cos-
624 tume coming into an adat meeting for a case
hearing. His younger brother is the admini-
strative kepala kampong. (The kapitan says
[565] that if the kepala kampong did not come from
[212] nobility the people would not follow him, and
so I can see that they choose a man of the
adat kepala kampong or ata nggaëh nua family
for the administrative kepala kampong and in
addition one who can read and write. Then
they can keep the old man in the adat post.)
Maybe there are cases of one man being both.
624 Thus in the kampong there are really five adat
622 officers: the ata nggaëh nua, the mosa laki
632 mere, the giri tumba, the ndeto au, and the
693 sikesani. The administrative ones are the
kepala kampong and the oro kuni. The same
pattern holds for the district. The kapitan
is the administrative man, and then the mosa
laki mere besar acts as adat chief. This
might be the same man, I suppose. Then they
have the other big mosa laki.

The adat case came up at noon, and coming
to it were the Big Four (here the Kampong Four
too), the kepala kampong, the ata nggaëh nua,
and the kapitan. The chairman and judge, the
mosa laki mere, as well as others (e.g., the
kapitan), could ask questions and keep things
in line. The kepala kampong must be present
too (evidently both kinds of kepala kampong).
This case was one concerned with marriage. I
must ask later what it was.

Kattenburg got some material on administra-
tion. Theoretically, the adat chiefs are
supposed to be used for administrative posts
by the government. But they are rarely so
used evidently, and this causes the dual sys-
tem: adat and administration. They may coin-
cide at any point. Generally, I think that

R Generally, I think that
632 the government has not put adat chiefs (for
●622 example, ata nggaëh nua) into administrative
624 posts. This also holds for the mosa laki. I
693 can think of the following possible reasons:
631 (1) adat chiefs are largely illiterate and cannot do administrative work therefore; (2) adat chiefs are largely pagan, and the mission, therefore, probably does not like them (indeed, one of the main ends of the mission is to do away with that devil, the tuan tanah; they usually say they want to do this because he stands in the way of progress and land reform, but this is a rationalization; it is like killing the Toradja death feasts because of immorality, when the real reason is that they constitute the main bulwark of pagan survival); (3) adat chiefs formerly and potentially even today are probably the centers of possible revolt against alien laws and government, and thus it is better not to let them have too much power. So they let them handle harmless adat cases. This is indirect rule on the adat level, taking all important functions away from them. Nevertheless, I note that the ad-
[565] ministrative appointees (who may be "elected" in a way) are always or nearly always of the adat chiefly families. Thus, here the kepala kampong is the younger brother of the ata nggaëh nua, and the kapitan is a noble of the adat lineage. They are literate and Christian (or Mohammedan) nobles of the old adat nobility.

Ngada and Nageh: The Ngada Y- or rather
231 U-topped upright, is used to run a buffalo rope
417 through. One end of the rope is attached to the neck of the buffalo and then passed through the U, and the other end is fastened to the stone post. Thus it is held taut when the buffalo is killed.

764 Ngada "resting places" along the road are
211 rectangular stone heap mounds, flat on top,

Wae

582 IIIc marrying a woman of IIIa. This is some-
614 thing which happened two generations back when three men of IIIc married, for a high bride price, women of IIIa. However, this has been discontinued officially. The case did happen once, and it was definitely wrong. The assistant said it was incorrect. From the records I can see that there are very few endogamous marriages. The assistant says that they are a rare exception even today, although a few do it. It is wrong. The great bulk of the people here follow the rules strictly.

The suku Lewodoreng, in either Leloba or Wailolong, cannot marry with Lewonuhah. They are in a relationship of metemereng, i.e., older sibling--younger sibling. There is something to the elder--younger sibling business which constantly crops up here.

622 The three kepala kampongs in each kampong
[614] are called kepala kampong Kottang, kepala kampong Keleng, and kepala kampong Hurint. These should be the Radja Tuans of the three main suku, i.e., the kepala suku or tuan tanah. And some of them are. However, it may be that the radja tuan may not want the post of kepala kampong which he may have, and so he gives this job over to a relative, in every case I have heard of, to a brother. Thus Roy is Radja Tuan of Hurint in Leloba, but he has given the kepala kampong post to his younger brother. There may be other variations too. Thus Leloba has only a kepala kampong Keleng and a kepala kampong Hurint. The kepala kampong Keleng is also the brother of the Radja Tuan Keleng, who has given over the post to him. There is no kepala kampong Kottang in Leloba now because the Kakang of the gemeente was the occupant of this post formerly, and since he has been in the kakang post, his former post has not been filled.

We Today there are more meetings and greater
208 effort to get the opinions of the people. This
634 is especially so since this Radja came in about
178 eleven years ago. Formerly, the radja merely
663 ordered things to be done and paid no heed to
648 the local requirements, etc. Also, the radja gets around to more areas now. (We noted that the Radja is making a good-will tour, and probably all of them are scared of another Java.) He said that there is a much closer arrangement between the radja and the people now. Formerly the Dutch and the radjas worked together very closely, and anyone who spoke up was simply jailed. I can see this is as in Ende, and the Dutch here until the end used the jail as the solution for everything. They wouldn't listen to anything else. If the radja and Dutch work together the result is tyranny, and it is real here.

There is more justice here now, they say. They say this began about eleven years ago with the present Radja. But this may be out of respect, and they admit that the real change has taken place here since the war. The war really liberated Indonesia. There is no more use of brute force. People can speak up now.

789 We had a long talk about magical power. They
769 say that the power of the chiefs, from the radja
●622 to the adat kepala kampong to the kepala suku to
[153] the kelake, is all a matter of fear of ances-
[152] tral punishment. If they do not obey, they become sick and have misfortunes. The magical power comes mainly from the ancestral spirits, but it is funneled through the magic stones of authority too. The curse power of an adat chief is very great. The power of the purely administrative chiefs, for example, the kepala kampong, who does not deal with adat, and the kalang, is that of the police, etc. This is actually not so because all of the chiefs are of the proper succession. If they ever tried to put one in

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789 who was not so, the people would not follow him,
769 or rather they would do so only out of fear of
●622 being sent to jail. Such respect would be given only halfheartedly.

The power of the chiefs, up to the radja, rests on their "blood" or legitimate succession, and on the power of their ancestors, who uphold the proper authority and punishment the disobedient by unseen power. Legitimacy and magic power from the ancestors go together. I asked whether, if a bad man succeeded to a post legitimately, they would revolt? They said absolutely not, as he would be legitimate. However, they would rest assured that the ancestors would see to it that the bad fellow died quickly. The idea is to have faith in the ancestors. Following a succession of bad crops, or crop failure, illness, etc., they think that something is wrong. They may think that the chief concerned does not have the right power. They may seek ways out and may even ask the radja about it. But they would never revolt.

There are a few cases where two men hold the same post (adat) in Wailolong. These cases (Blawa, the one talked of) are of the kelake, and what happened was that the legitimate man could not seem to get the proper "wave length" to the powers, and the crops, etc., were bad. So, though they could not drive him out, they got another man to work with him. I think that what happens is that the new man, who gets results, does the main ritual work while the legitimate man, who has the title, passes around the betel. Thus form is kept. It is said, however, that there are a few "rebels". I must check this.

789 This led to a talk about what magical power is. They call it no'o ike(ng). It is mana or tondi. It means to have power literally. Everyone has some of the soul stuff or Lebenskraft,

Wov

783 The people here must confess at least once a year.

666 632 565 634 622 [646] There are only two elected representatives here and also in Wailolong. The only election in the area is for the parliament. There is also a kind of election for the kakang. The choosers are the twenty-four kepala kampong of the eight kampongs. In the old days, although they got together, and went through the form of accepting the oldest son of the deceased or ejected kakang, it had to be the eldest son. Now they actually choose from candidates. The candidates must be of the proper nobility, so there aren't very many. Thus, when the previous kakang went out (he was ejected in 1938 because of a misdemeanor), there were three candidates: Roy, a man from Lewohala, and the present kakang. Roy says they were the only ones who were both noble and qualified. By the latter term he means that they were clever enough for the job. They had to be of the direct descending family of the radja tuan or kelake. The Radja of Larantuka is chairman of the electoral committee. Roy said that he does not force a choice, but lets everybody talk freely.

632 634 622 [178] Then it came out that there have actually been three phases in the kakang business: (1) pre-1915: he merely represented the succession; (2) 1915--1938: a period of tyranny, when the radja simply chose whom he pleased. This was the period when the Dutch and the radja worked together, the dark years; and (3) 1938--present: election within limits. Roy knows the word "candidaat."

Nowadays the radja must accept the will of the kepala kampong. The last imposed kakang, of the Larantuka Radja family, was deposed in 1938. He had been chosen by the radja three years before.

[661] In 1924 Roy had been elected by the kepala kampong, but the radja would not accept him (in 1938 Roy was a candidate but was not elected). This is an example of radja tyranny.

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000 This is an example of radja tyranny.

888 178 622 Formerly, politicians were older than they are today. Indeed, they would not follow a younger man formerly very well. Today there are plenty of cases of an older radja tuan giving his rightful kepala kampong post to a younger brother. At least it is usually the latter, for this keeps it in the proper family. The older man keeps the adat post. (This is what Roy himself has done here). He said that this is done: (1) because if there is trouble in the kampong, the kepala kampong bears the brunt of this and may have to go to jail. It is better to have two men so that one can carry on the administration; (2) the older man is often unable to read and write. Formerly the three kepala kampong were always the same men as the radja tuan of the three main suku.

[561] 178 797 177 This led to a long talk about the conflict between generations. Roy says that there is no conflict here, as they give in if the children are firm enough. He also says that although the old resisted religious change before, they have surrendered now and know that it is hopeless. When they are dead they know that paganism will be finished. It came out clearly here that the only real force of change has been Catholicism. And the only area of change has been religion, although other aspects have been affected thereafter. Thus we got again onto the subject of religion.

797 178 I asked if, if there were a long period of misfortunes, there might not be a reversion to paganism. He said that this is conceivable, but that it has gone too far now for this to be a strong probability. He gave a case of a kampong on the neck of Tandjung Bunga, Riang Koli, which not long ago decided that it would not give up paganism but would merely make a deliberate combination of it and Catholicism. How-

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632 634 ●622 [177] I asked first for the history of the kapitanschap here. I found that it is only about thirty-seven years old. That means that it dates from the Dutch entry (which began in 1907). And the kepala kampong dates from the same time. Before that they had only the adat chiefs, the mosa laki. The record:

1.	Present radja (Odja)	5 years.
2.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	1 year.
3.	Preceding radja (Odja)	2 years.
4.	Preceding radja (Odja)	11 years.
5.	Preceding radja (Odja)	15 years. (approximate).
6.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	3 years (approximate).
Total		37 years

Then we talked about the election of radjas, and I found out that the only "voters" are the nine kapitans and the nine mosa laki mere of the gemeente. The kepala kampong may attend, but he has no voice. This shows how important the mosa laki still are.

622 887 624 The ata nggaeh is not the adat kepala kampong as I had supposed. What happens is that in every kampong there is an old man who is called ata nggaeh, and he knows all about adat. He attends all the adat cases. Thus the man is Bapa Ketjil. The post is not hereditary, but is based merely on cleverness. It is that of the "adat master." His word outweighs even that of the kapitan in adat cases.

624 465 Each kampong has varying numbers of mandur, assistants of the kepala kampong. Roworeke has four of these assistants, Manunggo'o has two, etc. They receive no pay, but are tax free,

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000 children. It is remarkable that there is so
858 much freedom exhibited by the children all over here. They do as they please evidently.

463 Nearly everyone is a farmer here, but to
212 be kepala kampong, kapitan, secretary, or
622 the like, an individual must be literate. There are, however, illiterate kepala kampongs, but they must use a literate mandur to help them with the work. There are no openings for clerical people or the like.

[874] The only seminary here is for priests, and
787 as yet there are no students there from here.
[154] The bisa mari (sorcerers) are not trained.
They get their call in dreams. They are about
[156] equally male and female. The dukun also get
[844] their call in dreams. However, the ones who are midwives learn from mothers.

463 There are no specialists at all. The local
438 population must buy even its ironwork elsewhere.
335 They do not even have carpenters here. Anyone can build a house. This place exhibits a very low level in all such things except weaving. They now learn music in school.

873 Many children who are clever and would like to advance in school cannot do this as it costs fl. 10.00 per month for a higher education. There is plenty of heartache here. Perhaps there is not so very much yet, actually.

212 Fifty years ago no one could read or write, not even in the Ende script.

197 One hundred per cent of the people here speak Ende, including the foreigners from Savu and the Chinese. The latter did not speak Ende when they came in, but after a year they could.

Only about one hundred can speak Malay. No one speaks Dutch. The children are starting to learn a bit of Dutch in school now, but this is evidently only in the higher school.

There are no other languages spoken, except of course, Chinese and Savu. They say that they

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436 sionally one sees a ten sen ketip.! The Japa-
727 nese took everything. They also probably melted down a lot of the coins. There is very
437 little barter here as they have so little merchandise as real surplus. If they need food badly, they may sell cloth in the mountains for some form of food.

No one has a car. No one has ever owned a
493 car here. And no one can drive. Buses are
[435] very little used. The fare to Ende is fl. 0.50.

The owner of all the land is the mosa laki
429 mere of the kampong. He is thus the tuan
614 tanah. Each family has its own house and gar-
●622 den land which is inherited. The parcels are in family units. Land is not sold, bought, or rented. There is also suku land, usually too far off in the hills (where the kampong lama of the suku is) to work. Thus the Odja suku has some in Rabu, but they never use it. The suku land in the kampong is under the giri tumba. Evidently there are no kepala suku, and thus no real suku property organization. This is because the mosa laki mere was formerly the kepala suku when the suku were localized. In the kampong, most of the suku land is that of Rewarangga, and indeed if one looks back far enough, all of the land in Roworeke belonged to Rewarangga suku. Note that the mosa laki mere is of Rewarangga. The Odja folk were given land for coming in and, for example, helping the Rewarangga in warfare. Thus it is possible, and evidently indeed usual, for incoming suku to get pieces of land from the mosa laki mere who is land master of the original suku.

There is also undivided kampong land, and
[609] this may be developed by anyone with the consent of the mosa laki mere. Even outsiders may do this, for example, the people from Ende, who live in the kampong.

! [i.e., small silver coin --Analyst]

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423 sons a parcel before he dies. Also, he may split
428 up his land among the brothers as the group gets
614 too large. When a group is really too large,
592 for the estate, some may go to the mosa laki
[622] mere and get consent to develop a new piece of
waste kampong land. Also, if there are too
many people for the estate, the men or some of
them may work on their wives' families' land.
This is considered all right.

428 As for houses, the eldest son takes over
592 the paternal house, and if there is room enough
614 all brothers and families may live there too.
Some may move off into new houses. Thus the
present kepala kampong, Pala, is the eldest
brother of the assistant, Migo. Their father
was Pega. They are of the Pega lineage. Pala
occupies the old house, Migo a new one. If
Pala dies, Migo will take over the house and
management of the family land. The eldest son
is the big man all through the system, and
posts descend via the eldest branch all the way
down. The younger branches are always under-
neath. Nevertheless, they may set up a new line-
age at any time. Thus there could be a branch-
off with Migo, and his sons would be the mem-
bers. However, they may keep the unit Pega for
several generations, before splitting.

422 There is also the matter of the family
428 ritual possessions. These go down from eldest
614 son to eldest son all the way. Thus Migo has
none, because in his family the pusaka belongs
to his brother Pala. However, a father may
divide it up before he dies.

The family or lineage is the important
property unit. Small articles, for example,
clothing, may be individually owned, and the
suku and even the kampong has property. But
the crucial unit is the great family.

462 There is not such a strong division by sex
here. The women work at agriculture just like

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462 the men. If a woman gets sick, a man may fetch
[286] water, and some men like to cook. The only
thing which is purely a woman's occupation is
[285] weaving. There is no mat or basket making
here. This is done only in the mountains.

426 Small debts may be accumulated among the
kampong folk. Thus if a man has fl. 10.00 he
lets it be known that he will lend it, and he
does so at interest. People seldom borrow more
than fl. 5. For one month for this amount they
must repay fl. 7 to fl. 8. Thus there is a
fantastic amount of interest. The Chinese will
lend only if the borrower has some form of se-
curity, for example, a gold decoration. He
charges the same rate. There were and are no
government pawn shops here.

465 There are about five men who work as coolies
178 in Ende town. These are the only wage earners.
The kapitan receives pay, and the secretary
gets a very small amount. The kepala kampong
gets eight per cent of the tax yield (this is
bad). The mosa laki mere gets meat at all
feasts. He also receives rice. Fifty years
ago there were no wages at all.

443 There are two Chinese stores (at kilometer 6
and kilometer 8). There are eight warong, six
owned by the papalele Ende folk, and the other
two by the guru agama and the kepala kampong.
They sell the same merchandise as the Chinese
stores but have smaller stock.

● 622 The posts of kepala kampong and kapitan are
634 new here. This is true also of their mandur.
578 The radja has always been here as a post.
There have been changes in the borders too.
Thus there is no more Radja of Ndona. The family
lives near the bridge but no longer has the post.
(All over Flores there must be these fragments
of old-time ruling families, and there is a
great deal of potential trouble here unless the
whole radja complex gets cleared away.)

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302 178 (Note: One thing he mentioned as brand new is the matter of haircuts. In the old days they shaved the heads of the young, and some children still have these shaved heads. But the older people had their hair done in a long bob.)

624 All of the adat posts are the same today as they were before, and Migo said that indeed the most important man is the mosa laki mere, even now (aside from the kapitan, perhaps). The only post which is no longer kept up is the non-hereditary panglima perang, or atambani.

634 565 614 632 First there is the Radja of Ende. Then come the families or lineages of the mosa laki, which are strictly hereditary, in an eldest son succession. Thus the eldest of the eldest of the eldest, etc. This forms a kind of hereditary nobility, although it is not considered such. Aside from this, the suku have certain prerogatives now, and even before this was probably the case. And this leads to an important correction: It is true that any male member of the suku Odja or Rewarangga, and of these only, can become kapitan. He is chosen for cleverness (!). The Reandona suku has been trying to get a man into the kapitan's post for a long time, but unless Odja and Rewarangga agree, this is impossible. It is their business. This is why he originally wrote that every member of the Odja suku is "bangsawan." He thinks this is true in the other districts, but he is not sure. Certain suku have the pre-eminence in each district.

● 622 614 The kepala kampong post also must be within the suku Odja, and the best man gets it. He thinks this is the same for other kampongs. Thus in Worowai, the kepala kampong must be from the Rewarangga suku, etc. Thus even the elective offices must be within a suku which

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622 carries on the prerogatives in a hereditary
614 fashion. If these posts are not so held, the people will not follow the individuals who occupy them.

In regard to magic power, he says that
789 there is none here. Not even the radja pos-
624 sesses any. Nevertheless, he says that everyone, without exception, obeys the officers. They just do it. He thinks that perhaps in the mountain kampongs I might still find ideas about magic power, but not here. I couldn't get anything more about this. Thus the situation here is different from the magic power and support of the ancestors which the officers in Larantuka have.

793 The pastors have magic power (and here per-
789 haps I can say that they are the only ones who today still have such power). They can wash away sins, do miracles, etc.

All adat posts are passed on from eldest son
624 to eldest son in a pure succession manner. They
646 remain the same. The elections of the kepala kampong and the kapitan are new. Also new are the members of the Flores parliament and of the East Indonesian parliament. There are two electors in the district Rewarangga, for there are about one thousand tax-paying men. There is one elector for each five hundred tax-paying men.

666 When there is an election of electors, the kapitan calls all of those tax-paying individuals to his office, and he (the kapitan) posts a list of four candidates (!!). Each man comes forth clutching a stone, and he whispers his choice to the two "guards". The guard slips the stone in the proper pile. This is all done secretly and by whispering (but the guards know!). At first, the people here did not understand this and had to be egged on to come to the election. They did not know what it was all

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511 515 cloth to spare for their noses. This is really very true!

622 755 769 [443] On Sunday I went to Roworeke again, but at once I was taken into the rear part of the little warong at kilometer 6, which is owned by the kepala kampong. What a pitiful stock he has: a few bars of yellow soap, some bananas, and that's about all. In a little compartment behind this area he squatted, looking awful. On one side, on the floor, one of his wives were tending a fire on the earth, and on the other side was his other wife (the second one, whom I had thought a handsome pagan when she was a bit dressed up, but now she did not look so good, with betel stains, etc.). He told me about the blood pouring from his nose a few nights ago, for four to five hours. He had a high fever (still had it), and pains, and dizziness and blackouts. I tried to see what was up, but the blood was queer.

Then the assistant (his brother) said we should go and get the old dukun who was treating him. The dukun lives in Ndona. On the way there the assistant said that the dukun had already treated the kepala kampong, and that is why he had gotten better. At least the blood had stopped. I asked what the diagnosis had been, and he said it was something to do with the ancestors. The idea seemed to be that somewhere or other along the line they hadn't "fed" the ceremonial objects of the family properly, and this was the cause of the illness. The assistant said that he suspected also that the kepala kampong was too harsh in his administration, and the people were not happy about it (he has been in his post for four years now). This information was rather mumbled, perhaps so that the lads in the back seat could not hear us, and I wonder if perhaps he was inferring that someone rubbed wrong by

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622 the kepala kampong had put a hex on him. They
755 show the pagan beliefs more and more now. Later
[769] on I discussed the case with the assistant, and he said that I didn't understand why the blood situation had come about. Perhaps the dukun was right: it was a curse of the ancestors for unfulfilled duties to the ceremonial objects.

At Ndona, where there is a big church, school, etc., and in a rather clean kampong there is an enormous cement block on which is set a big flat stone from an old grave heap. There the assistant got off to get the dukun, who lives a one kilometer walk away. Great crowds from the church stood around the jeep and stared at me. He came back after awhile, and with him was a very old man with a chin beard. He had on an old sarong and headcloth. He had never been in a car before, and they had to tell him how to get in, which he did gingerly. He was almost blind. Then we went off to see the patient. When the old man got out I saw his baggage: a kris and a cloth with a lot of things in it, including a brass container. The assistant said that he was to stay with the patient for a week and treat him. If the sick man got better, he would have to give a feast and sacrifice an animal. The dukun is the last terrifically powerful one left in the whole area. When he dies, his children have learned
[759] only a part of his lore. It is too bad for the public health, because there are no doctors here, and it is better to have a dukun than no one. (Think of the psychological need.)

493 Then we went to the house of the kapitan, who luckily was not there. (We had met him on the way to Ende, with his new bicycle, which cost fl. 300.00.)

513 Boys sleep in separate houses. In this area
882 (are there others in the kampong elsewhere? there must be) it is a "bivak," i.e., a wall-

Wae

423 by the radja tuan), suku, ama, and family. Houses are categorized in the same fashion.

Houses, however, are strictly speaking owned by the family or lineage. The eldest [428] son inherits the house, and other sons build their own houses or may live in with the eld- [591] est son and his family. The women have no houses, as residence is patrilocal except in unusual cases.

462 The only specialization here is by sex.

426 He says there is no lending of money. They may borrow food, and the interest on such accrued during the following year is from fifty to one hundred per cent.

465 The only wage earners are the gurus. There are no other paid jobs. (How about the three kepala kampongs? I suppose they get eight per cent of the taxes as usual?) There is not one commercial enterprise here.

622 The chiefs, says Roy, are regarded as fathers. 789 The genealogical organization is strong here. Indeed, their posts depend on hereditary descent entirely. The people here obey them because they are in the place of their fathers. The curse of a father is a terrible thing, and this goes for the chiefs too. It should be remembered also that the chiefs have magic power, derived from the sanction of the ancestors and visibly shown by the stone fetishes in front of the chiefly houses.

567 The nipatale intermarry with other people, although they originally were slaves. Thus there is a slave class, but it is integrated with the others, and it has only a few marks.

[555] The only ones who have risen are the gurus. 554 And those in Wailolong are from some other area. There are no visible signs of status except that of living in a chiefly house, belonging to a "big house" suku, and having the stones of status in front of the house. I note also that

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527 852 A small feast is given at the birth of a child.

304 There is no supercision, except for Mohammedan circumcision, and this is done only in a few cases. (Evidently, in Indonesia, where supercision was in before, they may continue it under Mohammedanism, for example, in Makassar. But where there was no cutting before, they take on Mohammedan circumcision only.)

They say that they never had any cutting here. However, they say that they know of at least two kampongs in Lio where cutting did take place.

●622 793 The mosa laki are of course religious as well as adat chiefs. The Catholic priest has a house here, but does not reside there. He makes periodic visits. There are two religious teachers.

771 I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements.

798 I wonder if the new bureaucracy, and also the Mohammedan majority, may cause trouble for the Catholic-oriented education of Flores. So far there has been no trouble.

798 There is very little discussion of religion here. They seem to let it slide by, and I get the idea that there is no great trouble in regard to paganism because (1) they never had any real resistance here, and (2) the pagans are too dumb, and so are the Christians, and (3) the Catholics do not evidently attack directly.

782 797 [231] There was no trouble here in regard to the acceptance of Mohammedanism from the standpoint of sacrifice, because they have plenty of non-taboo animals, for example, the buffalo, cattle, and goats. Therefore, it is not necessary to have a pig for pagan rites, and even the Mohammedans would get their share at a feast. This is different from Larantuka, where a Mohammedan would go hungry at the largely pork provided feasts. And also, in Larantuka, the all-essen-

651 Arriens said that he had heard this from the Radja as a big source of trouble now. I can imagine it. Their big trouble on this simple level, with the government, was only taxes (and for a few, jail). Thus, when freedom comes in, it means freedom from the Dutch burden, taxes.
[622] Anyway, I noted that the kapitan, as usual
[554] when in trouble, had called the giri tumba and the big ata ngga'eh nua (Bapa Ketjil) to come to his house in full adat dress. This underlines again the point that real prestige is in these old adat chiefs. They are the ones to call upon when a real decision has to be made. And there sat the malcontents, about to face the adat chiefs.

114 In Ndona, as I waited for the assistant to get the dukun from the hills, I sat in the jeep and read Bruine's[1] report on Lio, which was very
123 appropriate. As church got out, there gathered about at least twenty men and boys, and the latter hung over me while I was reading or at least trying to read the book. They were astonished, and read aloud, when they saw words
[212] like "mosa laki Ndona." And some of them could
[515] read the Dutch. Overall was the smell of sweat and onions.

181 The last trick of the assistant was to ask
123 for my fountain pen so that he could look at it and think of me. These folk are easily the most greedy yet. I doubt that one could appeal to mere good spirit here.

114 I think I have finally located the Rea which Elbert and Körner[2] always refer to as Rea Ndona.
103 I think they mean the Ende coastal area. I know where Ndona is, but I now see in a map in the Bruine[1] report that Tanah Rea is the former name of the area in which Nangapanda is on the south coast. It stretched to the north coast of Flores.

000 Back in these hills, which I wish I could explore, there may well have been endocannibalism!

[1] [Probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

217 statistics are available for all of the people), but the pastor puts names down in the church book. There is not even a registry of births and deaths (as I think there is in Larantuka and Ende), but each year for taxes a census is taken, by asking how many children there are in a house, etc. I see that one could easily have a continuous census in most parts of Indonesia, as the units are so small, and the hierarchy of administration is so close knit. The kepala
[622] kampong knows everything in his kampong, and the kepala kampongs could report to the kepala district, and so on up.

583 I noticed a case of a little girl of seven living in a house with her father's sister, who has a son. I asked, could this be a case of having already paid the price for this little girl? That is, has he already "taken possession of the goods"? He said that he didn't know, but said that this happens here (i.e., an early payment of the bride price for a little girl). This happens even when the girl is as young as five years. I must check on this case.

178 I talked with van Bekkum[1] about Kattenburg's
342 notion that in Manggarai, economy has advanced, but adat holds, whereas in other parts, economy has not changed but adat has changed. He thinks this is not a bad idea. And then he gave cases of how houses are rapidly becoming changed to the new type, and the old round ones are almost dying out. Also the way wet rice fields are
[241] spreading is most rapid, as is the spread of the use of the buffalo in agriculture. Note how, even in the new rectangular houses, if there is a rite held, the tuan tanah sits in the high spot, and although there is no more a center post, they put a stick up where it should be. (I can't help but think that the lodok must be linked with the center post of the old round houses, and I wonder if perhaps the wedges of

[1] [i.e. pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

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178 the fields might not have been arranged like the
342 places of the various panga or families in the old round houses. If so, it is beautiful.

592 The assistant says that in the old days when
614 perhaps all of one kampong lived in a single house, the panga were like families therein. That is, since then the panga have expanded into subclans.

632 I asked if perhaps, before 1870, the tu'a
●622 tenu gelarang might not have been the highest
152 chiefs except for the alien Bima sultan. He thinks that this is probably so, as there was no dalu until 1870. Then I asked if maybe even yet the tu'a tenu gelarang might not really be more of a real head to the people than the dalu. He said that in the district, in all adat matters, especially land cases, the tu'a tenu was indeed supreme. And even the dalu would not dare to tread on his power in these respects. Then I asked if the dalu were all of Bima origin. He said he thinks so, but that the people are afraid to say so. I asked if any of them have family trees, and he said they must have them. Then I caught him, as I reminded him that his wife was of the "dalu" bangsawan! I asked if her ancestors were aliens. He, embarrassed, said yes, they are said to have been. She is of the Rahong dalu bangsawan. I pressed the case by asking whether her ancestors came from Bima. He said that it is said they were from Pulo Rintja! This is a practically uninhabited island between Flores and Komoda!

This remark about being afraid to say anything about the dalu led me to remark that Manggarai seemed to be a part of Flores which was always under alien rule. He looked a little startled, but saw the point. Evidently, any mention of these "imperialist" matters causes a fear reaction. This came out when I asked if perhaps the tuan tanah was really more powerful

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632 622 152 than the dalu. This, it seems, is the kind of thing that is not discussed!

I must get the dalu relationship straight.

634 I asked if there was really a Radja of Riung, and he said yes. He is on the same level as, for example, Nageh. He said that there has been a radja there for a long time. The radja there now is a Ngada, but the folk there are mainly Manggarai. The houses there are mostly 342 178 the old rectangular type (not the new style rectangular type which is coming in now) of East Manggarai. The round house area is West Manggarai, although there are round houses in East Manggarai too.

I noted that one of the three round houses in Ndung is going to be torn down shortly. Thus the new type house, which came in only about ten years ago, is swiftly replacing the round ones everywhere. I asked if, since originally Ndung 622 was a branch kampong of Weol, the tuan tanah there was not less in prestige than the tuan tanah of Weol. He said that in theory they are the same, but indeed the tuan tanah of Weol was like the older sibling.

614 114 It seemed to me that the va'u here are very large (e.g., va'u Weol has over two gelarang), and I told him so. He agreed and in fact said that he has found that there is a still larger genealogical unit (I must ask[1] about this; maybe it is like the isi that Arndt[1] denies, but that Staveren[1] says is found in Ngada above the voi 685 there). On the way back to Weol I saw a buffalo with one of its rear legs hanging nearly off with a deep cut behind the knee. I was shocked and asked how it had happened. He said that the buffalo had broken into someone's garden and that the owner of the garden, who had become angry, had crippled the buffalo. He said that this is done frequently here. I can see how a feud could be started in this way.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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621 614 554 There is certainly no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village. Still, the gelarang kampongs feel a bit superior to the former slave ones, for example, sekontu and lampang. They look down a bit on Tjantjar, as it is not of the Veol va'u. But the branch kampongs which are of the va'u Veol are as good as the central kampong. Thus Ndung is just as good as Veol, and so is, for example, Sampar. They are original people too. Thus the blood bond comes first. As for outsiders who live in the kampong, if they get angry they may throw this up. For example, the assistant said it might happen to him.

He also said that no matter how long a per-
614 621 602 son is away, no matter how many generations intervene, he and his descendants are still Pau people and go there as often as possible; that is, unless the case involves people who have been established as real members of an independent clan kampong elsewhere. However, they still remember the real, old ancestral kampong.

As yet there have been no returning villagers to tell anything about the outside world.

In inter-community relations the important thing is the blood bond. The va'u comes first, and then the kampongs or clans or families with many marriage bonds. Thus it is mainly genealogical. The gelarang is important, as generally all the kampongs in a gelarang are of one va'u. The only exception here is the unusual Tjepang kampong. Tjantjar and other kampongs here have many marriage relations with it. Ndung is close in all ways.

[622] Thus the gelarang is just about the same as a "clan district," and the tuan tanah in the central kampong is the head, and the other tuan tanah are branch-offs from him.

Beyond the va'u there are nearly no real relationships, except for the areas where va'u

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000 and such is used in war.

Correction: When there is a big feast in the
621 central kampong, all members of the tjabang
574 kampongs must attend. However, if a big feast
171 is held at a tjabang kampong, it is a matter of choice whether the other tjabang kampongs and the pusat kampong attend. However, each must send a delegation. (This is like the big feasts in the Ambon pela kampongs. The pela radja and saniri must go, and others may do so if they want to.)

It is true that the pusat kampong has more
621 power in a way than the others. Its drums,
622 gongs, tjompang, main pillar of the tuan tanah
346 house, main garden (lingko randang), and the
351 tuan tanah besar himself are all part of this
788 power. All others stem from these. However, the picture is not one of a clear hierarchy. Nevertheless, if a man is very sick, for example, they may decide that it is well to go to the tjompang of the pusat kampong and go through some ceremony. However, there is not a real vivid ranking or constellation of rank.

The assistant says that the round house and the round garden are definitely related. But here again he is unclear. The house is linked with the garden, and after the rites which are held in the garden, they come back to the main house. Also there is a saying: mbarun one uman peang, i.e., "house has link with garden." When a tuan tanah besar gives a drum and a gong to a new branch kampong, he also gives it a "big garden" (lingko randang). Here is where the biggest rites are held. (Lingko means only "round garden.") And when they have rites in the garden, they go directly from the lodok there to the main post in the tuan tanah house. Thus, there seems to be a definite link between
346 the main post of the big house and the main
351 garden's lodok. There is the same parading
788

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614 and these are the keys to the stuff: wodja bakok are the same as lampang. The meaning is "white rice." Lampang means "stocks" wherein new slaves are put to keep them from running away. The totems newly inserted are:

[784]

lavo	mouse
kaba	buffalo
paku	a leafy vegetable
betu	a kind of mouse
pake	frog
peti	a kind of bird

614 764 784 756 178 Naked burial is called gilo. Note that this used to be a totem of the Pau va'u, and it was given up via a big feast in 1932. At the same time, the buffalo taboo of Pau (Pau therefore does have a food taboo, or rather it did), was given up too via the same feast. In regard to the naked burial, the people decided it was too much trouble, and I suppose they felt they might as well get rid of the buffalo taboo at the same time. To do this kind of thing a va'u must consult a mbako to see if it is all right. If so, they have the feast called kaba oke tjek'i ("buffalo removes the taboo").

nggevo red bean (different from the lusa)

531 622 I asked if it was right that the radja has no horns on his house as he is not a tuan tanah. They said yes. He has no relation with the land. But nowadays there is plenty of illegal use of the horns by non-tuan tanah.

782 It is true that an offering is always made at the vatu Veol before starting garden work. This is as Coolhaas[1] says.

829 No one is able to draw a map of Flores and Indonesia and the world.

212 Fifty years ago (and even forty years ago) no

1 [See bibliography, cit. 113 -- Analyst]

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462 and goats.

There is no shame, however, if one has to do
[887] the work of the other sex. The old people
putter about, for example, the old women make
mats, and the old men carve spoons, etc.

426 If one borrows corn or rice, which is done
686 for the most part, interest is charged at the
rate of one hundred per cent annually. This is
redoubled each year, and if it is finally un-
paid, there may be a court case and the person
may have to pay a horse (the present price of
[435] a horse is fl. 200 and for a buffalo fl. 350).

Money is not borrowed. The reason they bor-
row rice and corn and why they do this from
kampong fellows is that many families are too
311 large. Land is now all divided. The kampong
511 is full. Therefore there is actual hunger in
November and December, when the crops are grow-
ing. Thus if the population continues to in-
crease, some will have to move. The reason
the Dalong folk repossessed one of the Radja's
gardens was that there was an actual shortage
of land. I didn't realize this trouble before.
There are actually poor people here because
the land is all occupied. Therefore, not even
new gardens are possible here. But no one
starves. I asked what the main worry was.
They said getting cloth. It is very hard to
get. Food is a worry only for some people.

465 There are no wage earners except for those
who do a bit of work in other people's gardens.
The present wage is fl. 1.00 a day. Before
even this was not done.

634 In regard to political life there were Bima,
632 dalu, gelarang, and kraeng (some kampongs), and
●622 the tuan tanah fifty years ago. In 1940 there
624 were the Dutch, the radja (since 1929), the dalu,
gelarang, tuan tanah, and kepala kampong. In
1950 there are the radja, the dalu, the gelarang,
the tuan tanah, and the kepala kampong.

Wer

622 Rahong is just about the same as fifty years
624 ago, except for the kraeng kampongs which have gone out since about fifteen years ago. Also, there have been kepala kampongs since then. The organization runs as follows: Kampong: tuan tanah; kepala kampong; tuan panga; tuan mbaru. These form the kampong council. Some kampongs have the same man as tuan tanah and kepala kampong.

Gelarang: the gelarang (and they use the
632 title dangka for him, also) (one can't use
614 "temu" and "gelarang" at the same time; thus it is not "tu'a temu gelarang"), and the kampongs below him are included. There is no council, and there are no scribes, secretaries, oppas, or anything else. The va'u is usually almost equivalent to the gelarang. But this is not always true. Thus va'u Veol covers both Ndung and Veol. And some branches of va'u Veol are in other areas, while, for example, a branch of Tjepang is in the Veol gelarang.

Dalu: dalu, dalu wakil, secretary, oppas, mandur, and the gelarang below. There is no council.

634 State: radja (the radja bitjara post is now empty since the former one died), secretary, oppas, mandur, and the office force. Again there is no council and no ministry. However, there is a Hakim Adat of Manggarai. The chairman used to be the radja bitjara, but now he is the radja's younger brother. The members, chosen by the radja, are four in number. At present they are Kraeng Dalu Ruteng, Gelarang Pau (the assistant's father), Gelarang Tenda, and a man of the Ruteng kraeng family.

692 Adat cases may be settled on the kampong, gelarang, or dalu level; or they may go up to the Hakim Adat.

648 The Dutch removed the death punishment,
681 double repayment in cases of theft, lampang and
634

We

648 other types of slaves, and a few other things.
634 They also put in the radja. Otherwise they did
[681] not make much change in the traditional administration. Bima was out, and this may be why there is not so much feeling against the Dutch here.

As far as nobility is concerned, there are
565 the radja, dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, but
789 they have no magic power. The kraeng says,
756 however, that Todo and Pongkor sengadji used to have magic power (another sign of Makassar or Bima influence?). The mbako has magic power. The more I hear, the more I see that the mbako is really an important man.

The succession of radjas goes from eldest son
622 to eldest son or brother. The same holds for
624 the dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, and tuan panga.
632 However, the dalu wakil is chosen by the dalu,
634 always from his family, I suppose. The kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu after sounding out the feelings of the kampong. Many of these are commoners. Some are also tuan tanah. The tuan mbaru is merely the old man of the house with influence. He is usually the oldest. This position is non-hereditary and is evidently a matter of age.

Thus we see that all of these are hereditary, with the only exceptions those of the new kepala kampong and the unimportant tuan mbaru and the obvious dalu wakil.

A recent innovation has been the election
666 of members of the Flores daerah parliament,
646 the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Flores.
635

There are five members from Manggarai, elected at large, but by electoral districts. There are five districts named according to the place where the electors meet:

(1) Ruteng (South Central Manggarai)
(2) Rekas (West Manggarai)
(3) Tjantjar (Central Manggarai)

We
805 held some time after the planting is done. I think this is it. He says that in other parts of Manggarai they may have twelve moons. The European calendar is seldom used and only by those who have gone to school.

793 The only priests here are the tuan tanah.
● 622 The tuan tanah of the pusat kampong is the most
614 important. Cornelius agreed that he was like a bishop. The other tuan tanah of the branch kampongs are like parish priests. The tuan panga have certain roles in panga rites. Below the kampong and the panga there are only small rites.

756 Cornelius says that the mbako went secret even before the Dutch came in. He says he doesn't really know why the people keep the mbako identities so secret. Or perhaps he simply will not tell me. He keeps on saying it is because "they do not want to show any pride." Maybe this means that they do not want to appear to "brag" about their special power, or perhaps it is the idea that if they talk about it they may lose it. They are certainly sensitive on this matter. Van Bekkum says that in all the years he has been in Manggarai he has never found out who a single mbako is. This is amazing. There are no dukun apart from the mbako. In a kampong Cornelius says there are usually from one to three mbako.

[754] There are no suwanggi here.

Cornelius says that even though all the people turn Catholic, they must still have a mbako, in the sense of a dukun.

A new point is that in addition to the troubles of the mbako with the police (maybe because of poison? or is it mere suspicion of magic murder?) they have also gotten into trouble with the hospital because of their "practice" of medicine.

771 In terms of religion, the people here are
{[i.e., the assistant--Analyst]
[pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

War

634 646 They said no, but that there was much free talk against the radjas in the parliament now!

622 646 624 888 All hereditary posts are genealogically linked. Most of the kepala kampong are still old illiterates. Parliament members are mainly middle aged people (the oldest literates, therefore). Age is of no concern for the hereditary posts, as one person merely succeeds to the post after another. In the kampong, however, the old men have the most influence, and the young people keep their mouths shut for the most part.

[562] Women may not hold hereditary posts. Until now women took no part in elections, but they may change things here.

829 666 There is still only a very restricted political horizon here, and there is little knowledge about such things. But at least they have elections. This is very important. They start with an election. As they say in Celebes, they catch on fast. Veol is the center of the [614] gelarang, and Rahong is the center of the dalu, [632] and Ruteng is the center of Manggarai. They think nothing about the "place" of Manggarai in Flores; the radja is just a "big man." Beyond this they know practically nothing about the daerah, negara, etc.

648 Most of the people here thought the Dutch were all right and they were too uninformed to criticize them. Also, it must be remembered that they had been under the rule of Bima, and the Dutch at least drove Bima out. They did not even criticize the Japanese! They were simply not concerned. The great memory here is of Bima and slavery. They hate Bima.

609 Except for the pastors, everyone here knows of things and people who are Dutch only by name. Formerly they knew the local civil servants only slightly. They were always afraid of any new men who came here. This is true of my

I E B C F 12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau OD10 Buru OH8
Enggano OD6 Ceram OH9
Flores OF9 Gayo-A 36 OD7
Redjang-Lampong. OD12

2. *Localized clans.*—The complex of localized sub-clans seems to occur in the interior of many of the smaller islands (*e.g.*, Enggano, Buru, Ceram and Flores).[16] Along the coasts, however, mixed villages have grown up consisting of over-seas aliens and emigrant family groups from the interior. In moving toward the coast, kinship groups keep their independence. Even though they live together with the family groups of other clans in villages under a village chief (korano), they occupy their own exclusive land. The village chief, however, has but little authority over those who are not his fellow-clansmen.

3. *Regional communities of mixed clans.*—Mutually unrelated sub-clans, which make up a territorial community are reported, in the first place, among the Minangkabau. Matrilineal clan members not living in the same "nagari" do not form an autonomous community. The communities are, firstly, the family group (sub-clan) inside the village. These family groups are parts of the same portions of different clans. Those that are of the same clan have become independent by fission; secondly, some (not all) unions of such parts of family groups belonging to unrelated clans; thirdly, the "nagari" formed of sub-clans consisting of family groups, organized or not into units. Minangkabau clans, like the Gayo and the Pubian and many others, have their own names.

It is impossible to find a description of the Minangkabau which does not begin with the warning, "Do not generalize." In consequence, to an even greater degree than in other regions, only main outlines can be presented. If their social organization is to be formulated through a reconstruction of its development from the basic units on up, it is necessary to begin with a given number of clans. At a given instant, women of different clans (along with brothers and their brothers' wives) settle on either unowned land or desert land in the area of disposal of some territorial community. Gradually, the joint families grow in size, and so also the settlement.

The process is as follows. Family groups spring up from the women who are looked upon as the first mothers of the settlement. Subdivisions of clans group themselves as indivisible autonomous communities around the family property (lands, the residence, heirlooms, the family title of the head of the family). The family group (sa buah paruiq) should be imagined as originally located in a family house of its own, with the oldest man of the senior genera-

[16] In the recently explored interior of Dutch New Guinea, localized clans have also been discovered.

Wa

565 of Meler, the main kepala kampong of the Ndung
632 complex, lives in Meler. The dalu came in
624 about 1870. They were put in by Bima, and the
622 tuan tanah said that they were of Bima origin.
(Does this mean that no native chiefs were made dalu? Evidently.)

622 There is no native term for the kepala kam-
624 pong. The tuan tanah is the tu'a tenu. In each
592 house there is a house chief, the tu'a mbaru. The latter word means house. He is chosen by the men of the house.

623 The kampong council, which must be called
592 together for each case, includes the tuan tanah,
693 the kepala kampong, and the tu'a mbaru of their own houses. If the case involves adat, the tuan tanah is the chairman. An example of this would be a case concerned with land. If the case is concerned with administration, for example, with theft, the kepala kampong acts as chairman. In all cases, however, all of the members of the council are present.

614 The clans are divided into subclans called
624 panga. Each of these has a chief, the tu'a panga. In Weol there are three panga and three tu'a panga. Two of these are also the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong. There are two panga and two tu'a panga in Ndung. The tuan tanah there is also tu'a panga of his panga and tu'a mbaru of his house.

614 I asked about the origin of the panga. The
173 original ancestors, Vako Dangka and Ine Karas, had two sons: Lando Kakor and Naloholles. They married wives of another va'u and between them had seven sons (their daughters were forgotten, a reversal of the Ngada story, where the daughters of Djawa are remembered and the sons forgotten). Each of these became an ancestor of a panga, and in the course of time their descendants split into many more panga. New panga may be formed at any time, even now, as the old ones

614 R They did
582 say, however, that Mohammedanism is tending to
178 break down this suku exogamy. Here in Roworeke, however, the old adat is still strong and the exogamous rule still holds. The young people who have gone to school are beginning to rebel, but the elders remain strong and hold to the adat.

771 I asked about religion and they said that at
797 least fifty per cent of the people here are pagan. Most of the rest are Christian, although there are a few Mohammedans. The picture is the familiar one of the younger generation becoming Christian while the older generation remains pagan.

565 If I can believe the story about the nobility,
632 it looks as if there are about ten noble fami-
614 lies eligible to the kapitanschap in all Rewarangga, because there are five suku and about two families of this nobility to each suku.

632 Then I got onto the subject of the officers. In the kapitanschap there is the kapitan, and he is assisted by a scribe, a mandur and an oppas. Evidently these are a secretary, a sort of public works man, and a messenger--sheriff.

622 In the kampong the chief is the kepala kampong,
565 the ata nggaeh nua (ata nggaeh itself is a term
624 for noble). Some of these belong to the nobility and others not (I must find out more about this). The assistant to the kepala kampong is the oro kuni. Then tere are four mosa laki, which seems to them to be the equivalent to the tuan tanah elsewhere. One of these is the main adat chief (thus exactly like the tuan tanah) and he is called the mosa laki mere, or mosa laki pu'u (pu'u is the term for clan, and I must check on this as it may be a survival of a purely genealogical localization of clans in a single kampong). He may also be called merely by the term laki pu'u. The three other mosa laki are: the giri tumba,
624 the ndeto au, and the sikesani. The giri tumba

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624 in the Lio mountain kampongs is called the wiwi-
ria lama lewa, or, as van Suchtelen[1] says, "big
mouth long tongue". He is like a talking chief.

632 The kapitan and the kepala kampong (as well
622 as the mandur of the kapitan, who on second
624 thought may prove to be a kind of assistant
614 kapitan; and the oro kuni) are clearly adminis-
trative officers, and are not "adat chiefs."
The true adat chief is the mosa laki mere (as
well as the other three mosa laki). This in-
dicates that the kapitan and the kepala kampong,
territorial chiefs, are of a later date, and the
old chief was the tuan tanah or mosa laki mere.
Since the latter is also called laki pu'u, and
pu'u means suku, it looks as though before the
territorial organization, they had only localized
clans. Thus they have the dual division of
chiefs into the administration--territory and
into the adat--genealogical. Going on, I found
693 excellent substantiation of this in that a big
632 case, involving murder or big theft, etc., for
624 example the case in which the Dutch government
614 was interested (a law case, as it were) is judged
622 by the kapitan with the assistance of the four
kepala kampong chosen for him for that case. In
a small case, however, involving adat, judgment
is made only within the kampong (thus adat cases
involve the kampong, which comes before the clan,
I think). And the judges are the mosa laki mere,
acting as chairman, the giri tumba, the ndeto au,
and the sike sani.[2] It looks as though the old
localized clans were ruled by this quadrivirate.
And, these four are completely hereditary. Thus
even in succession they have the genealogical
principle. It comes out clearly in these four
adat chiefs. I must find out from which suku
these officers come.

614 I asked about the present localization of the
suku, and they seemed to agree that the suku are
still largely settled in certain clusters. They

[1] [See p.90 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

614 are somewhat moved around, however, and are even scattered, so that one may find parts of a suku in entirely different areas. I must check on this.

●624 As for the four adat chiefs, aside from the mosa laki mere, who sits in the center when judging, the giri tumba (whose name means "spear running around") stands or sits to the right of the mosa laki mere. The ndeto au, who is an [791] expert on making adat stuff which I judge to be ordeal material or magical divining, sits or stands to the left of the mosa laki mere. The sike sani acts as a watchman or policeman. I must get the full account of the functions of these men.

701 Then I asked if they had had war leaders formerly and they said yes. They are called "brave men" or atambani (ata-m-bani or orang brani). They said that they were fierce and feared.

793 Then I asked about the priests, and they said
789 that they still have plenty of them. They are called bisa mari. I got the usual story of how
171 they prove their powers of second sight, and it sounded just like the Ambonese talking about guna-guna. These priests are not hereditary, and never were, but the sons usually learn their lore from their fathers.

648 There is much talk here about war with the
175 Dutch and I am told that there were uprisings all over Flores in the year 1907. I was also told of the stern methods of suppression used in those times and how afterwards there was wholesale jailing of the Florenese. They seem to have lost their nerve then and today they no longer rebel.

773 I asked about the old myths concerned with
769 ancestors. The Kapitan Gunung Rodja, who is descended from Djari Djawa, the Madjapahit man who came here on a whale, told a different version

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764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I must find out how the funerals are run now. Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.
[797] The assistant has finished five grades of schooling in Ndona.

291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
178 men (old style) although this is changing fast, a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
[302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
286 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
531 looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the designs are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
124 I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan. Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they have a holiday whenever there is the slightest excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I must find out about later, is how the kepala kampong is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some re-
624 marks about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan and others are not. I must get this kepala kampong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

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614 main suku there are several others in Rewarangga, but they have moved in and are not original suku. But any one of them may be given land and become in effect "members" of the communities. Thus Tibo is a suku which has virtually entered Roworeke. Later I got some kind of an explanation that it was formerly a kampong on the hill above there, but has now moved into a section of Roworeke. In fact, I saw this section, with only about three houses, and it is called Kopoedo. Among the suku which are "foreign" in Rewarangga are Ambu Djawa, Ambu Nduru, and Ambu Rutu. Ambu means grandfather.

624 632 Later I got more information about the mosa laki. Evidently in the kapitanschap there are four big mosa laki: mosa laki mere, giri tumba, ndeto au, and sike sani. Then, in each kampong there are four with the same names, but they are on a lower level even though their functions are the same. I met the mig mosa laki mere and giri tumba of Rewarangga. They were old fellows, dignified, dressed in adat clothes, and most refreshing in contrast to the modernized Catholics like the kapitan and the guru. They are polite and quiet. I got the impression that maybe most [887] of the mosa laki are older men. They are probably mainly if not all pagan too, and probably mainly illiterate.

614 582 Talking with the kapitan and the scribe and a few other lads later, I learned that suku exogamy is not necessary if there is enough distance between the relatives. Thus the kapitan is married to a fellow-Odja. They noted, however, in my questioning, that most people seem to have married exogamously.

527 129 The second day was the Flag Day, and I took ten fellows in the jeep from Roworeke. After the ritual, which was not very impressive (the Sikka radja made a speech with little grace), we went 123 with Ariens (the Controleur) on a ride to Nanga-

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	My Spelling	Kapitan's spelling
632	13. Pu'umbindi	Poeoe Mbindi
621	14. Mbago	Mbgko (?)
	15. Pemodjera	Pémo Djera
	16. Volofeo	Wolo Feo
	17. Bu'ube'i	Boeoebei
	18. Sokopedji	Soko Pedji

The w and v are, or seem to be, separate, but the spelling here seems to indicate that they are the same. F, however, is separate. Of the eighteen, Roworeke and Worowai used to be (up until the Japanese time) together, but now they are separate kampongs. I wonder if this did not happen before so recently. Also the three (Vavoeü, Ratebedi, and Kekambero) were once one, named Rabu. This is still used evidently once in a while for their general area. We got onto the
624 matter of the mosa laki, and it develops that in-
632 deed there are the Big Four for the gemeente, and in addition there is a Little Four in each kampong. The Big Four, however, are also the Little Four of both Roworeke and Worowai. Thus the mosa laki mere of Rewarangga is also the mosa laki mere of both Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The giri tumba of Rewarangga is also the giri tumba of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Roworeke. The ndeto au of Rewarangga is also the giri tumba of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The sike sani of Rewarangga is also the sike sani of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The kampong combination is because Roworeke and Worowai were still one kampong until recently.

624 Each of the other sixteen kampongs has its own
622 Little Four. Also, each kampong of the eighteen has a kepala kampong or ata nggaeh nua, and his assistant, the oro kuni.

614 In each kampong there seems to be one suku

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614 which is the main one and the largest. In most cases this may also be the oldest one. This does not hold for Roworeke, where the main one is Odja, but the original one was the now nearly extinct Rewarangga. Anyway, they knew that Odja was the main one in Roworeke, Reandona the main one in Manunggo'o, and beyond this they did not know the situation in other kampongs. They said [829] that they would have to ask each kepala kampong. This shows how little they know about anything beyond their own village. Even the kapitan, who is head of the whole eighteen kampongs, did not know this.

624 The giri tumba of Rewarangga, who is head giri tumba of all the others, didn't even know the personal names of the other sixteen giri tumba.

693 If there is a small adat case, the Little Four sit for the judgment, but they tell the Big Four of the local kampong of the decision. Thus they have a kampong court for little cases and a gemeente council of the Big Four for bigger ones.

632 We got into a terrific muddle about how a new
624 kapitan is chosen. When an old one dies, all eighteen kepala kampong come together and also the Big Four and the mosa laki mere of the other sixteen kampongs. The giri tumba, ndeto au, and sike sani of the other sixteen kampongs may come, but evidently they have no voice in the matter. Thus the electoral college includes eighteen kepala kampongs, mosa laki mere Rewarangga, giri tumba Rewarangga (Odja), ndeto au Rewarangga, sike sani Rewarangga, and the mosa laki mere of the other sixteen kampongs (excepting Roworeke and Worowai, whose Little Four are also the Big Four). Thus in all there are thirty-eight members of the electoral college. The manager of the convention is the giri tumba Rewarangga, who was sitting there. His other title (wiwiria, etc.) means "big mouth long tongue." He goes around and sounds out the opinion of all the others and

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632 then announces the chosen candidate. He has veto
●624 power, and if he says no to a candidate, it is
final. The kapitan must come from either Re-
[614] warangga or Odja suku. If all agree, and the
giri tumba also agrees, they may choose a man
from Reandona suku, but this has never happened.
[178] In the old days the kapitan happened always
632 to be from Rewarangga suku, but recent ones have
565 been from Odja. If the present kapitan dies,
614 there would be about ten eligible candidates. I
611 think this means ten from Odja. These include
171 the sons of the old kapitan plus others from
eligible families. But there are over a hundred
families in Odja. Thus only certain families
are of the bangsawan high enough to be eligible
for kapitan. I could not get it straight who
these families are, but evidently they represent
the descendants of the great ancestor of the suku
Odja in the direct male line. This is always via
the oldest son. Thus the oldest branch of the
oldest branch, etc., as in Polynesia.

I asked if there was a name for the set of
613 noble kapitan families in Odja, and they finally
565 said, after much argument, Djo'bi Bene. To this
632 "lineage" belong the present kapitan, the scribe,
and the giri tumba. The kapitan came in and gave
the family tree of the lineage. So far as I
could see, it ran:

1. Neni
2. Djata
3. Odja
4. Koru Rudja
5. Djo'bi Bene

Thus these are the next ones to Djo'bi Bene.
I must come back again and find out exactly who
Djo'bi Bene was, and where his grave is located,
etc. This was frustrating, and I could not get
[124] it straight at first. I was always worried about
the loss of time in such slow questioning.

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000 the loss of time in such slow questioning.

632 578 634 614 624 There has been much fighting in the past over the election of a kapitan. In the case of a deadlock the radjas have stepped in and settled it, but this is dangerous because sometimes the people have refused to accept such an imposed choice. Again I see the troubles and feuds around here. The rivalry seems to be between suku. For example, they said that Reandona suku has always been trying to get into the kapitan position, but has never succeeded. I wonder if perhaps the mosa laki were not once actually suku chiefs. I asked the old giri tumba about this and he agreed but probably didn't understand me. And yet there seems to be a connection. Be-
[178] fore the Dutch came, they say that the mosa laki mere was the kapitan and the giri tumba the kepala kampong of Roworeke. Thus the mosa laki mere was the top man and the giri tumba was the kampong chief. As for the other two (ndeto au and sike sani) they said that there were these offices too in the old days.

773 173 614 Then I tried to get onto the subject of the old origin legends in Roworeke. They said that long ago before the Dutch came the mosa laki mere here was of the suku Rewarangga; the giri tumba was of the suku Odja; the ndeto au was of the suku Nggonggora'ba, and they did not know the suku of the sike sani. This mention of Nggonggora'ba led me to ask about the whole business.

The kapitan started the story. In the beginning there were five siblings who came from Java, four brothers and one sister. The four brothers were Rewarangga, Reandona, Nggonggora'ba, and Gasiradja. The sister was Djedjedjo. The last went to Nggobe. Gasiradja went to a mountain kampong in the gemeente of Nggobe. The kampong was named Woroapo. Rewarangga settled in Roworeke, and he was the eldest brother and the most powerful of the siblings. Reandona took over authority in

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773 Manunggo'o (where this suku still remains the
173 principal suku). Nggonggora'ba took over
614 authority in Worowai, and there are still members of this suku there. Then the Odja suku entered the area from Rabu (at present three kampongs; 9, 10, 11 in the above list on page 29). Then the Tibo suku entered from Koavena and settled on the hill Wolowaru above Roworeke. This was later abandoned, and they came down and settled in the sections of Roworeke called Aibou and Kopoëdo. Thus at that time there were five main suku (maybe only these five) in the area: Rewarangga in Roworeke; Reandona in Manunggo'o; Nggonggora'ba in Worowai; and the two new suku, Odja in Roworeke and Tibo in Wolowaru. The posts
●[624] held by these suku were:

1.	Rewarangga:	Mosa laki mere of Roworeke.
2.	Reandona:	Mosa laki mere of Manunggo'o.
3.	Nggonggora'ba:	Mosa laki mere of Worowai.
4.	Odja:	Giri tumba of Roworeke.
5.	Tibo:	Ata nggaeh nua of Roworeke.

The other officers were also present, but it is unclear as to what suku they came from.

It can be seen that the kapitan descended
632 from the mosa laki mere of Roworeke, and this is
624 in the suku Rewarangga (probably when the kapi-
614 tanschap was created, Roworeke was made the capital and the mosa laki mere of it was made the kapitan of the new district). Later on, when Rewarangga nearly died out, Odja, the suku of the old giri tumba of Roworeke, took over the kapitan position. The giri tumba is still from Odja. The Reandona suku, descended from the second of the four brothers, is one of the eligible. What has happened, however, to the Nggonggora'ba suku seems to be a kind of eclipse. I must look into this later in Worowai.

Ws.

511 as I see more of this country. This area is terribly poor and overcrowded, full of stones, and has little water. The girls and women have [312] to haul water for Leloba from the coast, which is three kilometers off. And there is little food in the town. They are really hungry.

Vatter told of great illnesses here, and I 164 can see many examples of this today. Sore eyes 511 are terrible and probably caused by lack of vitamins. There are many children with large bellies, skin sores, etc. Nowhere before have I seen such misery in regard to mere existence. Last year, a priest told us later, there was a famine here. And now I can see how vital the old rainmaking and the practices of the tuan tanah must be here.

797 At the mission headquarters in Larantuka we 634 were told that it is hard for the mission to 661 make plans here, because every time they get an 423 improvement, for example, in the land system, 427 the radja comes in and seizes the best land. ● 624 Also the tuan tanah stands up against all changes, and he is a "chiseler" also. Thus if they have a project which brings acres of improved land, the bigwigs wait until the work is done on it and then take the best part for themselves. The local people thus lose their land and many have thus been forced to work on the radja's land or for other big men as sharecroppers. Evidently the common division here is one-fourth of the crop for the sharecropper. The priests seem to regard the tuan tanah, who is the ritual and adat leader, as the worst.

622 We had some gin with the priest and then went 159 to the house of the guru Roy. He was Vatter's[1] assistant, and his house is the biggest in the kampong. He could be the kepala kampong, but because he is a guru, he passed the post on to his younger brother. They belong to the Hurin suku, which is different from the usual thing,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113—Analyst]

Wa

	Men of	Marry Women of
582	IVa2	III
614	IVb	I, II
835	IVc	I, II
	Va	I, II
	Vb	I, II

582 614 835 583 684 178 The case of IIIc intermarrying with IIIa (perhaps it is IIIb) was one of incest which involved three virtually simultaneous marriages which occurred two generations ago. There were three men from one family who paid a very high bride price. This is like the similar case in Leloba. I asked how much higher the bride price was in these cases, and he said that they had to pay more tusks, but the man had to kill all of his animals. Thus it seems like a kind of tremendous purifying feast in order that the incest may be allowed. He said that the Leloba incestuous arrangement is still technically in, and anyone who wants to follow it now may do so without paying the tremendous price the pioneers once did. Both of the men who did it in Leloba are dead now. As for the Wailolong cases, this arrangement has been stopped, or rather, if it is carried on today it is wrong. They don't do it any more. There were the three men and then it ended. I asked about any resulting disasters and he said it is true that these sinners had had terrible troubles. I must ask what these troubles were exactly.

624 622 614 554 The offices are as follows:

--Kepala Kampong Kottang (Ib)

I. Radja Tuan Datong (kepala suku, tuan tanah) (Ia)

(2) a. Kelake Ama Radja (kepala ama (same man as I)

Wer

622 (1) b. Kelake Ama Belolong
624 c. Kelake Ama Rere
614
554

--Kepala Kampong Keleng (Leworita) (IIb)

II. Radja Tuan Leworita (IIa)
(1) a. Kelake Subamaki(ng) (same man as II)
(2) b. Kelake Harutmaki(ng)
(3) c. Kelake Tapopuka(ng)

--Kepala Kampong Hurint (IIIc)

III. Radja Tuan Ama Hurint (IIIa)
(2) a. Kelake Hadumbole(ng) (Same man as IIIa)
(1) b. Kelake Marimaki(ng)
(3) c. Kelake Melamaki(ng)

IV. Radja Tuan Lewato (IVa)
a. Kelake Waru'i(ng) (same man as IVa)
b. Kelake Waktuka(ng)
c. Kelake Tuhowutung

V. Radja Tuan Lewodoreng (Vb)
a. b. Kelake Waru'i(ng)--Engamaki(ng)
(same man as V)

(The arabic numerals to the left of the lower case letters in the above list refer to the relative rank of the offices listed.)

The last of these five suku is small and so has only one officer. There are only nine men in this suku (they reckon the size of a suku by the number of men in it), and thus there are perhaps only about thirty to forty people in all. They mentioned other suku with forty or more men. Lewato is also not very large. They say it has about twice as many as Lewodoreng. (These are IV and V.)

622 The kepala kampong is purely an administrative
624 chief. The adat chiefs, who were evidently the
614 only chiefs formerly, are the radja tuan and the

622 kelake. Evidently the kepala kampong have been
624 superimposed on the other system.
614 The purely administrative chiefs are:

Kepala Kampong Kottang (he is the kepala kampong)
Kepala Kampong Kelen (IIb)
Kepala Kampong Hurint (IIIc)

The latter two have this as their only titled rank. If I am right that the kepala kampong is also the kepala kampong Kottang, then there are really sixteen officers, i.e., actual men in office, but the total number of offices is twenty-three. Some men have more than one office. When
[788] there are ceremonies, the praying (marang) is
[887] done, not by the man from suku Marang, but by the oldest man who is clever. Here it is a man
[756] named Bugis, from IIa. He is also the molang, or medicine man. Can it be that often the two go together? The guru, as noted above, says that even in Leloba, where they have a suku named Marang, this is not the praying suku at the rites. The chief of the Marang suku is merely a hander around of betel. In Vatter's time in Leloba the one who prayed was Laba, says the guru.

614 Note that an alternative term for Ama is Mela. Thus one can say, for example, either Ama Hurint or Mela Hurint.

693 Yesterday we met the chiefs of Wailolong.
624 They were at the kakang's office for a marriage
302 case. They were partly made up of short-haired Christians, but there were also pagan longhairs. I must get a photograph of all of them together with the information on who they are. Probably the administrative ones are the modern and the adat ones are the old pagans.

614 For the kepala suku they always have an old
887 man if possible. If no old man is available, however, they may have to take a younger one.

614 I must get on to the method of choosing the
622 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

Wae
614 chiefs and also clear up the exact differences
622 between the kepala suku and the kepala kampong, if any.

622 The next day I got an explanation of the
624 officers. The three kepala kampong (called
614 Kottang, Kelen and Hurint) are the administra-
574 tive officers. They are chosen by their respec-
796 tive suku. They have no ritual function as such,
231 unless they happen also to be either kepala suku of their suku or the kelake of their ama. The radja tuan and the kelake are also chosen by their respective suku and ama, but from the noble lineage within the suku. They must come from the "big house" (Lango' Bele'). Each suku has one such big house, and so does each ama. I have seen them in Leloba. I found out, however, that the head and feet are not actually held by the kepala suku Kottang and Kelen, but rather by some man, evidently it matters not who, from their suku. Also, the kepala suku Hurint himself does not actually cut (though evidently he may do so if he wants to), but usually delegates the job to one of his fellow suku members.

It happens then, in Wailolong, that there are five radja tuan and three kepala kampong. Then there are the kelake.

If they hold a suku feast, i.e., a feast on the land of the suku itself and which concerns only the suku, it runs something like this in each of the suku:

Ama Datong	Head:	Man from Ama Radja.
	Feet:	Man from Ama Belolong.
	Cut:	Man called in from Ama Hurint, but may not be from Nipatale.
Leworitá	Head:	Man from IIa.
	Feet:	Man from IIb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

Wa

622 **Ama Hurint** Head: Man called from Ia or Ib.
●624 Feet: Man called from IIa or IIb.
614 Cut: Man from Hurint, except
796 Nipatale.
574
231 **Lewato** Head: Man from IVa.
Feet: Man from IVb.
Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

Lewodoreng Head: Man from Va.
Feet: Man from Vb.
Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

If a kampong feast is held for all of the people, the setup is as follows:

Head: Man from Ama Radja (Ia).
Feet: Man from Subamaki(ng) (IIa).
Cut: Man from III, except Nipatale.

614 The Nipatale groups--in Wailolong they are
567 IIIa2 and IVa2; in Leloba IV-lb--are former
423 slaves, bought respectively by the Ama Hadumbole(ng)
582 Waru'i(ng), and Lewamaki(ng) amas. They have no
[796] ritual standing and they may never hold or cut.
They just look on. Also, they have no land of
their own, but use the land of their masters
(i.e., the ama who bought their ancestors). They
[753] must give the first fruits of their gardens to
these masters, and if they do not they get sick.
He says that they were bought from Adonara not
long ago, perhaps about four generations. They
are not really free yet. They must obey the
orders of their masters. In ordinary life, how-
ever, this is a matter of adat and respect (hor-
mat), and they are not ashamed. It is really a
matter of (a) owning no land of their own; (b)

609 We
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
437 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
● 624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has
[778] magical power, but we didn't get into the full story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All
727 of them were sold or taken during the Japanese
436 time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese
563 time too, but new ones are being made by
326 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and families. They had been in the mountains making wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They use the natives' gold. Much silver is now mixed in with the gold. They both had complete
[142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large, and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they
611 use money and animals for the bride price, but
591 they may also work it off, although it is not
237 really a case of ambil anak because the children follow the father's suku anyway. The girl must stay with the parents until the bride price is paid. Also, residence remains matrilocal until the bride price is paid. Thus we have an illustration of this in the case of a Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several children, because the bride price has not yet been paid. The children belong to his suku, however. Thus there is bride service, matrilocal residence, but the descent remains patrilineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally, has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to get the assistant to say that they still had tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the
624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before
632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evidently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases
[691] are concerned only with land and marriage questions.

R

693 632 624 [622] tions. Murder, theft, etc., come to the kepala kampong or kapitan. Such cases are not within the adat sphere. These officials do not interfere with each other's spheres.

632 624 622 The situation in regard to the offices is as follows: The Big Four of the gemeente who are also the Little Four of Roworeke (combined with Worowai) are respectively from Rewarangga, Odja, Rewarangga, and Rewarangga. All except the giri tumba are from Worowai, and here there is a rumah berhala. Only an Odja or a Rewarangga man (and he must be a resident of Roworeke) may be elected kapitan or kepala kampong of Roworeke. In each of the other kampongs there are families in which the Little Fours are hereditary posts. This position is inherited from father to eldest son.

[796] There are no set ritual functions associated with these offices, but the mosa laki mere of the Big Four (I think) must always be there for a big ceremony, and he must receive the lower jaws of the animals slaughtered. I note that an alternative term for the four mosa laki is tuan tanah.

771 796 Some of the people here are Catholics, and I asked if they still did the ritual and prayed when they held a big ceremony. He say yes, and that Catholicism makes no difference in this matter. He was firm in stating that there are Catholic things and adat things. They are separate. The two main feasts of the year are those held at planting and at harvest time, when the crops are brought in ritually to the kampong. At these feasts the mosa are the leaders and the big leader is the local mosa laki mere. There is animal slaughter, dancing, singing, and praying. They wear festive clothes. And there is also a big suku feast when the bone house of a suku is rebuilt. Thousands attend. Smaller private rites are held for such

796 241 574 527 [614] [342] 000

R

614 here the process has gone much further and they
124 are slower in general to respond. Anyway I got
to the point where they said that there are
really only two "native" suku here in Roworeke,
[622] Odja and Rewarangga. Only an Odja can become
kepala kampong.

622 Incidentally, they agreed that in the old
624 days they had only four adat chiefs. The kepala
[177] kampong were superimposed by the Dutch. They
know this. I asked who were really higher in
rank, the mosa laki mere or the kepala kampong,
and they said that they were just different.
614 Other suku than the main two here are for example, Wanda, Ndoru, Songo, Soa, Fongi; all of which are from Lio, and are represented here by women who have married in mostly. Then there is Djawa, which has been here for a long time. Also there is Meo, from Nggobe; Gusi, from another Ende gemeente; Gusa (or Tibo), from Koavena; another Rewarangga kampong; and Woro (same).

778 Koa is the negri lama of the Gusa suku, and there the rumah berhala is located. It is the one that has the images. Many of the oldtimers live there. It is one kilometer uphill from the km. 10 mark on the road, just above the kapitan's garden. There is a rumah berhala in Worowai, where rites are held. I must get to see this.

There is no question here but that the
614 Rewarangga suku has the greatest power in all the gemeente. It may also have been the original suku. Next in order is Odja, and evidently next in line comes Reandona, whose native kampong is Manunggo'o, in the hills above Roworeke.

527 On December 27, after the ceremony of independence, came the same sort of thing as on flag day, but now for nearly a week there will be no
487 work. We left for Badjawa, the capital of Ngada. The road went along the coast through a number

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[799] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here, and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

771 [624] ~~the~~ We young folk are Christian. Most of the old people are largely pagan however. There are no other obvious signs of pagan religion in the lower kampong. The same goes for Weol.
342 Here there are more round houses, but the new ones are all rectangular. At the entrance of
778 the kampong there is a mound which I must ask about. It looks as though it might have been a cult hill. Then there is the holy tree and the stones around it. The photo of the stone figure, Ine Amba, which Vroklage gives as from Weol, is really from a kampong which can be seen across the rice fields.

621 [624] There are many old people here, including two remarkable old men, one of whom is one of the two tuan tanah in the kampong. This is a double kampong, with two main parts, and it has therefore two tuan tanah. The children here are
[515] dirty and so are the adults, for the most part.
[231] There are pigs all over. However, the houses
[361] are better spaced than, for example, in Larantuka kampongs. The people here have poor clothes,
[291] and many, especially the women, were seen with
304 filed teeth and some of them with teeth beautifully blackened. We noticed no tattooing nor cutting.

243 Looking off from the high kampong one can see the wet rice fields below. These are in wedge shapes with a common center. There are many adjacent, star-shaped arrangements. This is unique in Indonesia. The priest says this is because it is easier to fence them in this fashion, but I suspect there is some cosmological significance, perhaps reflected in the circular houses too. The houses have all sorts of decorations
342 on top of them. The round ones seem to have an
531 upright wooden thing on them. The rectangular ones have at the ridge ends a stylized pair of wooden horns, often with a bird in the middle, and some with two birds, one at each horn tip.

[See pp. 390-91 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography cat. 113--Analyst]

614 maybe it is a matter of the older and younger
582 lines. I must check on this. The mandur said
[624] there was no tuan tanah in Ruteng kampong.
Later the assistant said they must have one.

124 In the evening the assistant came to the pasanggrahan and talked with us. He seems to be the best one yet. He knows plenty about the old customs, and Christianity has not caused him to scorn the old ways. He is so enthusiastic that it was hard for us to stop him. We got onto the question of Weol.

178 He said that in the old days there was only
342 one large round house per kampong. The diameter
614 was perhaps twenty meters. If you saw two
624 houses, it meant that there were two va'u. And
582 up until twenty years ago (1927) all tuan tanah
778 lived in round houses. After that, however, a
801 change took place. For example, the tuan tanah of Weol now lives in a rectangular house. In the old clan house there were nine posts, in rows of three. The very center pillar was the main one and here sat the tuan tanah at religious rites. Others ranged around the walls in the front half of the house. The rear section of the house was for the tuan tanah and his family. Other panga had sections around the walls. In the center, behind the main post, was the kitchen. Later, when more than one round house was built in a single kampong, the tuan tanah occupied the main house, and here the main pillar of all was located. This pillar is especially holy, and the setting of it in place requires certain rites, sacrificial animals, etc. Other round houses had nine pillars too. Each house was inhabited usually by one panga, and in each there was a kepala panga, and smaller rites were held at each main pillar.

243 The circular rice field arrangement shows
782 certain similarities here. He says that even
778 now when they begin planting or have some other

Wae

243 agricultural rite, they must make a sacrifice
782 at the very center. The main post is the place
778 for house and kampong offerings, and it is called pusat. I think the center of the circular rice field complex is also called the pusat.

115 The assistant's name is Cornelius Lawang.
624 He is from the va'u Pau, which is also the name of a kampong about one kilometer outside the town. His father is the tuan tanah there, and there he will spend tonight. He is his father's successor. Will he take the post? He said just about all tuan tanah (tua' tano') are pagan. But evidently they could be Christian, although a bit of trouble may rise when it comes to the ceremony.

582 I forgot to say that the mandur said it is possible to marry with one's mother's brother's daughter, but not with the other cousins, including father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and father's brother's daughter. If so, this is interesting. He said that
[184] the Catholics forbid mother's brother's daughter marriages now. I must check on this.

We got onto the census matter with the assis-
567 tant. This led to some new points. He said that they do have slaves here and said that he would indicate them in the census, but I must never tell, as this is never mentioned although
842 everyone knows about it. He said that they like
583 to have many children here, and if they have many they give a feast of thanks. (Evidently the more daughters the richer the family may become because of the bride prices. If the family consists of all boys, there is considerable trouble in getting enough goods for the bride prices. These bride prices are reckoned in terms of animals mostly. The mandur said there is trouble often in getting the price and that men who can't marry on this account are not

842 too uncommon. If relatives help out in this
583 matter,[1] they must be repaid. The assistant
[602] said that if there are no children or if there
[597] are very few children, it often happens that a man buys a child, who then becomes one of his own. (From whom does he buy?)

565 The ranks are:
582
595

1. Radja bangsawan
2. Dalu bangsawan (he says, since 1880) (Kraeng)
3. Gelarang bangsawan
4. Leke (commoners)
5. Mendi (slaves)

The first three may intermarry, either way. The last two may intermarry, also either way. Polygamist marriages are possible, and this goes even for the Christians who do so in order to have more children. He talked as though polygamy, if done for this purpose only, was not so bad. He is of the gelarang and his wife of dalu. The children are of gelarang.

624 Then we got onto the subject of the social
621 organization of Weol. He said that there is a
342 tuan tanah and also a second man, whom he will
534 explain later, as it is a long story. There is also a medicine man, and he is important in ceremonies. He will give me the posts of the kampong later on the sheets.

Weol has two offshoot kampongs. One is Tjantsia (where he lives) and the other is Tjara, on the next hill. The former has a tuan tanah tjabang (a branch tuan tanah). Incidentally,
[178] the present tuan tanah of Weol lives in a rectangular house, which was an unknown thing here before ten years ago. Even in this rectangular house, there is a main post or rather a place which serves as a main post, and here the tuan tanah sits as the center of rituals. The tuan tanah must have in the house a gong and a gendang

[1] [i.e., meeting the bride price --Analyst]

We
621 or drum. Thus they may speak of his house as
624 the rumah gong-gendang. These instruments are
534 used in the rites, and as tuan tanah he must have
342 them. If there is a branch kampong, the tuan tanah tjabang must get a gong and a gendang from the mother kampong tuan tanah. Thus the gong-gendang is a symbol of power, like the Celebes aradjang.

There have been men who from time to time try to become tuan tanah-like by getting a gong and a gendang. This is not possible, however, as they must come directly from the old tuan tanah. Sometimes a tuan tanah tjabang is not happy in the branch kampong and he may come back to the mother kampong, taking his gong-gendang with
621 him. I think he said that a branch is often
614 caused by the fact that there are two va'u in a kampong, and one may split off and move to a new location. Evidently there is a tendency to keep the rule of one va'u per kampong. Thus I note that he says that the Ruteng kampong, which has two va'u, is having internal trouble between the two. There might be a split off in such a case.

797 He said finally that Catholicism has made
178 just about no change at all in the adat. It stands fast. Maybe here we have a case of greater technical change than in Larantuka or Ende where there has been practically no technical change, but on the other hand, there has been very little change in the adat here, which has been much modified in Larantuka and Ende.
[242] Thus one can see beautiful farming techniques here, and the mission is strong in this type of development. There are also wooden houses with nails (cost about fl. 2000.00 in meat and gift salaries and materials). In Larantuka and Ende the economic conditions remain at the same old miserable level. Thus the mission changes adat and religion a lot in Ende and Larantuka, but only technical changes have occurred here.

We

632 1. Weol, with Weol as the center kampong and
621 three branch kampongs. They all trace from Weol. There are three other Weol kampongs in the daluschap Tjibal to the north.

2. Ndung, with Ndung as the center kampong and five branch kampongs. All of them, including Ndung, stemmed originally from Weol. Indeed, the dual kampong Weol-Ndung is the center whence spread out all the kampongs of both Weol
[614] and Ndung. And they evidently were all of the same clan, the va'u Weol. Thus this covers two gelarang districts.

3. Tjumbi, with seven branch kampongs.

4. La'o, with three branch kampongs.

5. Rahong, with seven branch kampongs. But this is a special case as it is the directly governed complex of the dalu. The dalu lives, however, in kampong Waukung, in the gelarang Tjumbi. These kampongs are scattered over the four gelarang into which the daluschap is divided. Thus, in all, there are thirty-three kampongs.

622 There is a tuan tanah in each kampong, but
● 624 not a kepala kampong in each. See below. The
632 big tuan tanah, the gelarang tuan tanah, are in Weol, La'o, Tjumbi, and Ndung kampongs. I wonder if perhaps, before, these were the district chiefs, that is, before the dalu came in.

Some of the tuan tanah are also kepala kampong. That is, they have two posts. This is so
[565] in about half of the cases, but all kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah "nobility." Thus the kepala kampong of Weol is the brother of the tuan tanah. Thus they have managed to keep even the purely administrative officers in the adat-chiefly families.

The post of tuan tanah goes to the eldest son, but the kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu, after quietly finding out the will of the folk in the kampong.

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614 All the people in Weol gelarang are of va'u
166 Weol. There is one exception, the va'u Tjepang. These folk came in before from Boleng, in North Manggarai. They settled in kampong Weol, but when things became crowded, they went below to kampong Tjantjar. The latter alone has many people who are not of the va'u Weol, except for real newcomers, such as the Ruteng folk in Ndung, who came to work in the gardens (evidently as coolies) and settled down. There are many outsiders in the mixed and new kampong Tjantjar.

614 The original ancestors of the va'u Weol came
773 out of a bamboo at a spot near the present spring
824 below Weol. There are bamboo trees there de-
784 scended from the original one. The original ancestors were a pair: Vako Dangka and Ine Karas. Not only is the bamboo taboo but also the lusa (red beans). For example, if a child eats these unwittingly, a fowl must be killed. They do not "cut off" the tongue symbolically with a leaf as is done in some other areas.

614 Women from other clans marrying into Weol
784 must take on the taboo of their husbands. A
562 Weol woman marrying into another clan may eat
783 lusa, but only after performing the rite called ela penteng pitak, which means "to clean off the mud." She must take on the totem taboos of her husband's clan. The woman marrying into Weol gives up her own taboos, but must also do the ela penteng pitak. This ceremony involves a pig sacrifice. Thus every woman marrying into another clan must do this rite to give up her own totems. The name of the totem taboo is tjek'ki.

565 There is a nobility which applies to the
632 radjas, dalu, and gelarang. The gelarang are
624 the tuan tanah (and kepala kampong) of the cen-
622 tral kampongs of the gelarang districts, for
[634] example, Weol. Thus Weol has two gelarang, and Ndung has only one, because the kepala kampong

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565 of Meler, the main kepala kampong of the Ndung
632 complex, lives in Meler. The dalu came in
624 about 1870. They were put in by Bima, and the
622 tuan tanah said that they were of Bima origin.
(Does this mean that no native chiefs were made dalu? Evidently.)

622 There is no native term for the kepala kam-
624 pong. The tuan tanah is the tu'a tenu. In each
592 house there is a house chief, the tu'a mbaru. The latter word means house. He is chosen by the men of the house.

623 The kampong council, which must be called
592 together for each case, includes the tuan tanah,
693 the kepala kampong, and the tu'a mbaru of their own houses. If the case involves adat, the tuan tanah is the chairman. An example of this would be a case concerned with land. If the case is concerned with administration, for example, with theft, the kepala kampong acts as chairman. In all cases, however, all of the members of the council are present.

614 The clans are divided into subclans called
624 panga. Each of these has a chief, the tu'a panga. In Weol there are three panga and three tu'a panga. Two of these are also the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong. There are two panga and two tu'a panga in Ndung. The tuan tanah there is also tu'a panga of his panga and tu'a mbaru of his house.

614 I asked about the origin of the panga. The
173 original ancestors, Vako Dangka and Ine Karas, had two sons: Lando Kakor and Naloholles. They married wives of another va'u and between them had seven sons (their daughters were forgotten, a reversal of the Ngada story, where the daughters of Djawa are remembered and the sons forgotten). Each of these became an ancestor of a panga, and in the course of time their descendants split into many more panga. New panga may be formed at any time, even now, as the old ones

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173 get larger and split. Thus there are many panga in the va'u Weol (are they grouped under the original seven sons?).

614 The three panga of Weol kampong are: Lambar
621 (the tuan tanah is chief of this), Rinteng (the
592 kepala kampong is chief of this), and Rundu. It happens that there are two houses in each of the three panga in Weol, making six houses in all. Thus each tu'a panga has two houses under
342 him. The houses of the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong are built in the new style, as
178 are two of the others. There are then two old round houses, one with old non-wood walls. Most of the present round houses have wood walls and are built with nails. The roof does not reach the floor as in the real old time houses. The new style houses are all the same pattern, which was introduced by a certain priest. This is the only new style they know, and all new ones are exactly the same.

592 Often the whole panga will live in one house.
621 Ndung, which originally was linked with Weol, is
614 now a separate kampong and is even located in
624 another gelarang. The border is the mound above the small house area of Weol. They are
[778] continuous, but each has its own sacred tree. The kepala kampong of not only Ndung and Meler, but of the other four kampongs in the gelarang as well, lives in Meler. Thus there is only one kepala kampong for all the six kampongs. But each kampong must have a tuan tanah. The tuan tanah besar, however, lives in Ndung, just as the tuan tanah besar of Weol gelarang lives in Weol (this is our host). The big kepala kampong and the big tuan tanah of each gelarang has the rank of gelarang. In the gelarang Weol there are three kepala kampongs only, for the seven kampongs. Thus the Weol kepala kampong is also kepala kampong of Tjantjar.

614 The Ndung folk are all of the va'u Weol and
784 have a taboo on lusa.

000 have a taboo on lusa. There are two panga here:
614 Rosong and Nggurus. Each panga has two houses,
592 and thus there are four in all. There are more
342 houses, however, and these are of the non-Wol
178 newcomers, especially those from Ruteng. In addition to the four old houses of which two are built in the old style and one in the new style, there are: one round house belonging to the newcomers, mixed; three new style houses of newcomers, mixed. The reason that there are only three original houses is that one of the pangas has people living in a temporary, awful long tumbledown shack, wherein live also some newcomers. This is to be torn down as soon as two new style wooden houses, now under construction, are finished. In one of these will live the newcomers of the shed, and in the other the panga folk now living in the shed. Thus the houses are:

1. Tuan tanah house, new style, panga.
2. Round house panga.
3. Round house panga.
4. Small shed with one family who should live in number 3. It is beside the latter.
5. Round house newcomers.
6. New style newcomers.
7. New style newcomers.
8. Small shed newcomers.
9. Long shed mixed panga and newcomers.

Number 9 will split when the two new houses are finished, and the newcomers will go to one and the panga folk to the other.

342 I asked about the roof ornaments. The horns
531 are pretty clearly a sign of the tuan tanah's
554 house. The other type, the straight upright
624 rod, is an ordinary decoration. Some of the horns have a bird head in the middle, and I have seen birds on the horn tips, but not here. The tuan tanah of Ndung has the horns, but in the center there is a human face.

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624 342 592 554 534 In the house of the tuan tanah of Weol there are four households. The tuan tanah has a section to one side, since the old place in the rear, as in the round house, is impossible because the rear door is located there. He keeps the gong-gendang, which is the symbol of his being tuan tanah. One might even call the tuan tanah house the drum house. These drums are important, as they are used in agricultural rites.

778 There are no holy stones (yet see later) in the kampong here. I hear that there are some in kampong Ruteng, which I must see. In each kampong there is a tree (the Weol one died some time ago and was replaced; the new one is rather small). Around these trees (the assistant knows nothing of the significance of the tree) are placed stones. He says they have no magic power, but in sacred rites animals are sacrificed there below the tree. In the cleansing of the kampong rite these stones are rearranged nicely.

178 582 614 [621] Nowadays it is possible to marry in or out of the clan. It is also possible to marry within or without the kampong, and the kampong usually consists of one clan. But even now one may not marry in the same panga. Thus there is lineage exogamy.

Formerly clans too were exogamous, but in special cases one might marry in, for example, if the girl became pregnant. Evidently there were other cases too. But since about fifty years ago endogamous marriages within the clan have been possible. Nevertheless, most marriages are outside of the clan. The first case of clan endogamy in Weol kampong involved the parents of the present tuan tanah. This occurred fifty yeargs ago. He said that they cannot remember what trouble was caused if any. The assistant has heard tales of evil following such cases of endogamy. I must follow this up. What has

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872 one-half years ago. Children of, for example,
[177] fifteen can't enter this school because they
are too old. This is a big reason why there is
less acculturation here than in Larantuka.
624 Also, Larantuka has lost the power of adat
622 chiefs to a greater degree, as has Ende. Here
177 they still are the most powerful leaders, and
even the kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah
family. This is clearly the area of least ac-
culturation, although in agriculture and tech-
nology they are just as advanced if not more so
than in the other areas. For example, witness
the wooden houses. But adat is stronger here,
and the mother's brother's daughter marriage
still stands. The priests still compromise
more with the old. There are many many feasts.
527 There are feasts at birth, death, marriage, if
574 there are many children, at planting, at har-
796 vest, when a new garden is made, when a new
756 house is erected, and on many other occasions.
755 Some of these are large and some are small.
Some are for the family, and some are celebrated
by larger units. Some are celebrated by the
entire kampong. The biggest is perhaps the
cleansing of the kampong ceremony. The medi-
cine man, mbako decided when one is needed.
Thus he says there is a lot of illness, etc.,
and it is time they had a "tjutji kampong."

756 There is at least one mbako in each kampong,
609 and some kampongs have more. He learns his
trade from his father, but there are cases where
such succession is not followed. There is one
in Weol. However, they will never tell an out-
sider who the mbako is. He is secret. They all
know who he is. However, even during a rite,
he keeps in the background so that he can be
kept hidden. Query: Is this because of the
fear of the mission or the government or what?
I couldn't get much about the latter, but I
will try later. This is amazing!

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534 drums and gongs were brought here from These several
535 kampongs. They are the real tuan tanah articles.
[624] At one time three little girls danced with their eyes downcast and with very little movement of the feet. They wore slendang and nice dresses. The oldest man, looking like a nickel
[292] head Indian, had on an amazing costume with rich embroidery, and a silver fringe under his chin like a beard. For a head decoration he had a gilded horse. He also carried two kris, and each of the other men had one.

526 Now, at 6 P.M., after all day of it, taking turns, the men are still whipping. This is a tireless business.

609 We get the impression of real remoteness
178 here. These men are from the kampong nearby, and in this large bowl of distant mountains they are in their old dress doing the weird old practices and it has little to do with modern freedom and independence. When we go to such a place they look more at us than at the performers. We steal the show. But this is so all over Indonesia for whites. And they stare at us endlessly.

304 The tuan tanah of Weol has an elaborate set of patterns tattooed on his arms.

291 The Manggarai men often wear plaited, flat, songko-like headgear.

231 The horses here are important. Men and women
492 ride them, but mainly the former. The whole
[133] open land looks like the wild West. The priests use only horses here. They are small and spirited and bells are usually placed around their necks.

614 The next day we went again to Weol and asked
[624] if the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong were really brothers. If so, how could they belong to different panga. I found out that they are not brothers but merely distantly related.

The three panga names in Weol are the names

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614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and Rundu.

784 824 614 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The other kinds, for example betong, which is thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung pesi is also tabooed for the members of the Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only on the first-born of each family. The first-born is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 114 624 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his material. There are now two more kampongs in the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas is in error in stating that Ladja is the fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung. Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung. The Manggarai

624 824 796 name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Teno is the kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post which is set in the center of the star of fields for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a

[533] [562] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum. Some of the beats are the same for the men and for the women, but others differ by sex. Another term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 423 651 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which are basically the property of the tuan tanah. Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay tribute for his house space. This tribute is used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 778 [104] Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on the side of the highest hill. It is in the form of a rough human figure, which used to have

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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614 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and
778 broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive. It is located a little to the side of the path and in a rather inconspicuous place.

[773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about this: it is a woman turned to stone with her child because she bathed naked) is located four kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong Bangkavelo.

231 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,[1]
241 they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the
782 garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connec-
114 tion with agricultural rites. They do this in the kampong. In the garden itself they kill only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent, Coolhaas is right.

565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The term kraeng is used for all three levels of nobles.

114 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 336,[1]
632 the people here still give tribute to the dalu
651 when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls,
466 etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now
624 wants a new house he may no longer expect free
476 labor. Now he must pay for such service. If, however, there is need of a new tuan tanah house, labor is given without pay. And if there is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps, although other kampongs may assist in some way or other.

567 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi).
Their descendants are still known. It is also
565 true that new slaves were put in stocks (lam-
114 pang) until it was certain that they would not run away. It is also correct that slaves who had been in a family for a long time might even marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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776 In regard to Manggarai religion: The poti-
782 potiwolo live in trees; the giants have one leg and one eye; if a tree is cut down an offering is given to them.

The ine weu are dwarfs with long breasts. They strangle men with the latter. They live in forests.

The darat are in the forests too. They assume the shape of relatives and lure children so that they can kidnap them. If a child disappears, the people go out with drums and gongs to scare the darat into yielding. The poti empo are ghosts of the dead. Offerings are made to them in all rites. These ghosts hang around their graves and the kampongs. Wakar are higher spirits. Of these the good spirits are wakar dia, bad spirits are wakar daat.

The name of the high god is Mori Kraeng.

241 There are two kinds of gardens: lingko
776 randang and lingko umah. The former are under
782 the aegis of ghosts of the dead tuan tanah.
231 The latter are under the aegis of ordinary poti. Each gelarang must have at least one of the former (lingko randang). For the lingko randang there are more and greater prayers. And at ceremonial rites for that type of garden buffa-
[526] loes must be killed and the whip fighting must be done at its harvest festivals.

241 The agricultural feasts are:
782 (1) Leas ose, when the garden is divided. A
624 pig is sacrificed.

231 (2) Bentio ratji, when the land is ready.
527 Pigs and fowls are sacrificed. The people go around the lodok five times, led by the tuan tanah, in order to chase the setan. Planting is done two days after the feast. Then, for two and a half months nothing is done in the garden, not even weeding.

(3) Kalok, to drive away the mice. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok

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241 five times. Then two men imitate mice and run
782 around, while others pelt them with clods of
231 earth. This part is called mburu pusu. After
●624 this weeding can be done.
527 (4) Tege rego, when the crops are ripening. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok five times. (The tuan tanah always leads the procession of the people who have shares in the garden being rited.)

(5) Tjepa, just before the harvest. Each family concerned gives a pig, rice, etc. If the garden is a lingko randang, a buffalo must be sacrificed. The animals are assembled in the kampong, and the crowd, with one of the pigs, goes to the garden. Each one plucks a stalk and a hair. The pig is killed. Then they go back to the kampong and go around the "adat house" five times and then go inside to dance. Then all the other beasts are killed and the
[195] whipping starts. While harvesting, special words are used for animals and aliens.

776 At all feasts the poti empo are called and
769 the setan are chased. Therefore, the dead are never buried far from the kampong, and perhaps inside the kampong. Thus it is easier to call them. They live at their graves.

124 We talked with the assistant Sunday and then
[524] took him home. (We discovered in Ende later that the bamboo clapping game is also practiced there.) Then we set out for Badjawa, which we reached in the evening. The next morning a lad named Alfons appeared and said that the Radja Kedua had told him to show us the Soa area when we were in Badjawa. He is the former guru agama [religious teacher] and had taught Malay and Ngada to many priests. He is good looking and intelligent and wears leather puttees.

361 Then we went to Soa, but first stopped at a
621 spectacular kampong named Lekedjere, on the side
614 road to Soa. It is pure Ngada, really a double

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
614 living on the level of the road and the other
621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they
are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo.
[211] At the road border of the kampong a bit in from
the road, standing against the skyline, is a
row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars
looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe
heads. They are thin and tall. They are set
on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
[417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical
of all kampongs in this region, so that the
kampong itself is located down in a stone wall
enclosure.

346 Below the first row of stone pillars there
769 is another with just as many stones. It is also
531 set on a mound. Just below this stands the
umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on
one side there is a living tree with Y-branches
at the fork. Stones are heaped around the
ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet
high, and consists of a single pillar with
thatched cap. The pillar is made of hebuh wood
and is carved in fancy designs which are hard
to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a
mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were
made of white shell). Looking under the cap I
could see that the pillar forks were in the
shape of a U, and so it is really about the
same as the Nageh peo, but less clearly Y-shaped
and covered with a cap.

342 To either side of the plaza, which was of
361 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small
and had rather low roofs. These houses are set
624 on piles. On one side was the house of the
769 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
346 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
565 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
554 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
574 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in

624
565 order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase
554 his fame. However, a common man cannot do this.
769 Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions.
346 Also, buffalo sacrifices are needed for putting
574 a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger"
[782] mori ndaru who lives on the other side of the
plaza. This has some relation to the elder and
younger brother stuff mentioned in the manu-
script report on Soa by a priest. Mommersteeg[1]
342 has lent me this report. The mori ndaru house
624 has a wood post in front, on either side be-
532 side the steps. They are rather thin and low
and are carved in a human form. This is known
as the ata deo, or rather these are the ata
deo.

342 Also, beside the door of the house and on the
531 porch are two richly carved wooden rectangles
measuring about 3x2 feet. This looks like the
[171] Balinese stuff and consists mainly of scrolls
so far as I could see.

237 Not only on the houses of the mori ndaru
342 but also on others, we noted many lower jaws of
531 pigs, wild pigs with tusks, deer horns, and
buffalo horns. These are partly ranged along a
rack under the roof eaves and partly, especially
true of the buffalo horns, stuck in beside the
wall of the porch. We later found out that the
ata deo may be used by others than the mori
ndaru, but evidently the carved wood slabs are
only for him. I saw some especially elaborate
lower jaw carvings on a barn in Brova.

346 In the lower kampong, Lodo, which has a low
231 stone wall between it and Naru, there is the
[624] house of the mori ndaru (thus each suku, voi,
has a mori ndaru, and there may be more than
one per kampong) and the rest of the things
just mentioned. The ndaru there, however, has
a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had
been no renewal they said that they would do so,
but they would have to get the buffalo first.

[1] [pastor at Soa --Analyst]

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
361 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
515 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
514 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

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614 like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now. Woro
361 came from Ndungga (Lio). It is unknown at present where Soa, Songo, and Mboti came from. Fongi came from Wolotope (Lio). Sue came from Tombe (Rabu; Rewarangga). Wai came from Wolotolo (Lio). Mbonggi came from Volofeo (Rewarangga). Pare came from Mbomba (Berai). Lenalaba came from Dile (Lio). Watu came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Gusi came from Watusipi (Berai). Wadja came from Potu (Nggobe).

622 Then we got onto the matter of who may be-
565 come kepala kampong. They said that he must be of the bangsawan class or the people will not follow him. Thus he must be of a mosa laki family. There are three possibilities in the rank of the kampongs:

(1) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are the same man.

(2) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are brothers.

(3) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are of the same family.

Thus Roworeke has a kepala kampong of the mosa laki family. The same situation is true in Worowai and Manunggo'o. Worowaku has a kepala kampong and mosa laki mere in the same person. In Arereke they are in the same family, and so on.

632 The offices in the gemeente are: kapitan, the Big Four, the oppas (oppa), djurutulis (djurutuli), and mandur (oro kuni).

624 The officers of the kampong are: kepala kampong, the Little Four, mandur (oro kuni).

875 The two school teachers live in Waturoga. The head teacher is from Maumere, the other from Ndona. The religious teacher lives in Roworeke.

484 Everyone here in Roworeke has at least gone to Ende. They have seen little else, however. When they go to Ende they usually go for a single

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000 since then there have been no wars.

614 The great suku feasts are a kind of re-
574 fresher of the gemeente bond, as all the suku
692 of the area come and feast and pledge friend-
624 ship. Thus, if Odja has a suku feast for re-
pairing the grave-bones shrine, the other five
big suku (and also others who are invited) at-
tend. (The five are Rewarangga, Nggonggora'ba,
Reandona, Wanda, and Gusa-Tibo). Thus the suku
feasts are gemeente affairs as well as of a
genealogical group. The mosa laki mere must be
present at all such feasts, even though it is
not of his own suku. Incidentally, he is the
same man as the kolu, mentioned by Suchtelen[1]
as the "tuan tanah." This kolu word is evident-
ly used especially in his function as an
agricultural priest. Thus he is an adat judge
and agricultural priest at the same time. The
mosa laki mere involved is the mosa laki mere
of the kampong involved; thus here he is the
big one, as the kampong mosa laki mere of
Worowai-Roworeke is also the mosa laki mere of
the gemeente.

[237] He gets the lower jaws of all the sacrificed
[342] animals. Nowadays he throws them away after
[178] eating, but formerly all bones from such occa-
sions were kept and were put on the houses.
Thus there is a clear relation involved between
the jaws on the Ngada houses of the tuan tanah
there and such occasions (and distantly to the
Mentawei and Punan animal jaws). Note that he
gets the lower jaws.

538 As for legends and stories of the past, at
533 first they said that they have none, or rather
[124] that they had forgotten what they might have
had. I prodded on and told them about the Balai
Pustaka man getting stories of Indonesia for
schools. They loosened up a bit, and it seems
that they do have plenty. I instructed the as-
sistant to get a few as samples. They said

[1] [See p.70 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 - Analyst]

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609 has a friend-bond with the kampong of Ndona;
582 and he married a Waturoga woman. The Maumere
608 teacher has a somewhat harder time, but he married locally and this helps. (I think he married locally, although I am not sure now.)

632 In the district, the "pusat" kampongs are
●624 Roworeke and Worowai. The latter is the older
621 and the kampong of the real prime suku, that
778 of the oldest of the original brothers, Rewarangga. There live three of the Big Four (mosa laki mere, ndetu au, and sikesani), and it is thus a sort of adat center. Roworeke is newer, and it is the administrative center, where the kapitan lives. Here also, however, is the big giri tumba. Formerly, these two were one kampong. In the kampong, the section or hamlet Roworeke Asal is the oldest, and there the grave-bone shrine of the Odja suku is located. It is the adat center. There also is the tubu musu. Nuamere means the big village, and this hamlet is where the kapitan lives. Thus it is the administrative center. Still, the ata nggaëh nua, the adat kepala kampong (Bapa Ketjil) and his adi, the administrative kepala kampong, live in Ae Utu (I think).

361 The present Nuamere was newly established
621 here in 1907. There had been a previous ham-
632 let Nuamere up the hill. The Dutch, however,
[648] as usual made most of the hamlets move down to the road. Thus there is a general pattern here that in each district there is a kind of original kampong, and in each kampong there is a sort of original hamlet. But it is not a constellation arrangement as in Toradja country, where all the kampongs and hamlets spread out from the center like a star. This is truer of the kampongs than of the districts, because the latter here are coming to be more and more a coming together of independent kampongs, some old and some younger. Thus

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621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are still formed partly of suku or suku sections coming in and joining the old settlers from the negri lama.

443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series as in Celebes. These wheels run in different directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru, and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The traders follow the pasar week from market to market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kam-
583 pongs, although there is gift exchange in
562 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male" things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a woman gives in return "female" things (cloth, mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere, and said that many had drowned there recently. The water is deep, he said, and there lives a "head" of a human being. It is still living and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has seen it several times, in daylight. It moves around as though on short legs. It is just a human head, with hair. They don't know what it is or where it came from. However, the people are now scared to bathe here. The victims have been sucked under. He asked me my opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
[123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith, because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere. They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head alone").

622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
● 624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

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622 the Bapa ketjil. I might never have found this
693 out if I hadn't seen him dressed in adat cos-
624 tume coming into an adat meeting for a case
hearing. His younger brother is the admini-
[565] strative kepala kampong. (The kapitan says
[212] that if the kepala kampong did not come from
nobility the people would not follow him, and
so I can see that they choose a man of the
adat kepala kampong or ata nggaëh nua family
for the administrative kepala kampong and in
addition one who can read and write. Then
they can keep the old man in the adat post.)
Maybe there are cases of one man being both.
624 Thus in the kampong there are really five adat
622 officers: the ata nggaëh nua, the mosa laki
632 mere, the giri tumba, the ndeto au, and the
693 sikesani. The administrative ones are the
kepala kampong and the oro kuni. The same
pattern holds for the district. The kapitan
is the administrative man, and then the mosa
laki mere besar acts as adat chief. This
might be the same man, I suppose. Then they
have the other big mosa laki.

The adat case came up at noon, and coming
to it were the Big Four (here the Kampong Four
too), the kepala kampong, the ata nggaëh nua,
and the kapitan. The chairman and judge, the
mosa laki mere, as well as others (e.g., the
kapitan), could ask questions and keep things
in line. The kepala kampong must be present
too (evidently both kinds of kepala kampong).
This case was one concerned with marriage. I
must ask later what it was.

Kattenburg got some material on administra-
tion. Theoretically, the adat chiefs are
supposed to be used for administrative posts
by the government. But they are rarely so
used evidently, and this causes the dual sys-
tem: adat and administration. They may coin-
cide at any point. Generally, I think that

R Generally, I think that
632 the government has not put adat chiefs (for
622 example, ata nggaëh nua) into administrative
●624 posts. This also holds for the mosa laki. I
693 can think of the following possible reasons:
631 (1) adat chiefs are largely illiterate and cannot do administrative work therefore; (2) adat chiefs are largely pagan, and the mission, therefore, probably does not like them (indeed, one of the main ends of the mission is to do away with that devil, the tuan tanah; they usually say they want to do this because he stands in the way of progress and land reform, but this is a rationalization; it is like killing the Toradja death feasts because of immorality, when the real reason is that they constitute the main bulwark of pagan survival); (3) adat chiefs formerly and potentially even today are probably the centers of possible revolt against alien laws and government, and thus it is better not to let them have too much power. So they let them handle harmless adat cases. This is indirect rule on the adat level, taking all important functions away from them. Nevertheless, I note that the ad-
[565] ministrative appointees (who may be "elected" in a way) are always or nearly always of the adat chiefly families. Thus, here the kepala kampong is the younger brother of the ata nggaëh nua, and the kapitan is a noble of the adat lineage. They are literate and Christian (or Mohammedan) nobles of the old adat nobility.

Ngada and Nageh: The Ngada Y- or rather
231 U-topped upright, is used to run a buffalo rope
417 through. One end of the rope is attached to the neck of the buffalo and then passed through the U, and the other end is fastened to the stone post. Thus it is held taut when the buffalo is killed.

764 Ngada "resting places" along the road are
211 rectangular stone heap mounds, flat on top,

634 Until
632 not so long ago there were three radjas there:
177 Sikka, Kangae and Nita, and there was trouble over putting Sikka in full power. This has never stopped. Arriens[2] agrees that the Dutch were a bit mad to chop things up this way. When he was new here the Assistant Resident sent him to Tana Ai to find out what the situation was. He found that the kapitan there had had a previous meeting with the kepalas warning them to say that everything was all right. Arriens pumped them and the whole thing came out. The Dutch, he said, met the radjas they liked and took their word to the effect that their areas were much larger than they actually were. (But why not try to make a better go of it later on, when they still were able to do as they pleased?) There is little excuse for the stupidity of the government. He has also
[661] heard of the fantastic behavior in regard to the rulers here, many of whom are crazy and others are certainly cruel. I can imagine the dirty work which goes on among the radjas. This must end.

697 In regard to the "jail parade" in Ruteng,
526 Arriens[2] said that in Kalabahi [on Alor], when it is Queen's Day, the regular event is a tug of war between teams of jail birds. They do this with a will, and after it each one gets a cake of soap.

R Roworeke: I started to work again here on
124 Thursday, January 11. It is depressing to be
● 624 with these inferior informants again after working with the guru Roy, but the secretary is better now since the kapitan is not here. Today two of the four mandurs of Roworeke were present and also the kepala kampong of Wolofeo. His kampong is located at kilometer 17 and is one kilometer up hill from the road. However, he has a house in Roworeke too. When he is away, the mandur is his deputy.

[1] [i.e., in Tana Ai--Analyst]
[2] [i.e., Controleur at Ende--Analyst]

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632 I asked first for the history of the kapitan-
634 schap here. I found that it is only about
622 thirty-seven years old. That means that it
[77] dates from the Dutch entry (which began in
1907). And the kepala kampong dates from the
same time. Before that they had only the
adat chiefs, the mosa laki. The record:

1.	Present radja (Odja)	5 years.
2.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	1 year.
3.	Preceding radja (Odja)	2 years.
4.	Preceding radja (Odja)	11 years.
5.	Preceding radja (Odja)	15 years. (approximate).
6.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	3 years (approximate).
Total		37 years

Then we talked about the election of radjas, and I found out that the only "voters" are the nine kapitans and the nine mosa laki mere of the gemeente. The kepala kampong may attend, but he has no voice. This shows how important the mosa laki still are.

622 The ata nggaeh is not the adat kepala kam-
887 pong as I had supposed. What happens is that
624 in every kampong there is an old man who is
called ata nggaeh, and he knows all about adat.
He attends all the adat cases. Thus the man is
Bapa Ketjil. The post is not hereditary, but
is based merely on cleverness. It is that of
the "adat master." His word outweighs even
that of the kapitan in adat cases.

624 Each kampong has varying numbers of mandur,
465 assistants of the kepala kampong. Roworeke
has four of these assistants, Manunggo'o has
two, etc. They receive no pay, but are tax free,

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624 like the marinyo of Ambon. I asked what the
465 secretary got, and he said cigarette money only. The pay is evidently very little.

583 Correction: Although he says there is no
614 case here now, he has found out that if the
611 bride price is not paid, the children are of
784 the suku of the mother. And the bride price must be paid at marriage. There is no post-marriage payment in order to get the children back. Thus there is real ambil anak here. The man remains a member of his own sib, and the wife a member of hers. Thus she assumes the "married woman" totem taboos of her own sib, not those of her husband's sib, as is the more usual thing.

346 I asked about the rumah berhala of Wolorec.
778 This group has a real house, and in it there
614 are four ana deo, two in bad repair. There is one for each of the four suku. There are no other suku in the kampong. There are also plenty of belongings in the house. It is rather large, about twelve meters on a side. There are baskets and other objects therein. This old kampong is only one kilometer off the road in the hills at kilometer 17. I may go there one day. The four suku are Mbonggi (the kepala kampong is from this), Djo'bi, Soa, and Woro. The oldest suku is Mbonggi. There is
[769] also a grave-bone shrine here, of the suku Djo'bi.

771 The folk here are now mostly Catholic, but
769 they do have an annual ancestor rite, and the Catholics attend too. The kampong Ratebedi, far off in the hills, has fewer Catholics, as is the case with the far off Bu'ube'i. The distant ones remain pagan longer.

872 Fifty years ago there was no school. It came
178 in 1921. No one went to school before this.
212 They were totally illiterate (this shows how
000 recently the schools came in here). They were

R Little meat is

262 eaten, and this is done only during feasts. There are some eggs. They do not eat much fish, because they must purchase them. They do buy some food from the local store (never any canned food, because this is too expensive), for example, rice and salt. They do not grow [249] any tobacco.

434 To get the small amount of money they need to buy in the toko, they sell coconuts and anything else they may have, which is usually quite little. Fl. 5.00 in cash is a lot of money for a man here.

264 The people here eat three times a day, a little in the morning, and equally heavy noon and evening meals.

262 574 They like dog meat and also horse meat, but these, like pig and goat, are only eaten at the time of a feast. They say that the main feasts are funeral ones. They also say that the people here have no decided preference and will gladly eat any kind of meat. They [266] say they have no memory of cannibalism except for the eating of the hearts of enemies for 224 bravery in warfare. They rarely hunt. If they 262 do they use a bow and are lucky to get monkeys ● 624 or pigs. There are no deer here. There is a clear case for meat hunger here, and the only material gain of being a mosa laki is that you [465] are always given a piece of meat when an animal [171] is killed. This is like the Toradja pattern, and shows how much of a luxury meat really is. It is the "government man's salary."

436 178 443 Formerly there was no money and there were no toko. Of course there may have been a few gold pieces, but they were really sacred objects. Today they have little cash.

243 177 788 The irrigated rice fields started three years ago and were instigated by Hadji Akbar of Watu Roga. He went to Mecca and saw the many sawah in Bima, Java, and elsewhere. When

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302 178 (Note: One thing he mentioned as brand new is the matter of haircuts. In the old days they shaved the heads of the young, and some children still have these shaved heads. But the older people had their hair done in a long bob.)

624 All of the adat posts are the same today as they were before, and Migo said that indeed the most important man is the mosa laki mere, even now (aside from the kapitan, perhaps). The only post which is no longer kept up is the non-hereditary panglima perang, or atambani.

634 565 614 632 First there is the Radja of Ende. Then come the families or lineages of the mosa laki, which are strictly hereditary, in an eldest son succession. Thus the eldest of the eldest of the eldest, etc. This forms a kind of hereditary nobility, although it is not considered such. Aside from this, the suku have certain prerogatives now, and even before this was probably the case. And this leads to an important correction: It is true that any male member of the suku Odja or Rewarangga, and of these only, can become kapitan. He is chosen for cleverness (!). The Reandona suku has been trying to get a man into the kapitan's post for a long time, but unless Odja and Rewarangga agree, this is impossible. It is their business. This is why he originally wrote that every member of the Odja suku is "bangsawan." He thinks this is true in the other districts, but he is not sure. Certain suku have the pre-eminence in each district.

622 614 The kepala kampong post also must be within the suku Odja, and the best man gets it. He thinks this is the same for other kampongs. Thus in Worowai, the kepala kampong must be from the Rewarangga suku, etc. Thus even the elective offices must be within a suku which

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622 carries on the prerogatives in a hereditary
614 fashion. If these posts are not so held, the people will not follow the individuals who occupy them.

In regard to magic power, he says that
789 there is none here. Not even the radja pos-
624 sesses any. Nevertheless, he says that everyone, without exception, obeys the officers. They just do it. He thinks that perhaps in the mountain kampongs I might still find ideas about magic power, but not here. I couldn't get anything more about this. Thus the situation here is different from the magic power and support of the ancestors which the officers in Larantuka have.

793 The pastors have magic power (and here per-
789 haps I can say that they are the only ones who today still have such power). They can wash away sins, do miracles, etc.

All adat posts are passed on from eldest son
624 to eldest son in a pure succession manner. They
646 remain the same. The elections of the kepala kampong and the kapitan are new. Also new are the members of the Flores parliament and of the East Indonesian parliament. There are two electors in the district Rewarangga, for there are about one thousand tax-paying men. There is one elector for each five hundred tax-paying men.

666 When there is an election of electors, the kapitan calls all of those tax-paying individuals to his office, and he (the kapitan) posts a list of four candidates (!!). Each man comes forth clutching a stone, and he whispers his choice to the two "guards". The guard slips the stone in the proper pile. This is all done secretly and by whispering (but the guards know!). At first, the people here did not understand this and had to be egged on to come to the election. They did not know what it was all

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565 the present time. Thus the guru and the assis-
555 tant had illiterate, pagan, farmer fathers.

554 The only time one can see status marks is
614 at feasts, when the ornaments of rank are worn.
422 These are made of gold and are now largely
565 lost. Some still remain. They are suku property, and not all suku have them. Odja and Gusa have some (this may be why the kapitan and others are mad for gold: they want to get it in order to have ornaments made for feasts and for ceremonial objects). If they sell these objects, they will become sick. On ordinary days, one cannot tell upper class folk (for example, members of the Odja suku) from ordinary people. They are really unclear about this. Then I asked who wore no gold and who had no such marks of status, if all of Odja and all of Gusa and all the members of some other suku had them. They said vaguely that those who did not wear them were the "ordinary folk." I asked who, the slaves? And they eagerly said yes. I get the idea that there are not many of these ceremonial objects left and perhaps only enough so that the mosa laki or kapitan, etc., can wear those of the suku at certain feasts. They strut about wearing the suku's wealth. And these things are suku property and do not belong to the families.

614 The social order of the individual, family,
565 etc., here has not changed very much. The
624 most direct thing is that only certain folk of
[178] the right suku have land rights in the kampong.
[428] Within the suku, however, the mosa laki or other office holder is probably a bit higher. They say, however, that the mosa laki gets no more of a bride price for his daughter than an ordinary man gets for his. I can't get very far in class investigation here, that's quite clear. And now I see why he was so puzzled at first when I asked him to indicate class distinc-

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614 tions. He put down just about everyone as
565 bangsawan, with the only exception being the
624 slave descendants and the absolute newcomers to the kampong. That is, everyone with suku membership who had a land privilege was included in the category "nobles." This means that there is no nobility properly speaking. Thus the mosa laki offices are really only the eldest branch of the eldest branch, etc., of a lineage.

565 This reminds me that when I asked whether
624 the kapitan of Nggobe (whose ancestor Ambu
634 Nggobe of the legends and who was the first
789 tuan tanah here) might not really be a bigger
173 man than the Radja, they said that he could well be that. Indeed, the tuan tanah of Nggobe is legendarily the biggest man here, according to the folk tales. And Rodja is big too. But then so is the Djawi descendant, the radja. Anyway, they are clear that the tuan tanah here are really the old ranks, and the radja is simply elevated to his present post only in recent history. This is probably why the radjas' hold is so weak here. They have no magic power and never were really higher than the tuan tanah. Thus the people here dare to rise against them at any time. What they fear is the government which stands behind the radjas, as well as a certain amount of respect and whatever the radjas have of ancestral claims according to the old adat scheme. When I mentioned the magic practices of Bone and the heaven-descent sanction of radja power in South Celebes, they seemed astonished. I am convinced. If there has developed any real royalty feeling here, it is rudimentary.

614 I asked whether perhaps there is a main man
624 of each suku. They said that the big man of Odja is the giri tumba, and of Rewarangga the mosa laki mere. In other kampongs and suku

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614 this is so too. Thus there is a kind of "kepala
624 suku" in the form of one of the mosa who is hereditary in the suku. This means, however, that there may be suku with no big man in them because there is no hereditary rank in them. Such would be the suku which had lost their privileges in the old kampong of origin and which had not obtained any office in any of the other kampongs to which they have moved.

576 A lower person must sit or squat in the
516 presence of the kapitan or mosa laki. This is respect. There are no honorific terms of address. They just call the officer by his title. Only the educated ones even know the use of the term "tuan."

789 I have been unable, even with the most extreme pressure, to get anything on magic power of individual persons here. The dukun and the bisa mari are just dreamers and clever ones with second sight and occult gifts. I can find nothing of the true magic power of office that clothes the radjas of Celebes.

611 Monday, January 16. Today I left Ende for
184 Larantuka. I stopped and asked a man in Tana Ai about the matrilineal rules and finally got it out. It happened that the place I asked about this was over the border of Larantuka, to the east of Tana Ai, and he said that here in West Larantuka the matrilineal adat of Tana Ai is also found. In fact, he spotted the border for me exactly, which represents a new find for the book. These towns are in the matrilineal part of Larantuka: Unu, Paluen Lewalalang, Sukutukang, Riangwulo (which is where he and his group were from), Kedang, Bawalatang, Duang, Tabana, and Watubuku. These represent the eastern border of Tana Ai matrilineal adat. To the east of them all is patrilineal, that is, Lewotobi (e.g., Riangbarang). This is excellent material.

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771 actually makes Mohammedanism impossible. Mo-
797 hammedanism is out here because it (1) taboos
782 certain kinds of flesh, which Christianity does not and (2) because it requires a special kind of slaughtering, which Christianity does not. This is an amazing case of how a "small" thing can explain why a great religion fails and why another succeeds.

624 Roy went further and said that it is impos-
782 sible to have a radja tuan system or even several radja tuan without pigs and ritual killing. The pig killing rite is thus the very center of the whole social scheme. (I had some
[262] pork here, and it was fat, greasy, and tough. But these folks are always hungry evidently, and even more so perhaps now than ever. Again I see how meat means so much.)

162 Perhaps twenty per cent of the Wailolong
771 population is still pagan (see the census). In Leloba there are perhaps only twenty persons who are still not Christian. But these are, or at least some of them, preparing for baptism. They are mostly old people. However, they burst out, there are plenty of persons in both kampongs who are only partially Christian. They think of them as being half pagan as they do not understand much about Christianity. They are Christians in name only.

797 And, Roy said, when I said that Krol said that Catholicism allowed plenty of ceremonies that if this were not so perhaps Catholicism would lose many adherents. The Catholics must compromise. Thus the gurus agree with the priests. Moreover, just as Krol said, they wouldn't get any more converts if they became too rough on the pagan customs. Thus I see that the way here is to make haste slowly, and to let the pagans keep as much as possible, and to gradually wean the young to the true one hundred per cent faith. This is clever and it

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000 much of a waste of animals.

796 I finally found out which kampongs do the
614 main ritual functions when they have a general
346 Belakang Gunung feast at which all kampongs are represented. This is when they have a new korke (or church). The order is as follows:

1. Kottang is Mudakaputu (descendants of Bampowa).

2. Keleng is Lewohala (descendants of Kewaka).

3. Hurint is Leloba (descendants of Belawaburak).

4. Marang is Wailolong (descendants of Keweluk).

5. The passer of food and drink and betel ingredients is Watuniti (descendant of Mado). Thus they are the five brothers.

624 Hence we have the "sistim" which he himself
614 is so impressed by. There are priests in the
793 sense that the radja tuan and the kelake are
565 really suku and ama priests. They are admin-
789 istrative and ritual officers. In addition,
756 there are priests and gurus of the new religion. And there are the molang or medicine seers. These have more power and influence if they are of bangsawan descent. Thus again the magic power of proper descent comes to the fore and we see that blood and rank affect even the influence of medicine men. Then there are the dukun, who are doctors but with magical aspects.

798 They are extremely liberal toward all religions. The only sign of any animosity I ever saw was toward Mohammedanism, and it was not even here except in Kampong Baru. The pagan resistance was more pronounced formerly. Today the two cults work together without much, if any, friction.

871 The schools are government schools, but the
797 mission runs them and evidently provides, but
658 does not pay, the teachers. The schools were

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624 Pongkor until perhaps fifteen years ago, and
565 the kraeng kampongs are still directly under
567 the dalu. It seems that the ata lampang kampongs were under the dalu formerly too, but maybe they were merely slave kampongs under local rulers. The sekontu were indeed directly under Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps the picture was: under the dalu, the kraeng and the lampang kampongs; under Todo and Pongkor, the sekontu and mangko' pitu kampongs.

(5) There are kampongs which are about one hundred per cent of the dalu class. These are evidently the "capitals" of the dalu, for example, Rahong kampong.

567 Cornelius[1] says again that in his time, at
565 the most twenty years ago, there were still
624 plenty of slaves, and the Dutch hit this system
423 hard in order to get them out. Evidently the
[177] real mendi, the bought or captured ones, were merged first (as the slave trade and war were forced out), but the lampang type persisted until very recently. He later told me how much the lampang had to give in tribute to the kraeng. This links with what the kraeng (who was from Pongkor and a very soft spoken lad) who is now in Tjantjar said. He said that the kraeng had and have the right to settle and get land in any kampong. He has gotten land here. But they have to ask the consent of the tuan tanah first and have to pay the regular tribute to the tuan tanah. But the permission is not refused. I asked if they could take a lot of land, and he said no, that they had to be reasonable.

621 He said, the Todo and the Pongkor rulers (and
565 the dalu too, evidently) also placed kraeng in
661 the kampongs to keep order (as so many wars were held that the folk would let them judge the cases, although they were not really administrative men, but rather prestigeful men) and to act as spies of the Todo and Pongkor rulers.

1 [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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166 no bride price or come for some other cause; and those who have come to "work in the gardens" and have settled in the kampong.

166 This last category accounts for the many
425 outside couples. Thus I discovered that they
624 can sell land to people from outside, with the consent of the tuan tanah, who, so far as the assistant knows, never makes any trouble over this. The person merely informs the tuan tanah that from now on the tribute from his field such and such will be paid by so and so. There are families which have sold all of their land, but this is rare. They usually sell a part of the lands. What happens is that once a new garden is laid out (and most of the gardens here are in the star shaped pattern) and the tuan tanah has divided the wedges among the families, the assigned section belongs to the family until or unless it is abandoned, whereupon the claim lapses and it is given to another family. The family can sell its garden land (so assigned) to anyone, with notification given to the tuan tanah. The outside people are those who have bought land here, and have come to live here. Thus the assistant, whose family land is in Pau, has bought land in Tjantjar and has moved there.

425 This led to a discussion of the division of
624 land. Only when a new garden is laid out is the lodok pole set up. The tuan tanah stands here when he divides the wedges. Each family must get a slice, or perhaps if there are too many families and thus the wedges would be too small, some families await their turn when a new garden is laid out. Once the lodok is used, it stands until it falls. Then a stone is placed at the navel, and there each year the rites of the garden are held.

[565] Then came the "low-down" about the radja. I
[634] asked how then do the kraeng get land? Do they
[661]

We

425 stand with the families and get a share, like
624 any ordinary person? This led to the usual
565 wild look and obvious reluctance. Then he
634 came through. The truth is that the kraeng
661 don't get their land directly, but rather, when a new garden is laid out, the radja just says, I'll take this part. It may be a quarter or even half of the pie. And he pays nothing. Then he gives pieces of the land so requisitioned to members of "his family," of whom there are hundreds, and more swarm out of Todo and Pongkor all the time. They pay nothing. Now I see why the kraeng yesterday said that a privilege of the kraeng is to get land anywhere in Manggarai. This seems to be a real burden, and is at least a racket. I can see where, if there is enough open land, a kraeng or anyone else might be given pieces; but the chiseling evidently comes from the fact that they get cleared and nicely laid out land after a lot of hard work has been done on it.

And now I can see perhaps why the priest in Larantuka said that the tuan tanah and the Radja work together (though this seems to be a strange combination, it might take place in Larantuka because the Radja is a kind of big tuan tanah himself and is part of the whole native tuan tanah system; i.e., he is the Kottang of the state), and as soon as the poor folk have cleared the land, the radja steps in and says, "I'll have this piece," and takes the best part. Perhaps the priest linked the tuan
[578] tanah in here because he naturally hates the tuan tanah, who are anchors of whatever paganism is left. This is why I'd like to know here whether the tuan tanah likes the kraeng and the radja and dalu (but the latter is a "different breed"), or whether he grudgingly gives what he must.

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Wa In regard to the Radja and the land matter,
425 I finally got it straight. The radja and kraeng
565 used to take what they wanted, worked or un-
634 worked. Also, they used to make the lampang
661 work the unworked fields and gardens. Starting
466 about two years ago there has been no more free
178 labor, but the radja and the kraeng must pay wages. If anyone resisted before, he and the whole family could be enslaved instantly. Even now, they can generally get undeveloped land for the asking when a new field is laid out, but they must work it themselves or pay laborers wages. They do not need to pay for undeveloped fields, any more than the local folk have to pay for them. But other aliens, like the assistant here, must buy such land. If the radja or kraeng wants to obtain developed land today, he must pay for the labor done on it. Even the last remaining privilege, to ask and get a piece of undeveloped land, is in danger. A year ago, in Dalong, the folk took back from the radja a piece of land that had been given him and that he had worked. Thus the old privileges die under merdeka.

565 All of the above information about the dalu
624 being here only since 1880 is wrong. Coolhaas ń
167 has reported that dalu were in Manggarai in
174 the eighteenth century. Their origin is unknown. The assistant says that they all came from overseas. The gelarang were merely tuan tanah. The kraeng were among the dalu. They were originally the dalu of the Todo-Pongkor area. Thus the dalu have been here for a long time. They were evidently pro-consuls of Bima and Makassar (which fought long over Manggarai). The pastor says that he thinks some of them were originally locals who were elevated, and others came from the outside. The assistant insists that their family trees are different from those of the gelarang. Maybe they represent a partly elevated gelarang and partly kraeng from Todo-

ń [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

565 Pongkor. The whole thing is in the dark. I
624 must check Coolhaas at length. The names of
167 the dalu are all Manggarai, and simple. The
174 Radja merely has a Manggarai name.

The newcomers in the kampongs here are no
166 cause for worry, because the original kampong
621 dwellers keep control, no matter how many new-
614 comers there are and how few of them are left. There is a kampong where there are only three old households left, and there are about forty outside households. The three keep control.

Those who have come into the kampongs here comprise both unmarried and married folk. The
[567] former all marry in. Some of the present folk who are named as of va'u Veol may well be of slave origin. Slaves were taken into the va'u of their owners. Everyone in the kampong knows which families in the va'u are of slave origin, but they will not tell outsiders. It is certain that the slaves are among the va'u Veol folk, if any.

Usually newcomers have relatives within the kampong, and this is the way so many Tjumbi entered. These relatives form an opening wedge, and others follow. This is like immigration in the United States.

Very few come into the kampong and then leave. The only case is the Tjepang clan. It entered long ago and left about twenty years ago for Tjantjar, en masse. This happens often. A clan enters and increases so much, while the original clan also increases in size, that in the end the original clan says that the immi-
[624] grant clan must move. Then the other clan is given a gong-gendang, one of them becomes the tuan tanah of the branch kampong, and off they go. This is what happened in the case of Tjantjar.

624 The man who becomes the branch tuan tanah is
[614] the tuan panga of the clan. He gets the gong-

We

624 gendang (the aradjang pattern) from the head tuan tanah of the original kampong.

166 609 [443] [335] The groups of people who visit the village more or less regularly (actually only occasionally) are as follows: (1) pastors, (2) traders to buy stock, Chinese, Arabs, etc., (3) a Chinese pedlar who comes with a coolie carrying a pack, (4) government men, and (5) specialist carpenters who come to build houses.

They stay for a short time only, except for the carpenters, who stay for about two months.

One other class is important. It comprises the outsiders who have gardens in the kampong. They come to work in their gardens, stay awhile and leave. They sleep with the kampong folk as their guests.

[584] Family relationships are definitely interrupted by migration. Usually one starts the ball rolling by marriage or by buying a garden, and then relatives follow. This is important in regard to marriage because the young folk become acquainted in this way. It is a case of "propinquity".

166 609 518 The immigrants must follow the local adat absolutely. They take part in the same rituals, pay the tributes of the land, etc. Thus there is no trouble. However, there are occasional difficulties in managing the gardens. For example, the local people become jealous of the outsiders who have big crops, or argue one way or the other. There is not much trouble, however, and usually things are quite serene.

[783] There are no specific ideas about the outside world. Still, when one returns after a long stay in some other place, they have a rite to "clean the dirt." I am informed that there is no opposition shown toward those who accept the outsiders. However, I wonder if there may not be at certain times. Evidently there is no policy of "exclusion," and my guess is that if outsiders are not welcome they are told so and that is all.

We

462 and goats.

There is no shame, however, if one has to do
[887] the work of the other sex. The old people
putter about, for example, the old women make
mats, and the old men carve spoons, etc.

426 If one borrows corn or rice, which is done
686 for the most part, interest is charged at the
rate of one hundred per cent annually. This is
redoubled each year, and if it is finally un-
paid, there may be a court case and the person
may have to pay a horse (the present price of
[435] a horse is fl. 200 and for a buffalo fl. 350).

Money is not borrowed. The reason they bor-
row rice and corn and why they do this from
kampong fellows is that many families are too
311 large. Land is now all divided. The kampong
511 is full. Therefore there is actual hunger in
November and December, when the crops are grow-
ing. Thus if the population continues to in-
crease, some will have to move. The reason
the Dalong folk repossessed one of the Radja's
gardens was that there was an actual shortage
of land. I didn't realize this trouble before.
There are actually poor people here because
the land is all occupied. Therefore, not even
new gardens are possible here. But no one
starves. I asked what the main worry was.
They said getting cloth. It is very hard to
get. Food is a worry only for some people.

465 There are no wage earners except for those
who do a bit of work in other people's gardens.
The present wage is fl. 1.00 a day. Before
even this was not done.

634 In regard to political life there were Bima,
632 dalu, gelarang, and kraeng (some kampongs), and
622 the tuan tanah fifty years ago. In 1940 there
624 were the Dutch, the radja (since 1929), the dalu,
gelarang, tuan tanah, and kepala kampong. In
1950 there are the radja, the dalu, the gelarang,
the tuan tanah, and the kepala kampong.

Wec

622 Rahong is just about the same as fifty years
624 ago, except for the kraeng kampongs which have gone out since about fifteen years ago. Also, there have been kepala kampongs since then. The organization runs as follows: Kampong: tuan tanah; kepala kampong; tuan panga; tuan mbaru. These form the kampong council. Some kampongs have the same man as tuan tanah and kepala kampong.

632 Gelarang: the gelarang (and they use the
614 title dangka for him, also) (one can't use "tenu" and "gelarang" at the same time; thus it is not "tu'a tenu gelarang"), and the kampongs below him are included. There is no council, and there are no scribes, secretaries, oppas, or anything else. The va'u is usually almost equivalent to the gelarang. But this is not always true. Thus va'u Veol covers both Ndung and Veol. And some branches of va'u Veol are in other areas, while, for example, a branch of Tjepang is in the Veol gelarang.

Dalu: dalu, dalu wakil, secretary, oppas, mandur, and the gelarang below. There is no council.

634 State: radja (the radja bitjara post is now empty since the former one died), secretary, oppas, mandur, and the office force. Again there is no council and no ministry. However, there is a Hakim Adat of Manggarai. The chairman used to be the radja bitjara, but now he is the radja's younger brother. The members, chosen by the radja, are four in number. At present they are Kraeng Dalu Ruteng, Gelarang Pau (the assistant's father), Gelarang Tenda, and a man of the Ruteng kraeng family.

692 Adat cases may be settled on the kampong, gelarang, or dalu level; or they may go up to the Hakim Adat.

648 The Dutch removed the death punishment,
681 double repayment in cases of theft, lampang and
634

648 other types of slaves, and a few other things.
634 They also put in the radja. Otherwise they did
[681] not make much change in the traditional administration. Bima was out, and this may be why there is not so much feeling against the Dutch here.

565 As far as nobility is concerned, there are
789 the radja, dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, but
756 they have no magic power. The kraeng says, however, that Todo and Pongkor sengadji used to have magic power (another sign of Makassar or Bima influence?). The mbako has magic power. The more I hear, the more I see that the mbako is really an important man.

622 The succession of radjas goes from eldest son
624 to eldest son or brother. The same holds for
632 the dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, and tuan panga.
634 However, the dalu wakil is chosen by the dalu, always from his family, I suppose. The kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu after sounding out the feelings of the kampong. Many of these are commoners. Some are also tuan tanah. The tuan mbaru is merely the old man of the house with influence. He is usually the oldest. This position is non-hereditary and is evidently a matter of age.

Thus we see that all of these are hereditary, with the only exceptions those of the new kepala kampong and the unimportant tuan mbaru and the obvious dalu wakil.

666 A recent innovation has been the election
646 of members of the Flores daerah parliament,
635 the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Flores.

There are five members from Manggarai, elected at large, but by electoral districts. There are five districts named according to the place where the electors meet:

(1) Rutong (South Central Manggarai)
(2) Rekas (West Manggarai)
(3) Tjantjar (Central Manggarai)

We

634 646 They said no, but that there was much free talk against the radjas in the parliament now!

622 646 624 888 All hereditary posts are genealogically linked. Most of the kepala kampong are still old illiterates. Parliament members are mainly middle aged people (the oldest literates, therefore). Age is of no concern for the hereditary posts, as one person merely succeeds to the post after another. In the kampong, however, the old men have the most influence, and the young people keep their mouths shut for the most part.

[562] Women may not hold hereditary posts. Until now women took no part in elections, but they may change things here.

829 666 There is still only a very restricted political horizon here, and there is little knowledge about such things. But at least they have elections. This is very important. They start with an election. As they say in Celebes, they catch on fast. Veol is the center of the gelarang, and Rahong is the center of the dalu, and Ruteng is the center of Manggarai. They think nothing about the "place" of Manggarai in Flores; the radja is just a "big man." Beyond this they know practically nothing about the daerah, negara, etc.

[614] [632]

648 Most of the people here thought the Dutch were all right and they were too uninformed to criticize them. Also, it must be remembered that they had been under the rule of Bima, and the Dutch at least drove Bima out. They did not even criticize the Japanese! They were simply not concerned. The great memory here is of Bima and slavery. They hate Bima.

609 Except for the pastors, everyone here knows of things and people who are Dutch only by name. Formerly they knew the local civil servants only slightly. They were always afraid of any new men who came here. This is true of my

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	House	Suku	"Ward"
621	8	Datong (wife Hurint	Hurint
614	15	Lewodoreng	Hurint
582	17	Outside (guru)	Lewodoreng
592	18	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	21	Datong (wife Hurint	Hurint
	25	Hurint	Datong
	31	Hurint	Datong
	33	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	37	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	41	Leworita	Lewodoreng
	42	Datong	Lewodoreng
	45	Leworita (wife Datong)	Datong
	47	Leworita	Lewodoreng
	55	Lewodoreng (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	62	Hurint	Leworita
	65	Lewato	Leworita
	66	Hurint (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	67	Leworita (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	68	Lewodoreng	Lewato
	73	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	74	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	75	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	78	Datong	Lewato
	79	Leworita	Lewato
	80	Hurint	Leworita
	81	Hurint (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	82	Hurint	Leworita
	83	Datong (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	87	Leworita	Lewato
	89	Hurint	Leworita

Thus, out of 100 houses, 30 are "out of place." Of these, however, the wife belongs to the "ward of residence" in fourteen cases. This leaves only sixteen cases which are really "out of place."

624 I tried to fill in the offices and ran into
124 some trouble. By using the records and the map
614 on which he indicated the houses of the officials,

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[124]

I got the following information. However, in many cases the records did not jibe with the map, and others are questionable, so I sent him a letter about this.

Office	No.
Ama Datong kelake	24
Ama Datong ne'a luka	26
Ama Datong tuno wudjo	
Ama Datong Ama Radja kelake (rank 2)	24
Ama Datong Ama Radja ne'a luka	26
Ama Datong Ama Radja tuno wudjo	
Ama Datong Ama Belolong kelake (rank 1)	35 (277 aide)
Ama Datong Ama Belolong ne'a luka	36
Ama Datong Ama Belolong tuno wudjo	
Ama Datong Ama Rere Kelake (no rank)	14
Ama Datong Ama Rere ne'a luka	(none)
Ama Datong Ama Rere tuno wudjo	
Kepala kottang	140 (Belolong)
Leworita kelake	345
Leworita ne'a luka	361
Leworita tuno wudjo	355
Leworita Subamaking kelake (rank 1)	345 (616 aide)
Leworita Subamaking ne'a luka	361
Leworita Subamaking tuno wudjo	355
Leworita Harutmaking kelake (rank 2)	304
Leworita Harutmaking ne'a luka	
Leworita Harutmaking tuno wudjo	245
Leworita Tapupukang kelake (rank 3)	375
Leworita Tapupukang ne'a luka	
Leworita Tapupukang tuno wudjo	
Kepala Keleng	366 (Harutmaking)
Ama Hurint kelake	186
Ama Hurint ne'a luka	
Ama Hurint tuno wudjo	

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614	Ama Hurint Hadumboleng kelake (rank 2)	186
624	Ama Hurint Hadumboleng ne'a luka	205, 399
	Ama Hurint Hadumboleng tuno wudjo	
	Ama Hurint Marimaking kelake (rank 1)	134
	Ama Hurint Marimaking ne'a luka	
	Ama Hurint Marimaking tuno wudjo	
	Ama Hurint Melamaking kelake (rank 3)	
	Ama Hurint Melamaking ne'a luka	
	Ama Hurint Melamaking tuno wudjo	666
	Kepala Hurint	468 (Melamaking)
	Lewato kelake	547
	Lewato ne'a luka	548
	Lewato tuno wudjo	552
	Lewato Ama Waru'ing kelake (rank 1)	547
	Lewato Ama Waru'ing ne'a luka	548
	Lewato Ama Waru'ing tuno wudjo	552
	Lewato Waktukang kelake (rank 2)	498 (?)
	Lewato Waktukang ne'a luka	
	Lewato Waktukang tuno wudjo	263
	Lewato Tuhowutung kelake (rank 3)	
	Lewato Tuhowutung ne'a luka	
	Lewato Tuhowutung tuno wudjo	
	Lewodoreng kelake	235 (?)
	Lewodoreng ne'a luka	236
	Lewodoreng tuno wudjo	
	Lewodoreng Ama Waru'ing kelake (rank 1)	235 (?)
	Lewodoreng Ama Waru'ing ne'a luka	236
	Lewodoreng Ama Waru'ing tuno wudjo	
	Lewodoreng Engamaking kelake (rank 2)	235 (?)
	Lewodoreng Engamaking ne'a luka	236
	Lewodoreng Engamaking tuno wudjo	
	Kepala kampong: (main one)	468 (Hurint)
		140 (Kottang)
		366 (Keleng)

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624	Djurutulis (scribe)	475
614	Mandur	382
	Guru sekolah (school teacher)	94
	Mandur sekolah	313
	Molang	616
	Marang besar (prayer leader)	616
	Marang besar	626
	Radja tua (Lewodoreng) of Riang Epu Kohule	672

624 162 871 771 212

Examining the ranks by age, education, and religion, we find the following (and not all information is in yet; see letter to him):

(1) Of the 5 kelake suku, 1 is in his 30's, 3 are in their 50's, and 1 is in his 60's;
1 has finished 3 grades of school, 4 are illiterate;
1 is Catholic and 4 are pagan.

(2) Of the 13 kelake ama, 1 is in his 30's, and 4 are in their 40's, 5 are in their 50's, and 3 are in their 60's;
2 have finished 3 grades of schooling, 11 are illiterate;
2 are Catholic and 11 are pagan.

(3) Of the 3 kepala kampongs, 1 is in his 30's, 1 is in his 40's, and 1 is in his 50's;
2 have finished 3 grades of schooling, and 1 is illiterate;
all 3 are Catholic.

(4) The djurutulis is 36;
he has finished 3 grades of schooling;
and he is Catholic.

(5) The mandur is 40, illiterate, and Catholic.

(6) The guru sekolah is 30; he finished 8 grades

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162 of schooling; and he is a Catholic.

●624
871 (7) The mandur sekolah is 37; he finished 3 grades,
771 and he is Catholic.
212

(8) Molang is 48; he is illiterate, and pagan.

(9) Of the 2 marang besar, both are in their 40's;
1 has finished 3 grades, the other is illiterate;
1 is Catholic (!!), the other is pagan.

(10) The Radja tua of the Riang is 40, illiterate, and pagan.

(11) Of the 7 ne'a luka, 1 is in his 40's, 4 are in their 50's, 2 are in their 70's;
1 has finished 3 grades of schooling, 6 are illiterate;
1 is Catholic, 6 are pagan.

(12) Of the 5 tuno wudjo, their ages are 3, 4, 5, 6, 54; all are illiterate;
4 are Catholic (small childre); 1 is pagan.

Note the large percentage of offices still held by pagans. This is far out of proportion to the actual numbers involved in the local population.

R

ROWOREKE

621 Sections are:
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I.	Ae Uta	VII.	Nua Mere
II.	Ae Bou	VIII.	Bita
III.	Puu Djambu	IX.	Ae Mura
IV.	Kopo Edo	X.	Wolo Mere
V.	Pau Dari	XI.	Tana Ri
VI.	Rowo Reke Asal	XII.	Ndetu

R

565 ranks. There is really no nobility here, only persons who are in line for posts. As for slaves, the assistant gives only the following: No. 183, male, 40, a Gusa, and a pagan. Something is probably queer here.

624 614 771 871 The only offices the assistant gives are:

1. Ata nggaeh nua: No. 1, 60, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
2. Giri tumba: No. 62, 45, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
3. Guru agama: No. 81, 25, Odja, Christian, 4 grades.
4. Kepala kampong: No. 135, 40, Odja, Christian, illiterate.
5. Kapitan: No. 350, 30, Odja, Christian, 3 grades.
6. Djurutulis: No. 509, 40, Odja, Christian, 5 grades.
7. Mandur djalan: No. 532, 40, Ndoru, Christian, 5 grades.
8. Hadji: No. 554, 40, Bangova (Nggobe), Mohammedan, 3 grades.

Odja has the most posts. The pagans seem to keep the adat posts.

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VEOL--NDUNG

	Male	Female	Total	Houses	Households	Children	Children under 15
Veol	70	70	140	6	25	82	69
Ndung	89	117	206	9	44	111	105
Total	159	187	346	15	69	193	174

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Officers: Veol

	No.	Clan	Age	Religion	Education
Tuan tanah	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan panga lambar	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan panga Rinteng	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan panga Rundu	62	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 1	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 2	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 3	127	Papang	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 4	122	Leko	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 5	80	Veol	35	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 6	99	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Kepala kampong	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate

Officers: Ndung

Tuan tanah	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan panga Rosong	168	Veol	30	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan panga Nggurus	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 7	304	Tjarep	30	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 8	324	Senda	20?	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 9	347	Leko	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 10	214	Veol	25	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 11	186	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 12	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 13	285	Leko	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 14	260	Manong	45	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 15	151	Veol	60	Christian	Illiterate
Kepala kampong		(Lives in Meler)			
Tuan panga Rosong (helper)	151	Veol	60	Christian	Illiterate

R

484 day at a time. Some people here go to the mountains, but they never go very far. Almost none has ever left the district, and those who have did so seldom and perhaps only once, for example to Nggobe or to another nearby area. Only the
[625] police have been to Ngada or other Flores areas. And there are only two policemen.

[167] There are no soldiers here. No one here has ever left Indonesia.

[443] There are no regular traders in the kampong. One could say that there are no regular trips made to the outside.

Those few who have been outside of Roworeke relate, on their return, that other places are completely different from Roworeke. How true this is! They are not specific, however.

[178] There has been little change in the very non-moving character of the people here. They just know so little that they never think about leaving.

People here who have never seen any other place than Roworeke and Ende, i.e., just the
[162] road to town and back, number about two hundred and fifty, that is about fifty per cent of the population. For example, these people have never seen even Rukuramba. This is especially true of the old people, although all except the children have seen Ende. Trips to Ende are not frequent. This is perhaps the most completely non-moving place I have seen yet.

484 Reasons given for not moving or visiting or
152 traveling outside of this immediate vicinity are
186 that there is too much work in the kampong for people to leave at any time. And formerly, there was a strong fear of war and a general fear of anyplace except home. There was never any reason to leave the area, but if one wanted to there was no objection. Aside from the war danger in former times (especially did Roworeke fight against Nggobe and Rodja), the old folk

584 comes pregnant.) This sexual activity is about
836 the same as marriage anyway, as it leads finally to marriage. And anyway, there is no
584 adat rite of marriage. What happened in the
836 old days and what still goes on among the
178 pagans is simply that one day, when everything
178 is all right, the girl is brought to the boy's house, and the couple simply moves in. There is no ceremony.

Nowadays, with Catholicism, and with prearranged marriages, they have a church rite before they sleep together. But the other type of marriage goes on, and in this case they just confess and get married after having slept together. This is a pretty case. And even
595 prettier is the case of polygyny. In the old
178 days this was more frequent, but even now there
183 are Christians who have more than one wife. In this case the first one is married in church, but the second can have no church rites. (As he says, she has no sacramen.)

They are very prudish about molesting girls
684 (ganggu). If, for example, a boy squeezes the
832 breast of a girl, and even if she likes it and
721 says nothing, her father and brothers, if they
128 hear about it, go to his house and kill his
● 627 animals and break up his tusks. They get directly at his property (and that of his ama or suku too) thus, and so it hurts. He has molested their property, and they get back at him in the same way. This might lead to war, and often did in the old days. Note that he mentions as the second most frequent cause of war that of molesting women.

832 He gave a fine case of trouble between kam-
684 pongs resulting from such a case. In his youth
628 three girls from Leloba were molested by boys from another kampong. The girls were getting water. The father and brothers of the girls became angry and smashed up the belongings of

Wo.
584 comes pregnant.) This sexual activity is about
836 the same as marriage anyway, as it leads finally to marriage. And anyway, there is no
584 adat rite of marriage. What happened in the
836 old days and what still goes on among the
178 pagans is simply that one day, when everything
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Wae

832 those rascals. They scolded them, saying that
684 if they wanted women, they should ask about
628 them, and speak up about it. That is, they were willing to hear a request, but it had to be done through regular channels without chiseling. ("If you had come to us decently, etc.")

582 In regard to the relative ages of the couple when marriage takes place, the ideal is to have a couple whose ages are nearly the same. If either is older it is better for a boy to be a bit a girl's senior. If there is too great a discrepancy in age, it is not good.

595 His grandfather had four wives. I note that
183 he does not seem to regard polygyny as very bad, even now. And he does not hesitate to tell me that other Christians do this. It is simply that they do not get the sacramen for the second, or third, or even later wife. That's all. Dispensation is called isin.

582 He says that the people in Tandjung Bunga
836 marry when they are very young, and that they begin their sex life as early as nine years old.

178 In the old days, the boys in Leloba and Wailo-
513 long slept regularly in the korke or sebuang
882 (the ama korke, and this is a correction:
[396] sebuang does not refer to the barns of the ama,
[614] but to the cult houses).A I think he said that this is not done any more in Wailolong. It was not required, but they just did it. This took place after a boy reached the age of about sixteen. Roy did it himself. They liked this because it was more fun. They could talk, sing, discuss girls, etc. (I think it was practically a rule, and I wonder what they would have said if a boy did not go there.)

What has happened now is peculiar. The boys
178 sleep together in groups, wherever it seems
513 good. They get in the habit, for example, of
882 sleeping on the benches of a certain house, or
171 in a vacant house, etc. (Thus I see that the

A [See cat. 116, p. 166 -- Analysis]

634 Badjawa is the center of Ngada.
Boawai is the center of Nageh.
622 Kraeng Ngambut is the successor to the dead Radja of Mangegarai, but has not yet been installed.
●631 In Flores there are many kapitanschappen, for example, there are two in the town of Ende. Other regions may be divided into kapitanschappen under kapitan, or into landschappen under more important rulers.
124 In general I did not get much information from him. I will see Pastor Raats, a member of parliament from Flores. Perhaps the radjas who are here now are going on the same ship to Ende. And Soumokil will send a cable to Papakai, a friend of his and possibly a member of parliament or something similar.

Flores: Before I left Makassar on December 12, three days late because of a ship strike and general irregularity of KPM, I went to see Pastor Raats, a member of the parliament from Flores. He is Dutch. He gave me some information about locations and general facts concerning Flores, but I did not learn anything very specific from him.

634 Following this we spent a wasted day and then on Monday, at 5 P.M., we sailed on a small ship "Kaimana". Most of the Flores radjas who had been in Makassar for a radja conference were on board this ship. The Sikka radja, Dom Tomas da Silva, appeared to be a spoiled and rather impolite person similar to the Arompone. He had a large mustache and looked like a Black Portuguese. I saw a photo of him in Levij's office and will receive a copy later. It shows him in a remarkable satin moujik blouse of black and with a Portuguese gold helmet. He is shown standing between two long upright elephant tusks.
634 He is decked out with gold stuff. He appears to
578 be vain and could be troublesome, but I heard

R Generally, I think that
632 the government has not put adat chiefs (for
622 example, ata nggaëh nua) into administrative
624 posts. This also holds for the mosa laki. I
693 can think of the following possible reasons:
●631 (1) adat chiefs are largely illiterate and cannot do administrative work therefore; (2) adat chiefs are largely pagan, and the mission, therefore, probably does not like them (indeed, one of the main ends of the mission is to do away with that devil, the tuan tanah; they usually say they want to do this because he stands in the way of progress and land reform, but this is a rationalization; it is like killing the Toradja death feasts because of immorality, when the real reason is that they constitute the main bulwark of pagan survival); (3) adat chiefs formerly and potentially even today are probably the centers of possible revolt against alien laws and government, and thus it is better not to let them have too much power. So they let them handle harmless adat cases. This is indirect rule on the adat level, taking all important functions away from them. Nevertheless, I note that the ad-
[565] ministrative appointees (who may be "elected" in a way) are always or nearly always of the adat chiefly families. Thus, here the kepala kampong is the younger brother of the ata nggaëh nua, and the kapitan is a noble of the adat lineage. They are literate and Christian (or Mohammedan) nobles of the old adat nobility.

Ngada and Nageh: The Ngada Y- or rather
231 U-topped upright, is used to run a buffalo rope
417 through. One end of the rope is attached to the neck of the buffalo and then passed through the U, and the other end is fastened to the stone post. Thus it is held taut when the buffalo is killed.

764 Ngada "resting places" along the road are
211 rectangular stone heap mounds, flat on top,

634 Keo), and the kapitan from Gunung Rodja (the
124 southern half of Ende town). After a long sales talk, the Radja offered all of his aid and said that on the next morning the kapitan of Gunung Rodja (evidently a kind of crony of the Radja, and one who usually wears an overseas cap, even while eating) would come to the pasanggrahan and take us to Roworeke. Meanwhile I asked a-
[611] bout Tana Ai, and they knew that it was matrilineal. Then the hadji from Keo said that it was matrilineal too, which was news to me. Then I asked about Wolo Wae, and they said it was in the mountains to the north, in Ende.
614 They seemed to think it was matrilineal too. I
582 then asked about clan exogamy and they said
178 that Mohammedanism was breaking it down, just as had happened in Tulehu in Ambon. But as in Ambon, clan exogamy is kept by the Christians here.

583 Incidentally, the priest in Ndetosoko said
178 that the Catholics are in favor of keeping the
797 bride price, as it strengthens marriages.

We finally left, and the next morning the
124 kapitan of Gunung Rodja appeared without his overseas cap. We got into the jeep and went to Roworeke, but the kapitan there was again in the garden. We went to kilometer 10 and saw the kapitan with several men wading across the river to the garden on the other side. We called him back and he got in suspiciously and we then drove back to his house. There he called the kepala kampong of Watu Roga. This fellow was a relative of his, an old man with an old sarong and short betel teeth, who looked somewhat like a Toradja. Later he called the djurutulis [scribe].

I gave a long sales talk and the kapitan
124 warmed up. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja helped
634 out and was quite enthusiastic. He is evidently
● 632 a powerful man, but the Controleur says that the

124 634 632 really most powerful man in Ende is not the Radja but the fat and rather fresh hadji kapitan of Nggobe (a descendant evidently of the age-old tuan tanah Ambu Nggobe, the ancestor of Ende). Anyway the talk went well and I settled down to getting some basic facts.

634 621 648 The border between Ende and Ndona, which is part of the state of Lio, is along the road in front of the kapitan's house. On the other side, in Lio, is Watu Roga. These are really twin kampongs, and there is much intermarriage, and the clans are all intertwined. That is, the Watu Roga are really Endenese, and the border should be at the river Ndona behind Watu Roga. Behind this there is a natural boundary between Ende and Lio, a high ridge. But the Dutch for some reason in 1924 cut Watu Roga away from Ende by moving the border a few hundred feet west and along the road. The people of Watu Roga were recalcitrant and would not follow the Lio radja, but the Dutch came and tied ropes around their necks and hauled them off to jail. They finally gave in, but they still feel more like Endenese. This explains why the fellow yesterday said that the Watu Roga folk are in Lio and the Roworeke folk are in Ende. This is true in administration, but socially they are both Endenese. The kapitan of Rewarangga (the one in 632 Roworeke), however, should be kapitan of Watu Roga too, but he isn't, and the latter kampong falls within the kapitanschap of Ndona, far off and under the Lio radja. This is mad on any grounds, including social, cultural, and personal feelings of the local people.

621 632 Anyway, I found that Ende has nine kapitanschappen: Gunung Rodja (the southern half of Ende town), Nggobe (the northern half of Ende town), Barai, Rukuramba, Numba, Nangapandan, Tangadje, Pulo Ende (the island in the bay) and Rewarangga. This last is the kapitanschap here, and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.

632 and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.
103 Roworeke means: rowo is a bandjir river, dry in the dry season, and one can see this plainly; reke, a kind of red fruit. Watu Roga means a kind of soft stone. The scribe who will become
115 my assistant is a mild looking little fellow, of the suku Ambu Odja, and of the kampong Roworeke. He is married, however, into the kampong Watu Roga. His name is Adrianus Migo, and he is a Catholic. In the kapitanschap Rewarangga there
632 are eighteen kampongs (the kapitanschap Gunung
622 Rodja has fifteen kampongs). In each there is
614 a kepala kampong. There are also six main suku in the kapitanschap: Rewarangga, Wanda, Ambu Odja, Rea Ndona, Tibo (or Gusa), and Ambu Tara. There are members of other suku in the kapitanschap, but they are not old inhabitants. They
[171] have moved in (like the "newcomer non-dati" fams of the Ambon negri). The kapitan of Rewarangga were formerly of suku Rewarangga, but after three of these in succession the kapitan passed into suku Ambu Odja, and there have been four of these. Thus about seven generations are accounted
[173] for, or about two hundred years, but the man says that Roworeke is at least four hundred to five hundred years old. This may indicate that the kapitan organization came in only about two hundred years ago. It is not at all certain and I must ask further questions about this kapitan business.

632 The kapitan must be chosen from any of the
565 noble families of any of the five suku. In each
614 suku there are two families which are noble and therefore may become kapitan. Generally the son of a dead kapitan is chosen, but if he is not satisfactory they may choose a kapitan from another noble family of the same suku or from any of the noble lineages of any of the other four
632 sukus. The big reason that the Rewerangga suku
614 lost the kapitanschap was that it had become al-

8

632 most extinct, with only about twenty members.
614 The kapitan is elected by the orang besar of the eighteen kampongs in the kapitanschap.
634 The Radja of Ende is also elected, in this case by the orang besar of the whole state. This means that he is elected evidently by the kapitan. I must inquire further about this matter.
632 The present kapitan is a nephew of the former
578 kapitan. He was chosen because the son of the former kapitan was not satisfactory. I noted that as I asked about this there seemed to be some embarrassment and I wonder if perhaps there was not a little fuss attached to the selection of a new kapitan even in the past. This seems to bear out the evidence for a feud pattern of which I see so much at first glance in Flores. Anyway, both the radja and the kapitan are elected with a tendency to heredity in the male line. They are elected by the officers of the sections of their domain. It is similar to the electors of Goa.
583 They say that the bride price is necessary
614 for marriage, and that the price is really high.
476 They say that some people go bankrupt in order
237 to pay the bride price. Nevertheless, everyone in the suku helps the man pay his bride price and in turn all helpers are later helped. This bride price is a clan affair. Formerly the price had to
[436] be paid in elephant tusks and in gold pieces called wea. Now most of the tusks are gone be-
[727] cause they have been sold or stolen (during the Japanese time). There are still quite a few of the gold pieces left, however. There were hundreds of thousands of tusks in Flores before. Sikka used only very long ones, but in this area they evidently used both long and short tusks. They are remarkable and I must learn more about them.
614 Marriage is exogamous as far as suku are con-
582 cerned and residence is patrilocal. They did
[591]

614 R They did
582 say, however, that Mohammedanism is tending to
178 break down this suku exogamy. Here in Roworeke, however, the old adat is still strong and the exogamous rule still holds. The young people who have gone to school are beginning to rebel, but the elders remain strong and hold to the adat.

771 I asked about religion and they said that at
797 least fifty per cent of the people here are pagan. Most of the rest are Christian, although there are a few Mohammedans. The picture is the familiar one of the younger generation becoming Christian while the older generation remains pagan.

565 If I can believe the story about the nobility,
632 it looks as if there are about ten noble fami-
614 lies eligible to the kapitanschap in all Rewarangga, because there are five suku and about two families of this nobility to each suku.

632 Then I got onto the subject of the officers. In the kapitanschap there is the kapitan, and he is assisted by a scribe, a mandur and an oppas. Evidently these are a secretary, a sort of public works man, and a messenger--sheriff.

622 In the kampong the chief is the kepala kampong,
565 the ata nggaeh nua (ata nggaeh itself is a term
624 for noble). Some of these belong to the nobility and others not (I must find out more about this). The assistant to the kepala kampong is the oro kuni. Then tere are four mosa laki, which seems to them to be the equivalent to the tuan tanah elsewhere. One of these is the main adat chief (thus exactly like the tuan tanah) and he is called the mosa laki mere, or mosa laki pu'u (pu'u is the term for clan, and I must check on this as it may be a survival of a purely genealogical localization of clans in a single kampong). He may also be called merely by the term laki pu'u. The three other mosa laki are: the giri tumba,
624 the ndeto au, and the sikesani. The giri tumba

R

624 in the Lio mountain kampongs is called the wiwi-
ria lama lewa, or, as van Suchtelen[1] says, "big
mouth long tongue". He is like a talking chief.

632 The kapitan and the kepala kampong (as well
622 as the mandur of the kapitan, who on second
624 thought may prove to be a kind of assistant
614 kapitan; and the oro kuni) are clearly adminis-
trative officers, and are not "adat chiefs."
The true adat chief is the mosa laki mere (as
well as the other three mosa laki). This in-
dicates that the kapitan and the kepala kampong,
territorial chiefs, are of a later date, and the
old chief was the tuan tanah or mosa laki mere.
Since the latter is also called laki pu'u, and
pu'u means suku, it looks as though before the
territorial organization, they had only localized
clans. Thus they have the dual division of
chiefs into the administration--territory and
into the adat--genealogical. Going on, I found
693 excellent substantiation of this in that a big
632 case, involving murder or big theft, etc., for
624 example the case in which the Dutch government
614 was interested (a law case, as it were) is judged
622 by the kapitan with the assistance of the four
kepala kampong chosen for him for that case. In
a small case, however, involving adat, judgment
is made only within the kampong (thus adat cases
involve the kampong, which comes before the clan,
I think). And the judges are the mosa laki mere,
acting as chairman, the giri tumba, the ndeto au,
and the sike sani. It looks as though the old
localized clans were ruled by this quadrivirate.
And, these four are completely hereditary. Thus
even in succession they have the genealogical
principle. It comes out clearly in these four
adat chiefs. I must find out from which suku
these officers come.

614 I asked about the present localization of the
suku, and they seemed to agree that the suku are
still largely settled in certain clusters. They

[1] [See p.90 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

614 main suku there are several others in Rewarangga, but they have moved in and are not original suku. But any one of them may be given land and become in effect "members" of the communities. Thus Tibo is a suku which has virtually entered Roworeke. Later I got some kind of an explanation that it was formerly a kampong on the hill above there, but has now moved into a section of Roworeke. In fact, I saw this section, with only about three houses, and it is called Kopoedo. Among the suku which are "foreign" in Rewarangga are Ambu Djawa, Ambu Nduru, and Ambu Rutu. Ambu means grandfather.

624 632 Later I got more information about the mosa laki. Evidently in the kapitanschap there are four big mosa laki: mosa laki mere, giri tumba, ndeto au, and sike sani. Then, in each kampong there are four with the same names, but they are on a lower level even though their functions are the same. I met the mig mosa laki mere and giri tumba of Rewarangga. They were old fellows, dignified, dressed in adat clothes, and most refreshing in contrast to the modernized Catholics like the kapitan and the guru. They are polite and quiet. I got the impression that maybe most [887] of the mosa laki are older men. They are probably mainly if not all pagan too, and probably mainly illiterate.

614 582 Talking with the kapitan and the scribe and a few other lads later, I learned that suku exogamy is not necessary if there is enough distance between the relatives. Thus the kapitan is married to a fellow-Odja. They noted, however, in my questioning, that most people seem to have married exogamously.

527 129 The second day was the Flag Day, and I took ten fellows in the jeep from Roworeke. After the ritual, which was not very impressive (the Sikka radja made a speech with little grace), we went 123 with Ariens (the Controleur) on a ride to Nanga-

123 only six, including me and Kattenburg, in the jeep. A wisecracking and obnoxious religious guru, who had started right off giving us a lecture on the virtues of Catholicism, got right in and displaced a better man.

632 The kapitan has no authority as I see it, and I remember the kapitan of Gunung Rodja who Ariens said has real power. He had told me that he had to help this kapitan all the time because he is so weak. He looks and acts this way, and is young anyway. He should have thrown the guru out. I would have done so, but I did not know what his influence really amounted to. Anyway, we finally got off with this unpleasant guru, who talked all the time in a raucous voice, the kapitan, the secretary (assistant) a nice lad, and a quiet relative of the kapitan who was dressed in adat clothes, a young man who sat in the rear box who said nothing. We went up the
481 dangerous road for 52 km., beyond Ndetosoko, pass-
133 ing a few kampongs, including the magnificent hillside kampong of Wologai, and Ndoeria. At km. 52 we turned off onto a grassy road and passed two kampongs on the twisting and high road to the mountain. We got there in two and one quarter hours in all, and it was a fine sight, on top of the world. The elevation is 1550 meters. Red lake is really almost brown. The green one is Nile green, and the blue one is robin's egg blue.
[262] We ate lunch, during which I found that in
521 Roworeke they eat dogs. The guru talked constantly, and the kapitan seemed to be dominated by him. The secretary was his butt and he constantly punched and pushed him like a real joker.

123 I got so sore at the pressure to take more than four of them along that I threatened to go
181 home and call off the trip. All the way I thought of how disagreeable these people were, except for the secretary and a few other young ones. The old ones are almost uniformly O.K. The guru is oily and loud and hearty.

●632 The kapitan of Ambu Nggobe, whom I met in a new hadji costume before, is a rather oldish one. Ariens says he has the most power of any-
123 one in Ende. The guru is a hard, pushing, Christian type, who has lost the old respect forms and feels superior to all the others. This guru kept trying to find out whether we[1] were Catholics, but we didn't tell him.

At last we went back to the kampong but stopped
191 off in a fine village near where the Kilimutu road leaves the main road. I forget the name. It has
[142] handsome women, proto-Malay type, who are ruined
[276] by betel. The men too are pretty good looking. Some of the children are very intelligent. I asked about the language situation and the guru said that only the schooled ones speak Malay anywhere in Ende. Thus the old ones do not, but this is not entirely so as some of the old ones who were never schooled are able to speak Malay.

342 In this kampong the houses as usual are roofed
343 with alang-alang thatch. There are many barns, which are small and have roofs which go to the
764 floor. The graves are in the plaza. One was
178 very large and of massive stone situated under a roof. It was the grave of an important ancestor. Others were of usual stone piles and slabs. One burial was set up last month, as it said on a wooden cross set up on top of the old style stone slab grave. The bodies here are laid out in a R lying down position in the stone cists. From later evidence in Roworeke I think that many individuals may be placed in one grave. They lift the slab, move over the old bones, and set the new body in. In the old days they would put the body wound up with gemutu ropes in a tree until the whole thing rotted. Then the bones were placed in a box which in turn was placed in the cist. A rather long time ago the government made the people here dispose of the bodies at once.

[1] [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg--Analyst]

621R
578 nature of these people. He said there are many
●632 boundary disputes and have been many in the past.
144 Now I see the truth of the racial mixture zone here. All types are represented.

614 I get the impression that the suku were originally localized largely if not entirely. This is still so. Thus one part will be all or nearly all Odja, another similarly Wanda, another Tibo, etc.

591 I met a lad in Roworeke proper who is from a kampong which is rather far off. They said he had married a woman of Roworeke, and I thought perhaps this might be a case of ambil anak. This is not the case, however, and he had merely come there for a day, because his wife has land here. They live in his kampong. Residence is patrilocal usually. Kattenburg remarked that in
178 material culture and in level of living the young
578 people are not much different from the old. They
561 do wear different clothes, however, and as he says, in general outlook, religion, knowledge of and adherence to old thoughts and ways and religion, they differ. There must be an intergenerational conflict here, especially as they are so disputatious anyway. I must check on this.

The next day we[1] set out early and got them to
344 let us work in the office. This is an amazing
217 place, with cocoanut stalk walls and a dirt floor.
124 In one room (they are all empty of furniture), scattered on the floor, are the "files" of the kapitanschap. Some of them are in paper boxes and others are just on the dirt. They call the kapitanschap the "gemeente." We sat on the front "porch" on chairs that almost collapsed and at a table that leaned loosely at an alarming angle and slowly leaned more and more until it seemed impossible that it would keep from collapsing.
124 With us was the giri tumba of Rewarangga and later the kepala kampong (ata nggaeh nua) of Woro-

[1] [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg --Analyst]

R

124 wai, a kampong a kilometer to the north which used to be part of Roworeke. Later still a policeman came from Ende who was there to help collect taxes. The kapitan drifted in and out and played around with the policeman's bike, and asked Kattenburg to get him a watch. He then asked Kattenburg to sell him some U.S. gold pieces. In general, he is a nuisance. If he could settle down he knows a fair amount about the genealogies, etc.

124 197 829 We started, as usual, with social organization and had a terrible time with it. They are all mixed up, or it is so partially wrecked that there is no order to it. I can't get to it because they don't get much of my Malay. Regarding the latter, they said not even twenty per cent of the people here can speak Malay, because the school has taught Malay only since the 1920's. Before that nobody here could speak Malay. Their Malay is full of queer words. Also, they know very little or nothing about the kampongs even a little way off although they may still be in the same gemeente. They know little about anything except in a very narrow circle.

632 621 I got the names of the kampongs in the gemeente (kapitanschap) Rewarangga:

My spelling	Kapitan's spelling
1. Roworeke	Rowo Reke
2. Worowai	Woro Wae
3. Manunggo'o	Mano Nggoö
4. Worowaku	Woro Wekoe
5. Arereke	Are Reke
6. Pu'uperi	Poeöe Peri
7. Kekawi'i	Keka Wiï
8. Koavena	Koa Wena
9. Vavoeü	Wawo Eoe
10. Ratebedi	Rate Bedi
11. Kekambero	Keka Mbero
12. Nioreko	Nio Reko

R

	My Spelling	Kapitan's spelling
632	13. Pu'umbindi	Poeoe Mbindi
621	14. Mbago	Mbgko (?)
	15. Pemodjera	Pemo Djera
	16. Volofeo	Wolo Feo
	17. Bu'ube'i	Boeoebei
	18. Sokopedji	Soko Pedji

The w and v are, or seem to be, separate, but the spelling here seems to indicate that they are the same. F, however, is separate. Of the eighteen, Roworeke and Worowai used to be (up until the Japanese time) together, but now they are separate kampongs. I wonder if this did not happen before so recently. Also the three (Vavoeü, Ratebedi, and Kekambero) were once one, named Rabu. This is still used evidently once in a while for their general area. We got onto the
624 matter of the mosa laki, and it develops that in-
632 deed there are the Big Four for the gemeente, and in addition there is a Little Four in each kampong. The Big Four, however, are also the Little Four of both Roworeke and Worowai. Thus the mosa laki mere of Rewarangga is also the mosa laki mere of both Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The giri tumba of Rewarangga is also the giri tumba of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Roworeke. The ndeto au of Rewarangga is also the giri tumba of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The sike sani of Rewarangga is also the sike sani of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The kampong combination is because Roworeke and Worowai were still one kampong until recently.

624 Each of the other sixteen kampongs has its own
622 Little Four. Also, each kampong of the eighteen has a kepala kampong or ata nggaeh nua, and his assistant, the oro kuni.

614 In each kampong there seems to be one suku

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614 which is the main one and the largest. In most cases this may also be the oldest one. This does not hold for Roworeke, where the main one is Odja, but the original one was the now nearly extinct Rewarangga. Anyway, they knew that Odja was the main one in Roworeke, Reandona the main one in Manunggo'o, and beyond this they did not know the situation in other kampongs. They said
[829] that they would have to ask each kepala kampong. This shows how little they know about anything beyond their own village. Even the kapitan, who is head of the whole eighteen kampongs, did not know this.

624 The giri tumba of Rewarangga, who is head giri tumba of all the others, didn't even know the personal names of the other sixteen giri tumba.

693 If there is a small adat case, the Little Four sit for the judgment, but they tell the Big Four of the local kampong of the decision. Thus they have a kampong court for little cases and a gemeente council of the Big Four for bigger ones.

632 We got into a terrific muddle about how a new
624 kapitan is chosen. When an old one dies, all eighteen kepala kampong come together and also the Big Four and the mosa laki mere of the other sixteen kampongs. The giri tumba, ndeto au, and sike sani of the other sixteen kampongs may come, but evidently they have no voice in the matter. Thus the electoral college includes eighteen kepala kampongs, mosa laki mere Rewarangga, giri tumba Rewarangga (Odja), ndeto au Rewarangga, sike sani Rewarangga, and the mosa laki mere of the other sixteen kampongs (excepting Roworeke and Worowai, whose Little Four are also the Big Four). Thus in all there are thirty-eight members of the electoral college. The manager of the convention is the giri tumba Rewarangga, who was sitting there. His other title (wiwiria, etc.) means "big mouth long tongue." He goes around and sounds out the opinion of all the others and

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632 then announces the chosen candidate. He has veto
624 power, and if he says no to a candidate, it is
final. The kapitan must come from either Re-
[614] warangga or Odja suku. If all agree, and the
giri tumba also agrees, they may choose a man
from Reandona suku, but this has never happened.
[178] In the old days the kapitan happened always
632 to be from Rewarangga suku, but recent ones have
565 been from Odja. If the present kapitan dies,
614 there would be about ten eligible candidates. I
611 think this means ten from Odja. These include
171 the sons of the old kapitan plus others from
eligible families. But there are over a hundred
families in Odja. Thus only certain families
are of the bangsawan high enough to be eligible
for kapitan. I could not get it straight who
these families are, but evidently they represent
the descendants of the great ancestor of the suku
Odja in the direct male line. This is always via
the oldest son. Thus the oldest branch of the
oldest branch, etc., as in Polynesia.

I asked if there was a name for the set of
613 noble kapitan families in Odja, and they finally
565 said, after much argument, Djo'bi Bene. To this
632 "lineage" belong the present kapitan, the scribe,
and the giri tumba. The kapitan came in and gave
the family tree of the lineage. So far as I
could see, it ran:

1. Neni
2. Djata
3. Odja
4. Koru Rudja
5. Djo'bi Bene

Thus these are the next ones to Djo'bi Bene.
I must come back again and find out exactly who
Djo'bi Bene was, and where his grave is located,
etc. This was frustrating, and I could not get
[124] it straight at first. I was always worried about
the loss of time in such slow questioning.

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000 the loss of time in such slow questioning.

632 578 634 614 624 There has been much fighting in the past over the election of a kapitan. In the case of a deadlock the radjas have stepped in and settled it, but this is dangerous because sometimes the people have refused to accept such an imposed choice. Again I see the troubles and feuds around here. The rivalry seems to be between suku. For example, they said that Reandona suku has always been trying to get into the kapitan position, but has never succeeded. I wonder if perhaps the mosa laki were not once actually suku chiefs. I asked the old giri tumba about this and he agreed but probably didn't understand me. And yet there seems to be a connection. Be-
[178] fore the Dutch came, they say that the mosa laki mere was the kapitan and the giri tumba the kepala kampong of Roworeke. Thus the mosa laki mere was the top man and the giri tumba was the kampong chief. As for the other two (ndeto au and sike sani) they said that there were these offices too in the old days.

773 173 614 Then I tried to get onto the subject of the old origin legends in Roworeke. They said that long ago before the Dutch came the mosa laki mere here was of the suku Rewarangga; the giri tumba was of the suku Odja; the ndeto au was of the suku Nggonggora'ba, and they did not know the suku of the sike sani. This mention of Nggonggora'ba led me to ask about the whole business.

The kapitan started the story. In the beginning there were five siblings who came from Java, four brothers and one sister. The four brothers were Rewarangga, Reandona, Nggonggora'ba, and Gasiradja. The sister was Djedjedjo. The last went to Nggobe. Gasiradja went to a mountain kampong in the gemeente of Nggobe. The kampong was named Woroapo. Rewarangga settled in Roworeke, and he was the eldest brother and the most powerful of the siblings. Reandona took over authority in

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773 Manunggo'o (where this suku still remains the
173 principal suku). Nggonggora'ba took over
614 authority in Worowai, and there are still members of this suku there. Then the Odja suku entered the area from Rabu (at present three kampongs; 9, 10, 11 in the above list on page 29). Then the Tibo suku entered from Koavena and settled on the hill Wolowaru above Roworeke. This was later abandoned, and they came down and settled in the sections of Roworeke called Aibou and Kopoëdo. Thus at that time there were five main suku (maybe only these five) in the area: Rewarangga in Roworeke; Reandona in Manunggo'o; Nggonggora'ba in Worowai; and the two new suku, Odja in Roworeke and Tibo in Wolowaru. The posts
[624] held by these suku were:

1.	Rewarangga:	Mosa laki mere of Roworeke.
2.	Reandona:	Mosa laki mere of Manunggo'o.
3.	Nggonggora'ba:	Mosa laki mere of Worowai.
4.	Odja:	Giri tumba of Roworeke.
5.	Tibo:	Ata nggaeh nua of Roworeke.

The other officers were also present, but it is unclear as to what suku they came from.

632 It can be seen that the kapitan descended
624 from the mosa laki mere of Roworeke, and this is
614 in the suku Rewarangga (probably when the kapitanschap was created, Roworeke was made the capital and the mosa laki mere of it was made the kapitan of the new district). Later on, when Rewarangga nearly died out, Odja, the suku of the old giri tumba of Roworeke, took over the kapitan position. The giri tumba is still from Odja. The Reandona suku, descended from the second of the four brothers, is one of the eligible. What has happened, however, to the Nggonggora'ba suku seems to be a kind of eclipse. I must look into this later in Worowai.

302 Kattenburg in a mountain kampong reported that he had seen a girl wearing lipstick. It was betel stain to which he is not used.

487 We left Ende for Larantuka on Tuesday, December 20, and after a long run through the mountains we reached Maumeri at noon. Then we went on an even harder run to Larantuka. This took all afternoon. The rain in the hills was bad. We passed through Tanai Ai and Lewotobi areas without knowing it. The land was very empty. I suddenly found that I was in Konga.

[485] Larantuka is the end of the world, and the pasanggrahan there was pretty primitive.

[443] It is hard to buy anything here in Larantuka.
[377] There is no electricity except in the mission,
797 and the latter runs the town and everything else of a western nature evidently. The place has an air of having been asleep for a long time. Behind it is the Ili Mandiri, the storied mountain of the ancestors of the Larantuka people. The
144 town is a mixture of natives and descendants of intermixed Portuguese as well as Malays from Malaya who came in a long time ago with the Portuguese. One can see all sorts of physical types. Outside the town along the coast is a
361 Mohammedan kampong, Kampong Baru, but there are few Mohammedans elsewhere. Most kampongs are behind the mountain. There are also a few on the way to Lewotobi.

●632 The next day we started out to see the area
361 behind the mountain, especially Leloba, where Vatter[1] worked. We passed through several kampongs of rather large but shabby look. This was especially true of Mudakaputu (seat of kakang of Mudakaputu formerly, although he is now at one of the other places, in Riangkamiö, I think), Watuwiti, Riangkamiö, and Wailolong. These are all together in one kakangschap (called gemeente here too by the people, and it is also one adat
632 area). This is the Blakang-Gunung. The Radja

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

•632 told me that his mother is from this area, and later I had her kampong pointed out (Lewoleda). It is the twin kampong of Watuwiti. As we passed every kampong the children came out in droves shouting greetings and then running after and hanging on the rear of the jeep, just as Vatter[1] described them almost twenty years ago. [178] Indeed, many things of his are still the same, but some are different, for example, Catholicism has finally destroyed the nubanara, nama, and the korke of Leloba.

346 797 583 438 At Wailolong we went off on a new side road to Leloba, and the road ended at the kampong, barred by a fence. As we were talking here, a priest, Krol, came up on his motorcycle and invited us to his hut. He is temporarily here because the church and pastorie in Riangkamië was burned two months ago. The people there caused the fire by burning the hills on the windward side, and the kampong elders voted to give a percentage of the bride prices for quite a long while in order that they might have the new church. This will be paid in elephant tusks, [435] which the mission will sell for cash to the Mohammedan traders (eight tusks of varying lengths will sell for about fl. 2000.00, and the priest knew the exact price). The Mohammedan traders will then resell the tusks to the people in Larantuka who need them to pay a bride price. They will probably sell them in the Tandjung Bunga (Cape Flores area).

797 197 177 The priest told how the Catholics work here. They try to keep as much of the old culture as possible. For example, he and others are learning all about the Solor language, which is the local language here, so that they can make prayers in it. They also make prayers in the 797 old style, as though praying to Lerawulan. They 177 use native songs with words in the native lan- 533 guage and in the native style, too. He, musical,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We
000 trols this atomism.

124 The next day we went to the kampong, stopping
212 at Mudakaputu, and Watuwiti, and other places on
115 the way. These all seemed less good than Wailolong. For example, Riangkamiß had only two suku; others had none or only one korke, etc. At Leloba, the guru had another guru with him, and said that we must use him as he was not so good at writing. Then I asked about whether or not it might not be a good idea to use an assistant who lives in Wailolong, but they said nobody there can write well because most of them have attended only three grades of schooling. Then, we went to the district chief, the kakang, who was formerly in Boschwesen, and who is a man with good authority. He said he would order the Wailolong folk to help and would put at my disposal a lad from Wailolong. Also, he said he would order them to let us use one of the rumah pemuda, or boys' houses, in Wailolong. We talked at length about the situation and it seems that there are really no people in Wailolong who are able to write well.

773 We talked about the way the old stories are
178 dying out and the young people won't listen any
872 more. The guru Roy and a few old men only are the ones who know very much. The guru is the best, and he knows all of the ancestors back for nineteen generations. He also complained about how the schools do not have books about Indonesia and the local affairs, but rather about Europe, which the children cannot understand.

632 We had taken in the jeep a lot of kepala suku
622 and kepala kampong of Wailolong to the kakang
693 where they were to have a case hearing. It is
614 evidently a case concerned with marriage. The kepala suku are clearly old style fellows. Several
[30] of the old men had long hair and necklaces and one had a tattoo on his chest. The kakang gave a
614 speech ordering them to help us. Then we went to

Wae

614 There is no use of a head without feet. At
788 least this is the idea. They are the leg men
565 of the head. The Hurint cuts the head off, and they also cut or finish or decide cases. Thus the double entendre words which seem to prevail in this language come to light. Also the Hurint do the praying, and in the old days the priests were from this suku as well as were the judges. The Marang passed around and still pass around sirih, or perhaps coffee today, at the rites. The Marang also acts as general helper so that if any of the other three have trouble with the beast he rushes in to aid. The function is symbolized not quite so clearly as for the other three, but the social system is symbolized in ritual which in turn reflects a system of rank and function.

632 I heard another thing which should be inter-
614 esting to follow up. The kakang is a Leboba man
583 from one of the Kottang subsibs. His sib (one
576 of the two Belepe Lolong, and must be Lango'
431 Bele' as he has much power) gives women to the guru's sib (Ama Hurint Ola Demo[ng] Lango' Bele') and must be given fowl by the latter. The latter gets women from the former, and gets fish from the former too. Thus fowl and fish form a gift exchange following the marriage exchange system. Evidently the sib that gets the women gives the fowl, and the one that gives the women also gives the fish. Could this be again the serpent and the dove? The kakang said that if he went to the guru's house and there happened to be some fowl cooking there, he must get some, or it would be a terrible breach of respect and much shame would be felt. I think this is correct, but I must check it later.

194 The peculiar nasal end sound indicated by
[114] the parentheses in my orthography is hard to get and Vatter[1] messes it up. The guru says it is hard even for a man from Larantuka town to say it.

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

609 We
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
437 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has
[778] magical power, but we didn't get into the full story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All
727 of them were sold or taken during the Japanese
436 time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese
563 time too, but new ones are being made by
326 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and families. They had been in the mountains making wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They use the natives' gold. Much silver is now mixed in with the gold. They both had complete
[142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large, and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they
611 use money and animals for the bride price, but
591 they may also work it off, although it is not
237 really a case of ambil anak because the children follow the father's suku anyway. The girl must stay with the parents until the bride price is paid. Also, residence remains matrilocal until the bride price is paid. Thus we have an illustration of this in the case of a Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several children, because the bride price has not yet been paid. The children belong to his suku, however. Thus there is bride service, matrilocal residence, but the descent remains patrilineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally, has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to get the assistant to say that they still had tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the
624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before
632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evidently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases
[691] are concerned only with land and marriage questions.

R

693 632 624 [622] tions. Murder, theft, etc., come to the kepala kampong or kapitan. Such cases are not within the adat sphere. These officials do not interfere with each other's spheres.

632 624 622 The situation in regard to the offices is as follows: The Big Four of the gemeente who are also the Little Four of Roworeke (combined with Worowai) are respectively from Rewarangga, Odja, Rewarangga, and Rewarangga. All except the giri tumba are from Worowai, and here there is a rumah berhala. Only an Odja or a Rewarangga man (and he must be a resident of Roworeke) may be elected kapitan or kepala kampong of Roworeke. In each of the other kampongs there are families in which the Little Fours are hereditary posts. This position is inherited from father to eldest son.

[796] There are no set ritual functions associated with these offices, but the mosa laki mere of the Big Four (I think) must always be there for a big ceremony, and he must receive the lower jaws of the animals slaughtered. I note that an alternative term for the four mosa laki is tuan tanah.

771 796 Some of the people here are Catholics, and I asked if they still did the ritual and prayed when they held a big ceremony. He say yes, and that Catholicism makes no difference in this matter. He was firm in stating that there are Catholic things and adat things. They are separate. The two main feasts of the year are those held at planting and at harvest time, when the crops are brought in ritually to the kampong. At these feasts the mosa are the leaders and the big leader is the local mosa laki mere. There is animal slaughter, dancing, singing, and praying. They wear festive clothes. And there is also a big suku feast when the bone house of a suku is rebuilt. Thousands attend. Smaller private rites are held for such

796 241 574 527 [614] [341] 000

We

784 There is definite totemism here though some
614 clans have no taboos or totem ancestors. But
611 it is the usual thing. Weol may not use one
769 kind of bamboo, because the ancestors were born
562 of this bamboo. Pau may not eat a certain kind of monkey, as the ancestors were linked (this is the assistant's va'u). Women marrying out of the va'u may eat the totem of their own clan but must go through a special rite. Men may never give up the totem taboos, even if they live in an ambil anak arrangement.

574 The next day we went to Weol and up to the
273 kampong with the assistant. We brought native
276 tobacco and gin which we had bought for fl. 2.00
123 in Ruteng. As we entered the kampong, on the right we noted the house of the kepala kampong. Next to it is that of the tuan tanah, where we sat on the front porch. Both of these houses are of the new style, but are sooty because there are no chimneys. The children carried two chairs up from Tjantjar for us and later brought a table from the school. However, the assistant and the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong sat on a mat on the floor. Others were in the background. On the rise in front was a great crowd. We gave gin and tobacco to the old people and
[262] were later served first coffee and then two hard boiled eggs. Others got no eggs. The eggs came by chain-passing from the next kampong, Ndung. Evidently eggs are something special. The old tuan tanah knows everything, and his brother the kepala kampong is old and smart too. The kepala of the third panga of Weol kampong sat in the rear. He too is old.

632 The daluschap Rahong is one of the thirty-
621 nine in Manggarai. The dalu are of Bima origin, or at least this is true of most of them. There are thirty-three kampongs in Rahong. The tuan tanah knows all of them, including the constellations. They are as follows:

We

632 1. Weol, with Weol as the center kampong and
621 three branch kampongs. They all trace from Weol. There are three other Weol kampongs in the daluschap Tjibal to the north.

2. Ndung, with Ndung as the center kampong and five branch kampongs. All of them, including Ndung, stemmed originally from Weol. Indeed, the dual kampong Weol-Ndung is the center whence spread out all the kampongs of both Weol
[614] and Ndung. And they evidently were all of the same clan, the va'u Weol. Thus this covers two gelarang districts.

3. Tjumbi, with seven branch kampongs.

4. La'o, with three branch kampongs.

5. Rahong, with seven branch kampongs. But this is a special case as it is the directly governed complex of the dalu. The dalu lives, however, in kampong Waukung, in the gelarang Tjumbi. These kampongs are scattered over the four gelarang into which the daluschap is divided. Thus, in all, there are thirty-three kampongs.

622 There is a tuan tanah in each kampong, but
624 not a kepala kampong in each. See below. The
632 big tuan tanah, the gelarang tuan tanah, are in Weol, La'o, Tjumbi, and Ndung kampongs. I wonder if perhaps, before, these were the district chiefs, that is, before the dalu came in.

Some of the tuan tanah are also kepala kampong. That is, they have two posts. This is so
[565] in about half of the cases, but all kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah "nobility." Thus the kepala kampong of Weol is the brother of the tuan tanah. Thus they have managed to keep even the purely administrative officers in the adat-chiefly families.

The post of tuan tanah goes to the eldest son, but the kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu, after quietly finding out the will of the folk in the kampong.

We

614 All the people in Weol gelarang are of va'u
166 Weol. There is one exception, the va'u Tjepang. These folk came in before from Boleng, in North Manggarai. They settled in kampong Weol, but when things became crowded, they went below to kampong Tjantjar. The latter alone has many people who are not of the va'u Weol, except for real newcomers, such as the Ruteng folk in Ndung, who came to work in the gardens (evidently as coolies) and settled down. There are many outsiders in the mixed and new kampong Tjantjar.

614 The original ancestors of the va'u Weol came
773 out of a bamboo at a spot near the present spring
824 below Weol. There are bamboo trees there de-
784 scended from the original one. The original ancestors were a pair: Vako Dangka and Ine Karas. Not only is the bamboo taboo but also the lusa (red beans). For example, if a child eats these unwittingly, a fowl must be killed. They do not "cut off" the tongue symbolically with a leaf as is done in some other areas.

614 Women from other clans marrying into Weol
784 must take on the taboo of their husbands. A
562 Weol woman marrying into another clan may eat
783 lusa, but only after performing the rite called ela penteng pitak, which means "to clean off the mud." She must take on the totem taboos of her husband's clan. The woman marrying into Weol gives up her own taboos, but must also do the ela penteng pitak. This ceremony involves a pig sacrifice. Thus every woman marrying into another clan must do this rite to give up her own totems. The name of the totem taboo is tjek'ki.

565 There is a nobility which applies to the
632 radjas, dalu, and gelarang. The gelarang are
624 the tuan tanah (and kepala kampong) of the cen-
622 tral kampongs of the gelarang districts, for
[634] example, Weol. Thus Weol has two gelarang, and Ndung has only one, because the kepala kampong

Wa

565 of Meler, the main kepala kampong of the Ndung
632 complex, lives in Meler. The dalu came in
624 about 1870. They were put in by Bima, and the
622 tuan tanah said that they were of Bima origin.
(Does this mean that no native chiefs were made dalu? Evidently.)

622 There is no native term for the kepala kam-
624 pong. The tuan tanah is the tu'a tenu. In each
592 house there is a house chief, the tu'a mbaru. The latter word means house. He is chosen by the men of the house.

623 The kampong council, which must be called
592 together for each case, includes the tuan tanah,
693 the kepala kampong, and the tu'a mbaru of their own houses. If the case involves adat, the tuan tanah is the chairman. An example of this would be a case concerned with land. If the case is concerned with administration, for example, with theft, the kepala kampong acts as chairman. In all cases, however, all of the members of the council are present.

614 The clans are divided into subclans called
624 panga. Each of these has a chief, the tu'a panga. In Weol there are three panga and three tu'a panga. Two of these are also the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong. There are two panga and two tu'a panga in Ndung. The tuan tanah there is also tu'a panga of his panga and tu'a mbaru of his house.

614 I asked about the origin of the panga. The
173 original ancestors, Vako Dangka and Ine Karas, had two sons: Lando Kakor and Naloholles. They married wives of another va'u and between them had seven sons (their daughters were forgotten, a reversal of the Ngada story, where the daughters of Djawa are remembered and the sons forgotten). Each of these became an ancestor of a panga, and in the course of time their descendants split into many more panga. New panga may be formed at any time, even now, as the old ones

We.

614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and Rundu.

784 824 614 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The other kinds, for example betong, which is thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung pesi is also tabooed for the members of the Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only on the first-born of each family. The first-born is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 114 624 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his material. There are now two more kampongs in the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas is in error in stating that Ladja is the fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung. Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung. The Manggarai

624 824 796 name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Teno is the kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post which is set in the center of the star of fields for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a

[533] [562] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum. Some of the beats are the same for the men and for the women, but others differ by sex. Another term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 423 651 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which are basically the property of the tuan tanah. Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay tribute for his house space. This tribute is used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 778 [104] Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on the side of the highest hill. It is in the form of a rough human figure, which used to have

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Weo

614 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and
778 broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive. It is located a little to the side of the path and in a rather inconspicuous place.

[773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about this: it is a woman turned to stone with her child because she bathed naked) is located four kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong Bangkavelo.

231 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,[1]
241 they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the
782 garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connec-
114 tion with agricultural rites. They do this in the kampong. In the garden itself they kill only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent, Coolhaas is right.

565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The term kraeng is used for all three levels of nobles.

114 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 336,[1]
●632 the people here still give tribute to the dalu
651 when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls,
466 etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now
624 wants a new house he may no longer expect free
476 labor. Now he must pay for such service. If, however, there is need of a new tuan tanah house, labor is given without pay. And if there is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps, although other kampongs may assist in some way or other.

567 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi).
Their descendants are still known. It is also
565 true that new slaves were put in stocks (lam-
114 pang) until it was certain that they would not run away. It is also correct that slaves who had been in a family for a long time might even marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

114 brothers may not marry two sisters, as this is
582 very much taboo. A man may marry two sisters,
[632] however. They agreed that Coolhaas' on marriage
114 rules of the dalu seems correct. As for the
582 folk, the rules indicate preferred clans, but
614 they say this is not too strong. Thus the
rule is that Weol men get wives from Manges, a
va'u and gelarang in the dalu Velak, to the
west, although not very far. It is about a one
day walk from here. However, this is not by
any means the method followed at all times, and
actually only about twenty-five per cent of the
women married in here are from Manges (Manges
is now called Regak). These were originally
from Lelak or Relak, which is a neighboring
gelarang to Weol. Thus it looks like a clan
localized in district terms with marriage rules
between clan-districts as in Wouden's style. The
women of Weol usually marry men of Tjepang, the
clan which used to live in Weol also, when it
was a two-clan kampong, but who now have moved
down to Tjanjar. However, Tjepang is the name
of a kampong just to the west, also in the Velak
area. It looks as though the fact that Tjepang
[166] men married Weol women led to more and more
Tjepang men coming to live in Weol, until it
finally became half Tjepang. (Even now the
Ruteng folk who have houses in kampong Ndung
are mainly, if not all, men who have married
Ndung women, and the latter have gardens here
and so the men must come to live in their wives'
kampong.) I must get the marriage rules of
Ndung.

Men of Manges may not marry women of Weol.
582 And men of Weol may not marry women of Tjepang.
614 Thus it goes that Weol gives women to Tjepang,
583 but gets women from Manges. However, Tjepang
gives women to Lalong, and another clan gives
women to Manges. Bride exchange is taboo, which
582 is in line with the mother's brother's daughter
rule.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

114 We
[585] exactly the same rites and all moves are the
[565] same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas'
[784] word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate
[614] ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).[1]
[286] In addition to the technical totem taboos given by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 I note on the map that place names recur
614 often all over Manggarai, especially not far away. These are clan names, which are given to kampongs founded by split offs from the mother kampong. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 The mandur said there is criticism of the
578 Radja today because he is not "one hundred per
632 cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of
648 Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, al-
186 though somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud of this Minangkabau story while at the same time it may harm them in light of Manggarai nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes[1] says that when the Dutch were trying to select a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not a contented area and that the people there wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may see a possible chance of paying off old scores. This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where self-governing setups led to exploitation of lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may try to raise themselves up to a parity level and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask questions, and they will reply without first going through a translator. However, the reply

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 1B--Analyst]

582 565 firm in stating that one had ~~to marry~~ within the same class, of which there are three: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata hoö, but I forget the terms for the others. [587] They say that a lower man may never marry up, [567] but that a higher man may marry down for a second wife. They are more open here about slavery than I have found elsewhere.

142 144 The people are quite handsome and many of them are of the proto-Malay type. There are relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay element predominates, and the East Flores Negroid types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars. There is also a great difference in the color of the skin, many people being quite light-skinned [515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here [197] say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not the Soa folk.

291 The clothes of the local people are shabby and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are 304 universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears. [276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments [301] in their ears today. Only the holes are noted. We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most men have their names or initials as well as figures tattooed on their forearms. This name tattoo is quite general.) [177] (Perhaps this is the secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy tattoo.")

764 565 The burials here, I think, and certainly in Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners, but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

●632 The districts here are called kepala mereschappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan. This one is evidently Naru.

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
361 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
515 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
574 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

243 where around the earthen plaza there are Every-
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They
looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the
peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it
were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with
shelleyes. It was set in cement.

From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
132 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However,
124 when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from
Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of
two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we
had to stay overnight at the house of a former
kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
the present scribe. The former kapitan has the
[181] oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see
the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of
Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

●632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan.
He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and
his cronies are taking everything. There is
only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente
Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed
from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And
now they are asking the Christians to move up

000 bands under their knees formerly.

R Roworeke: On the next day we saw some pro-
582 gress made in making out the census. There are a couple of cases of endogamy, but they are seven "layers" distant.

I asked about the oro pesangga, which Such-
782 telen says are offering posts set before each
346 house in Ende. They said that oro is merely a more polite word for ata, man. And pesangga means merely to stab. Thus it means only a man who stabs, i.e. the one who does the sacrifice. This is very unclear. I got no further with it. Perhaps it is only in the mountains.

The central offering post, tubu musu, mentioned by Suchtelen, is found in Roworeke Asal. I must see it. Suku Gusa has one in Wolowaru,
[361] the deserted kampong lama above here. There the original settlers were Odja and the Gusa folk came in later. Then they both moved down to the present Roworeke.

The Ende folk who live in the border areas
166 of Ndetu and Tana Ri are papalele, i.e., people
361 who have no land generally but who buy and sell.
[441] They have mere huts to live in, and they come for awhile and then leave. However, many of them have been in their huts for four to five years, so all of them will be entered in the census. They are not full members of the kampong, and indeed are regarded as mere "people who have arrived."

● 632 The list of gemeente in Ende is as follows (and the proper spelling is Rewarangga):

1. Nggobe (town and inland).
2. Rodja (town and peninsula).
3. Rewarangga (five to eight kilometers).
4. Pulo Ende (island).
5. Rukuramba (km. 8 on the way to Badjawa).
6. Berai (km. 6 on the way to Badjawa).
7. Numba (km. 18 on the way to Badjawa).

[See p. 133 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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●632 8. Nangapanda (km. 28 on the way to Badjawa).
9. Tana Djea (km. 31 on the way to Badjawa).

632 173 Thus Rewarangga is the easternmost of the gemeenten, on the border with Lio. It is half surrounded by Nggobe. I asked about the ancestor stories which make Rodja and Nggobe the first and greatest gemeenten. The kapitan said that this was because of the manner in which Suchtelen got his stories. The people who gave him his information were nearly all illiterate townsfolk. I retold the story of the five siblings from Java. He agreed that every area had [186] its own version in order to make themselves appear greatest.

632 He said he got along all right with the Mohammedans and that the former Christian Rukuramba kapitan was merely inefficient. Arriens said so too, and that the present Mohammedan kapitan there is the best of all.

Then I checked the place of origin of the 614 suku in the census and got the following infor- 361 mation. Odja came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Meo came from Ndetuko'u (Nggobe). Djawa came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Ndoru came from Ndungga (Lio). Reandona came from Woropau (Nggobe). Wanda came from Waturoga (Lio). Tibo (Gusa) came from Koavena (Rewarangga). Ndosi came from Wolotole (Lio). Rewarangga came from Worowai (Rewarangga).

Note: This suku (Rewarangga), the real old one of this region, originally lived in an even higher kampong, Wawotonda. It was located two kilometers above here on the road into the hills. Worowai is only a half to one kilometer above the road. A few people live in the Wawotonda area, but it is no longer a kampong. It is in the territory of the kampong Worowai. In Wawo- [778] tonda there are stones and cannon. But the [346] ruma berhala of Rewarangga suku (a bone house like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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614 like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now. Woro
361 came from Ndungga (Lio). It is unknown at present where Soa, Songo, and Mboti came from. Fongi came from Wolotope (Lio). Sue came from Tombe (Rabu; Rewarangga). Wai came from Wolotolo (Lio). Mbonggi came from Volofeo (Rewarangga). Pare came from Mbomba (Berai). Lenalaba came from Dile (Lio). Watu came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Gusi came from Watusipi (Berai). Wadja came from Potu (Nggobe).

622 Then we got onto the matter of who may be-
565 come kepala kampong. They said that he must be of the bangsawan class or the people will not follow him. Thus he must be of a mosa laki family. There are three possibilities in the rank of the kampongs:

(1) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are the same man.

(2) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are brothers.

(3) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are of the same family.

Thus Roworeke has a kepala kampong of the mosa laki family. The same situation is true in Worowai and Manunggo'o. Worowaku has a kepala kampong and mosa laki mere in the same person. In Arereke they are in the same family, and so on.

●632 The offices in the gemeente are: kapitan, the Big Four, the oppas (oppa), djurutulis (djurutuli), and mandur (oro kuni).

624 The officers of the kampong are: kepala kampong, the Little Four, mandur (oro kuni).

875 The two school teachers live in Waturoga. The head teacher is from Maumere, the other from Ndona. The religious teacher lives in Roworeke.

484 Everyone here in Roworeke has at least gone to Ende. They have seen little else, however. When they go to Ende they usually go for a single

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778 feasts. Thus it is like Barupu in Toradja.
769 (Ratebedi is one of the Rabu kampongs.
346 Vavoëü is another, and so is the non-shrine
574 kampong Kekamberu. The others which have merely the grave-bone shrines have a feast only when they need to fix up a shrine.

●632 The next day we went to Roworeke again. Note an error in the preceding notes: The sikesani besar, who lives in Worowai, is of the suku Nggonggora'ba. Thus the Big Four are as follows: Mosa laki mere of Rewarangga, Giri tumba of Odja. Ndeto au of Rewarangga, and Sikesani of Nggonggora'ba. The names of these posts mean: mosa, male (animal); laki, male (human); mere, big; giri, around; tumba, spear (he walks around with a spear); ndetu, many colored; au, bamboo; sike, here; sani, there.

181 I am always impressed by the combination of
124 lack of courtesy and the cringing servility of
576 these Endenese. They constantly talk to each other when I am talking, pass remarks about me in Endenese, etc. At the same time they keep on "tuanning" and bowing. They are grasping too. For example, the kapitan looks steadily at my gold watch and band and asked me to sell him U.S. gold pieces. The assistant asked me to give him personally a ring-spiral notebook such as used for the work. He can't answer questions on the schedule, so I have to do it all. The kapitan is a bit better, and the guru is smarter, but I get the idea that these folk are a rather poor lot.

784 Again we got on to the subject of totemism.
262 The word for such taboos is pire. I doubt that
614 I got the whole story, but as far as I can see
562 there are three kinds of totem taboos and they apply to foods:

(1) Suku or pu'u taboo. This is called pire ngguäh, the latter term meaning "descen-

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000 since then there have been no wars.

614 The great suku feasts are a kind of re-
574 fresher of the gemeente bond, as all the suku
●632 of the area come and feast and pledge friend-
624 ship. Thus, if Odja has a suku feast for re-
pairing the grave-bones shrine, the other five
big suku (and also others who are invited) at-
tend. (The five are Rewarangga, Nggonggora'ba,
Reandona, Wanda, and Gusa-Tibo). Thus the suku
feasts are gemeente affairs as well as of a
genealogical group. The mosa laki mere must be
present at all such feasts, even though it is
not of his own suku. Incidentally, he is the
same man as the kolu, mentioned by Suchtelen[1]
as the "tuan tanah." This kolu word is evident-
ly used especially in his function as an
agricultural priest. Thus he is an adat judge
and agricultural priest at the same time. The
mosa laki mere involved is the mosa laki mere
of the kampong involved; thus here he is the
big one, as the kampong mosa laki mere of
Worowai-Roworeke is also the mosa laki mere of
the gemeente.

[237] He gets the lower jaws of all the sacrificed
[342] animals. Nowadays he throws them away after
[178] eating, but formerly all bones from such occa-
sions were kept and were put on the houses.
Thus there is a clear relation involved between
the jaws on the Ngada houses of the tuan tanah
there and such occasions (and distantly to the
Mentawei and Punan animal jaws). Note that he
gets the lower jaws.

538 As for legends and stories of the past, at
533 first they said that they have none, or rather
[124] that they had forgotten what they might have
had. I prodded on and told them about the Balai
Pustaka man getting stories of Indonesia for
schools. They loosened up a bit, and it seems
that they do have plenty. I instructed the as-
sistant to get a few as samples. They said

[1] [See p.70 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 13 - Analys]

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609 has a friend-bond with the kampong of Ndona;
582 and he married a Waturoga woman. The Maumere
608 teacher has a somewhat harder time, but he
married locally and this helps. (I think he
married locally, although I am not sure now.)

632 In the district, the "pusat" kampongs are
624 Roworeke and Worowai. The latter is the older
621 and the kampong of the real prime suku, that
778 of the oldest of the original brothers,
Rewarangga. There live three of the Big Four
(mosa laki mere, ndetu au, and sikesani), and
it is thus a sort of adat center. Roworeke
is newer, and it is the administrative center,
where the kapitan lives. Here also, however,
is the big giri tumba. Formerly, these two
were one kampong. In the kampong, the section
or hamlet Roworeke Asal is the oldest, and there
the grave-bone shrine of the Odja suku is located. It is the adat center. There also is
the tubu musu. Nuamere means the big village,
and this hamlet is where the kapitan lives.
Thus it is the administrative center. Still,
the ata nggaäh nua, the adat kepala kampong
(Bapa Ketjil) and his adi, the administrative
kepala kampong, live in Ae Utu (I think).

361 The present Nuamere was newly established
621 here in 1907. There had been a previous ham-
632 let Nuamere up the hill. The Dutch, however,
[648] as usual made most of the hamlets move down to
the road. Thus there is a general pattern here
that in each district there is a kind of
original kampong, and in each kampong there is
a sort of original hamlet. But it is not a
constellation arrangement as in Toradja country, where all the kampongs and hamlets spread
out from the center like a star. This is
truer of the kampongs than of the districts,
because the latter here are coming to be more
and more a coming together of independent
kampongs, some old and some younger. Thus

R
621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
● 632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are
still formed partly of suku or suku sections
coming in and joining the old settlers from
the negri lama.

443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series
as in Celebes. These wheels run in different
directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru,
and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The
traders follow the pasar week from market to
market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kam-
583 pongs, although there is gift exchange in
562 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male"
things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a
woman gives in return "female" things (cloth,
mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere,
and said that many had drowned there recently.
The water is deep, he said, and there lives a
"head" of a human being. It is still living
and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has
seen it several times, in daylight. It moves
around as though on short legs. It is just a
human head, with hair. They don't know what
it is or where it came from. However, the
people are now scared to bathe here. The vic-
tims have been sucked under. He asked me my
opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
[123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith,
because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu
if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere.
They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head
alone").

622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

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622 the Bapa ketjil. I might never have found this
693 out if I hadn't seen him dressed in adat cos-
624 tume coming into an adat meeting for a case
hearing. His younger brother is the admini-
[565] strative kepala kampong. (The kapitan says
[212] that if the kepala kampong did not come from
nobility the people would not follow him, and
so I can see that they choose a man of the
adat kepala kampong or ata nggaëh nua family
for the administrative kepala kampong and in
addition one who can read and write. Then
they can keep the old man in the adat post.)
Maybe there are cases of one man being both.
624 Thus in the kampong there are really five adat
622 officers: the ata nggaëh nua, the mosa laki
●632 mere, the giri tumba, the ndeto au, and the
693 sikesani. The administrative ones are the
kepala kampong and the oro kuni. The same
pattern holds for the district. The kapitan
is the administrative man, and then the mosa
laki mere besar acts as adat chief. This
might be the same man, I suppose. Then they
have the other big mosa laki.

The adat case came up at noon, and coming to it were the Big Four (here the Kampong Four too), the kepala kampong, the ata nggaëh nua, and the kapitan. The chairman and judge, the mosa laki mere, as well as others (e.g., the kapitan), could ask questions and keep things in line. The kepala kampong must be present too (evidently both kinds of kepala kampong). This case was one concerned with marriage. I must ask later what it was.

Kattenburg got some material on administration. Theoretically, the adat chiefs are supposed to be used for administrative posts by the government. But they are rarely so used evidently, and this causes the dual system: adat and administration. They may coincide at any point. Generally, I think that

R Generally, I think that
632 the government has not put adat chiefs (for
622 example, ata nggaëh nua) into administrative
624 posts. This also holds for the mosa laki. I
693 can think of the following possible reasons:
631 (1) adat chiefs are largely illiterate and cannot do administrative work therefore; (2) adat chiefs are largely pagan, and the mission, therefore, probably does not like them (indeed, one of the main ends of the mission is to do away with that devil, the tuan tanah; they usually say they want to do this because he stands in the way of progress and land reform, but this is a rationalization; it is like killing the Toradja death feasts because of immorality, when the real reason is that they constitute the main bulwark of pagan survival); (3) adat chiefs formerly and potentially even today are probably the centers of possible revolt against alien laws and government, and thus it is better not to let them have too much power. So they let them handle harmless adat cases. This is indirect rule on the adat level, taking all important functions away from them. Nevertheless, I note that the ad-
[565] ministrative appointees (who may be "elected" in a way) are always or nearly always of the adat chiefly families. Thus, here the kepala kampong is the younger brother of the ata nggaëh nua, and the kapitan is a noble of the adat lineage. They are literate and Christian (or Mohammedan) nobles of the old adat nobility.

Ngada and Nageh: The Ngada Y- or rather
231 U-topped upright, is used to run a buffalo rope
417 through. One end of the rope is attached to the neck of the buffalo and then passed through the U, and the other end is fastened to the stone post. Thus it is held taut when the buffalo is killed.

764 Ngada "resting places" along the road are
211 rectangular stone heap mounds, flat on top,

We
831 goat; and buffalo?). During other months they
614 may eat such food. This figures out to be
241 roughly about one half of the year. Some of
796 the ama have no nu'a luka, for example, Ama
784 Rere. Indeed, Roy says they must not be too strict about this system because there are plenty of holes in the ideal scheme. As we
115 were finishing up the work he got a note tell-
124 ing him to meet the Radja at the kakang's house for a conference. Evidently he is becoming a big man here. We are perhaps partly responsible.

He is making a map, and his daughter, who goes to the nun's school in Larantuka, is doing the drawing.

632 The next morning, Sunday, we went back, and
796 arrived while church services were being held. They expected the Radja to visit today, so they had removed a section of the fence to let his car in. He never showed up, which was a disappointment to them, as they were all waiting
[621] around. The name of the section of Wailolong where we saw the rite yesterday is Apukule(ng).

578 We asked about the bonds of friendship and
721 enemy relations here. It is clear that seven of the kampongs are always friendly, and are never at war with one another. The eighth, Riang Kamië, has been the traditional enemy of each of them in turn. They are all descendants of Lenurat, whereas the folk of Rian Kamië are descended mainly from Kroko Putang folk, mixed in with some Sina Djawa. Most enmity against Riang Kamië has been, as usual, by kampongs bordering Riang Kamië. Always, border wars are the most frequent here. Thus, Leloba, Wailolong, and Lewohala are involved. The traditional enemy kampong is Lewowitin. The others are brothers, just as in fact or legend their founders were.

The main causes of wars were, in order:

We

582 in other areas, or working in the gardens lo-
476 cated in another kampong. Here again, it is a
602 matter of marriage. Indeed, only if marriage
621 gives a person some sort of privilege to work in the other kampong does one usually engage himself in such work.

632 Relations between districts have not changed
582 much in recent years. If there are marriages
602 between the districts involved, the same situation obtains as between the kampongs just described. Similar situations are those involving different tribes. Bonds are formed if there are marriage links; if there are no such links there are no bonds. Trade is so small a [438] factor that it is unimportant in intercommunity relations.

186 The people here love their own kampong and
621 feel that they are lost when they are outside.
166 Figuratively and literally, they have no place in another kampong. They can see good in another kampong, however, and if they go elsewhere and return they tell about the good things there and may even adopt them themselves. Only the young people, and few of them, want to get out and see other places. Once they are married they never leave.

609 They say that if they leave their own kampong for another they become outsiders. They are then nipatale (beyond the fence). The other term used in suku terminology for outsiders is rere. It means "low." The opposite term, which also occurs among the suku, is belolong ("high").

578 All seven kampongs have been enemies of Riang
621 Kamiö. The seven have remained about the same
614 in relationship to each other, but tales tell a
173 bit about the ranking among them. Riang Kamiö was formed by a union of several kampongs which were separate formerly. These united into one kampong in defense against the Bai Pitu (seven

Wow

829 a small scale.

Everyone here knows the places in and the arrangement of the kampong and the district and the Larantuka town road. Perhaps only ten people know about the setup as far as Maumere, and probably only the guru is clear about the rest of Flores. Perhaps only two people know about the general arrangement of the geography of Indonesia. And except for a few place names and countries, no one knows about world geography.

One boy who is in the fifth grade knew the population of Indonesia, and he also knew the population of the United States! He was absolutely correct. Other people could not give this information, and as for other countries even he had no idea.

As usual we got a terrific reaction when we told them how few people there were in Holland. They muttered for several minutes. They said [797] that two men in Wailolong and one in Leloba [204] receive the mission paper. Perhaps ten other people borrow and read it.

484 521 203 The very few people who have visited towns outside of Flores are loquacious in telling about their experiences, mostly limited to kampong life. Others listen to this, but there is evidently very little reaction.

178 632 651 There has been just about no change in the political structure in the last fifty years here. The kakang and all others were here long ago. The kakang has shifted from one kampong to another and that's about all. The traditional system of government has seen little change. Taxation started forty years ago. Now they pay a tax of fl. 1.00 for each animal killed for food, and fl. 10.00 for each animal killed for sale. (This just about stops any chance of a meat-selling market or animal industry.)

000 Today there are more meetings and greater

346 This costs money, at least. With cleverness,
797 Pastor Krol told how the scheme is working to get the folk to sell their tusks in order to get money to contribute to the new church. This works on the grounds that the people were careless with their fire in the fields when there was a high wind, and this caused the burning of the church. It is all a wily game, and the pagans are lost.

797 This whole religious matter is endless. It
182 is the most powerful acculturation thing here,
769 and the whole weight of Catholicism is on the last few pagans. The guru is full of the propaganda of rationalization. For example, he says, how do we know where the ancestors are? If they led good lives they are in heaven; and if not, they are in the sea (hell). And if they were good they must be in heaven, even though they were not Catholic, because they knew nothing of the Word when they lived.

•632 The next day we started by clearing up a point
614 about the radja tuan. He may come from another ama than the No. 1 or waru'ing ama. Thus in Ama Datong suku the present Radja tuan is the kelake of Ama Radja, which is the No. 3 ama.

789 Roy said that not only officials have magic
565 power, but that also all members of the noble
171 families have some, though not so much as the
865 chiefs. They definitely have more than common folk. This is why one must show respect to the uppers. It is like Bone in Celebes, but less so perhaps. For example, they are very much afraid of hitting a noble child.

756 A sorcerer (molang) receives respect too,
754 even though his post is not hereditary. Some
[462] sorcerers, however, are noble. Sorcerers may be male or female, and indeed Roy thinks most of them are women. I asked how one got to be a molang, and he said that in general they get a call while dreaming. It is a matter of getting

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783 The people here must confess at least once a year.

666 There are only two elected representatives
●632 here and also in Wailolong. The only election
565 in the area is for the parliament. There is
634 also a kind of election for the kakang. The
622 choosers are the twenty-four kepala kampong of
[646] the eight kampongs. In the old days, although they got together, and went through the form of accepting the oldest son of the deceased or ejected kakang, it had to be the eldest son. Now they actually choose from candidates. The candidates must be of the proper nobility, so there aren't very many. Thus, when the previous kakang went out (he was ejected in 1938 because of a misdemeanor), there were three candidates: Roy, a man from Lewohala, and the present kakang. Roy says they were the only ones who were both noble and qualified. By the latter term he means that they were clever enough for the job. They had to be of the direct descending family of the radja tuan or kelake. The Radja of Larantuka is chairman of the electoral committee. Roy said that he does not force a choice, but lets everybody talk freely.

632 Then it came out that there have actually
634 been three phases in the kakang business: (1)
622 pre-1915: he merely represented the succession;
[178] (2) 1915--1938: a period of tyranny, when the radja simply chose whom he pleased. This was the period when the Dutch and the radja worked together, the dark years; and (3) 1938--present: election within limits. Roy knows the word "candidaat."

Nowadays the radja must accept the will of the kepala kampong. The last imposed kakang, of the Larantuka Radja family, was deposed in 1938. He had been chosen by the radja three years before.

[661] In 1924 Roy had been elected by the kepala kampong, but the radja would not accept him (in 1938 Roy was a candidate but was not elected). This is an example of radja tyranny.

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592 The oldest man is the head of the house, and his eldest son succeeds him. This is invariable. The eldest woman is the manager (nu'a luka rumah tangga). The eldest son's wife succeeds her.

783 673 It is interesting to note that both adat sins and church sins are kept track of.

509 We left Larantuka on Tuesday, January 9, and stopped that night in Maumere, so that Kattenburg can get his plane to Makassar on Wednesday.

286 On Wednesday I went on to Ende, and this took six hours, because I went to Sikka (didn't quite get there because the road had been torn up, although I did see Lela, which is near it). Sikka is really isolated, and the road leading there is poor. I noticed all along the road that there were women under or beside the houses weaving. This is true all over Flores. I noticed the drying of threads after dyeing, the looms, the wheels, the piles of cotton, etc. I note the same thing in Roworeke, Wailolong, Leloba, and everywhere.

634 661 439 789 769 I heard much about the radjas' shady business practices (led by the Radja of Sikka, but Larantuka is in on it too) in regard to the surplus distribution sold in Makassar and the copra smuggled into Singapore, etc. The Chinese are in on the deal. Some day these radjas will be out, and this will be better for everyone. I talked with Arriens[1] about them and he was doubtful that they have much magic power here, but I think there is quite a bit. It is perhaps not so directly electrical as in Celebes, but the respect hangs heavy, and they are the apex of the whole ancestor cult. This is true of Larantuka, and I suspect it is true of the other areas.

632 634 Arriens said there has been much trouble in Tana Ai, because they want their own kapitan, but Sikka evidently has his own ideas. Until

[1] [i.e., Controleur at Ende -- Analyst]

634
632 not so long ago there were three radjas there[1]: Until
177 Sikka, Kangaë and Nita, and there was trouble over putting Sikka in full power. This has never stopped. Arriens[2] agrees that the Dutch were a bit mad to chop things up this way. When he was new here the Assistant Resident sent him to Tana Ai to find out what the situation was. He found that the kapitan there had had a previous meeting with the kepalas warning them to say that everything was all right. Arriens pumped them and the whole thing came out. The Dutch, he said, met the radjas they liked and took their word to the effect that their areas were much larger than they actually were. (But why not try to make a better go of it later on, when they still were able to do as they pleased?) There is little excuse for the stupidity of the government. He has also
[661] heard of the fantastic behavior in regard to the rulers here, many of whom are crazy and others are certainly cruel. I can imagine the dirty work which goes on among the radjas. This must end.

697 In regard to the "jail parade" in Ruteng,
526 Arriens[2] said that in Kalabahi [on Alor], when it is Queen's Day, the regular event is a tug of war between teams of jail birds. They do this with a will, and after it each one gets a cake of soap.

R Roworeke: I started to work again here on
124 Thursday, January 11. It is depressing to be
624 with these inferior informants again after working with the guru Roy, but the secretary is better now since the kapitan is not here. Today two of the four mandurs of Roworeke were present and also the kepala kampong of Wolofeo. His kampong is located at kilometer 17 and is one kilometer up hill from the road. However, he has a house in Roworeke too. When he is away, the mandur is his deputy.

[1] [i.e., in Tana Ai--Analyst]
[2] [i.e., Controleur at Ende--Analyst]

5: Kennedy--212 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
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632 634 622 [177]

I asked first for the history of the kapitanschap here. I found that it is only about thirty-seven years old. That means that it dates from the Dutch entry (which began in 1907). And the kepala kampong dates from the same time. Before that they had only the adat chiefs, the mosa laki. The record:

1.	Present radja (Odja)	5 years.
2.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	1 year.
3.	Preceding radja (Odja)	2 years.
4.	Preceding radja (Odja)	11 years.
5.	Preceding radja (Odja)	15 years. (approximate).
6.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	3 years (approximate).
Total		37 years

Then we talked about the election of radjas, and I found out that the only "voters" are the nine kapitans and the nine mosa laki mere of the gemeente. The kepala kampong may attend, but he has no voice. This shows how important the mosa laki still are.

622 887 624

The ata nggaeh is not the adat kepala kampong as I had supposed. What happens is that in every kampong there is an old man who is called ata nggaeh, and he knows all about adat. He attends all the adat cases. Thus the man is Bapa Ketjil. The post is not hereditary, but is based merely on cleverness. It is that of the "adat master." His word outweighs even that of the kapitan in adat cases.

624 465

Each kampong has varying numbers of mandur, assistants of the kepala kampong. Roworeke has four of these assistants, Manunggo'o has two, etc. They receive no pay, but are tax free,

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302 178 (Note: One thing he mentioned as brand new is the matter of haircuts. In the old days they shaved the heads of the young, and some children still have these shaved heads. But the older people had their hair done in a long bob.)

624 All of the adat posts are the same today as they were before, and Migo said that indeed the most important man is the mosa laki mere, even now (aside from the kapitan, perhaps). The only post which is no longer kept up is the non-hereditary panglima perang, or atambani.

634 565 614 632 First there is the Radja of Ende. Then come the families or lineages of the mosa laki, which are strictly hereditary, in an eldest son succession. Thus the eldest of the eldest of the eldest, etc. This forms a kind of hereditary nobility, although it is not considered such. Aside from this, the suku have certain prerogatives now, and even before this was probably the case. And this leads to an important correction: It is true that any male member of the suku Odja or Rewarangga, and of these only, can become kapitan. He is chosen for cleverness (!). The Reandona suku has been trying to get a man into the kapitan's post for a long time, but unless Odja and Rewarangga agree, this is impossible. It is their business. This is why he originally wrote that every member of the Odja suku is "bangsawan." He thinks this is true in the other districts, but he is not sure. Certain suku have the pre-eminence in each district.

622 614 The kepala kampong post also must be within the suku Odja, and the best man gets it. He thinks this is the same for other kampongs. Thus in Worowai, the kepala kampong must be from the Rewarangga suku, etc. Thus even the elective offices must be within a suku which

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178 the fields might not have been arranged like the
342 places of the various panga or families in the old round houses. If so, it is beautiful.

592 The assistant says that in the old days when
614 perhaps all of one kampong lived in a single house, the panga were like families therein. That is, since then the panga have expanded into subclans.

632 I asked if perhaps, before 1870, the tu'a
622 tenu gelarang might not have been the highest
152 chiefs except for the alien Bima sultan. He thinks that this is probably so, as there was no dalu until 1870. Then I asked if maybe even yet the tu'a tenu gelarang might not really be more of a real head to the people than the dalu. He said that in the district, in all adat matters, especially land cases, the tu'a tenu was indeed supreme. And even the dalu would not dare to tread on his power in these respects. Then I asked if the dalu were all of Bima origin. He said he thinks so, but that the people are afraid to say so. I asked if any of them have family trees, and he said they must have them. Then I caught him, as I reminded him that his wife was of the "dalu" bangsawan! I asked if her ancestors were aliens. He, embarrassed, said yes, they are said to have been. She is of the Rahong dalu bangsawan. I pressed the case by asking whether her ancestors came from Bima. He said that it is said they were from Pulo Rintja! This is a practically uninhabited island between Flores and Komoda!

This remark about being afraid to say anything about the dalu led me to remark that Manggarai seemed to be a part of Flores which was always under alien rule. He looked a little startled, but saw the point. Evidently, any mention of these "imperialist" matters causes a fear reaction. This came out when I asked if perhaps the tuan tanah was really more powerful

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632 622 152 than the dalu. This, it seems, is the kind of thing that is not discussed!

I must get the dalu relationship straight.

634 I asked if there was really a Radja of Riung, and he said yes. He is on the same level as, for example, Nageh. He said that there has been a radja there for a long time. The radja there now is a Ngada, but the folk there are mainly Manggarai. The houses there are mostly 342 178 the old rectangular type (not the new style rectangular type which is coming in now) of East Manggarai. The round house area is West Manggarai, although there are round houses in East Manggarai too.

I noted that one of the three round houses in Ndung is going to be torn down shortly. Thus the new type house, which came in only about ten years ago, is swiftly replacing the round ones everywhere. I asked if, since originally Ndung 622 was a branch kampong of Weol, the tuan tanah there was not less in prestige than the tuan tanah of Weol. He said that in theory they are the same, but indeed the tuan tanah of Weol was like the older sibling.

614 114 It seemed to me that the va'u here are very large (e.g., va'u Weol has over two gelarang), and I told him so. He agreed and in fact said that he has found that there is a still larger genealogical unit (I must ask about this; maybe it is like the isi that Arndt[1] denies, but that Staveren[1] says is found in Ngada above the voi 685 there). On the way back to Weol I saw a buffalo with one of its rear legs hanging nearly off with a deep cut behind the knee. I was shocked and asked how it had happened. He said that the buffalo had broken into someone's garden and that the owner of the garden, who had become angry, had crippled the buffalo. He said that this is done frequently here. I can see how a feud could be started in this way.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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462 and goats.

There is no shame, however, if one has to do
[887] the work of the other sex. The old people
putter about, for example, the old women make
mats, and the old men carve spoons, etc.

426 If one borrows corn or rice, which is done
686 for the most part, interest is charged at the
rate of one hundred per cent annually. This is
redoubled each year, and if it is finally un-
paid, there may be a court case and the person
may have to pay a horse (the present price of
[435] a horse is fl. 200 and for a buffalo fl. 350).

Money is not borrowed. The reason they bor-
row rice and corn and why they do this from
kampong fellows is that many families are too
311 large. Land is now all divided. The kampong
511 is full. Therefore there is actual hunger in
November and December, when the crops are grow-
ing. Thus if the population continues to in-
crease, some will have to move. The reason
the Dalong folk repossessed one of the Radja's
gardens was that there was an actual shortage
of land. I didn't realize this trouble before.
There are actually poor people here because
the land is all occupied. Therefore, not even
new gardens are possible here. But no one
starves. I asked what the main worry was.
They said getting cloth. It is very hard to
get. Food is a worry only for some people.

465 There are no wage earners except for those
who do a bit of work in other people's gardens.
The present wage is fl. 1.00 a day. Before
even this was not done.

634 In regard to political life there were Bima,
632 dalu, gelarang, and kraeng (some kampongs), and
622 the tuan tanah fifty years ago. In 1940 there
624 were the Dutch, the radja (since 1929), the dalu,
gelarang, tuan tanah, and kepala kampong. In
1950 there are the radja, the dalu, the gelarang,
the tuan tanah, and the kepala kampong.

Wee

622 Rahong is just about the same as fifty years
624 ago, except for the kraeng kampongs which have gone out since about fifteen years ago. Also, there have been kepala kampongs since then. The organization runs as follows: Kampong: tuan tanah; kepala kampong; tuan panga; tuan mbaru. These form the kampong council. Some kampongs have the same man as tuan tanah and kepala kampong.

632 Gelarang: the gelarang (and they use the
614 title dangka for him, also) (one can't use "tenu" and "gelarang" at the same time; thus it is not "tu'a tenu gelarang"), and the kampongs below him are included. There is no council, and there are no scribes, secretaries, oppas, or anything else. The va'u is usually almost equivalent to the gelarang. But this is not always true. Thus va'u Veol covers both Ndung and Veol. And some branches of va'u Veol are in other areas, while, for example, a branch of Tjepang is in the Veol gelarang.

Dalu: dalu, dalu wakil, secretary, oppas, mandur, and the gelarang below. There is no council.

634 State: radja (the radja bitjara post is now empty since the former one died), secretary, oppas, mandur, and the office force. Again there is no council and no ministry. However, there is a Hakim Adat of Manggarai. The chairman used to be the radja bitjara, but now he is the radja's younger brother. The members, chosen by the radja, are four in number. At present they are Kraeng Dalu Ruteng, Gelarang Pau (the assistant's father), Gelarang Tenda, and a man of the Ruteng kraeng family.

692 Adat cases may be settled on the kampong, gelarang, or dalu level; or they may go up to the Hakim Adat.

648 The Dutch removed the death punishment,
681 double repayment in cases of theft, lampang and
634

648 other types of slaves, and a few other things.
634 They also put in the radja. Otherwise they did
[681] not make much change in the traditional administration. Bima was out, and this may be why there is not so much feeling against the Dutch here.

565 As far as nobility is concerned, there are
789 the radja, dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, but
756 they have no magic power. The kraeng says, however, that Todo and Pongkor sengadji used to have magic power (another sign of Makassar or Bima influence?). The mbako has magic power. The more I hear, the more I see that the mbako is really an important man.

622 The succession of radjas goes from eldest son
624 to eldest son or brother. The same holds for
632 the dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, and tuan panga.
634 However, the dalu wakil is chosen by the dalu, always from his family, I suppose. The kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu after sounding out the feelings of the kampong. Many of these are commoners. Some are also tuan tanah. The tuan mbaru is merely the old man of the house with influence. He is usually the oldest. This position is non-hereditary and is evidently a matter of age.

Thus we see that all of these are hereditary, with the only exceptions those of the new kepala kampong and the unimportant tuan mbaru and the obvious dalu wakil.

666 A recent innovation has been the election
646 of members of the Flores daerah parliament,
635 the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Flores.

There are five members from Manggarai, elected at large, but by electoral districts. There are five districts named according to the place where the electors meet:

(1) Ruteng (South Central Manggarai)
(2) Rekas (West Manggarai)
(3) Tjantjar (Central Manggarai)

634 166 361 into the hills with their Christian and pagan relatives and leave the lower lands for the Mohammedans.

632 634 771 578 I wonder if the kapitan of Nggobe, the fat and aggressive man, plus the kapitan of Rodja, who seem to be the right hand men of the Radja, may not form a triumvirate of Mohammedan rule here. The Christians rely on the priests to intervene (the Dutch are no longer here for appeal), and it will result in a funny situation if there is Mohammedan-Catholic trouble here. Note also that of the seven radjas here, only one (Ende) is Mohammedan; and one pagan (Ngada). The others are Christian (Manggarai, Nageh, Sikka, Lio, and Larantuka). This presents a curious pattern, especially when one considers that the RIS is mainly Mohammedan. This is similar to the Ambon situation. The Christian majority locally is in a difficult situation with the former local Mohammedan minority now in the majority group of all Indonesia. No wonder the Christians of Indonesia are frequently against independence.

632 829 The former kapitan is quite bitter, but he is clearly glad to see us and talked a lot to us about his troubles, with the obvious although vague idea that we might get the United States to help in some way. He was impressed by the United States elective system and especially gasped with pleasure when we told him that if a leader was not good to the majority of the folk he would not get reelected. He was also impressed with the fact that we told him there are no radjas. But I reminded him that his claim to office rested on inherited succession, and he began to think. They like succession when it is to their advantage, but see the useful points in the elective system when they can visualize that such a condition might ruin their rivals.

We

666 (4) Lingkoadjang (East Manggarai)
646 (5) Reo (North Central Manggarai).
635 There is one elector for each five hundred adult taxpaying males. Thus there is one for Veol, and one for Ndung (i.e., for the Ndung gelarang). The kraeng who "works" with me is an elector from Veol. To choose electors, all five hundred men come (or can come) to the place of the meeting. The dalu is the chairman, and the djurutulis sits apart and each man files past him and whispers his choice. He totals up the votes and announces the leaders. There may be four to six or more who become candidates for the position of elector. Then everyone files by again and whispers his choice. The winner is the one who gets the most votes.

From the Tjantjar district there are about one hundred and fifty electors (this means that there are in this area about seventy-five thousand "voters"). On the appointed day they come to Tjantjar (selected because it is on the road and centrally located), and a man from "the office" acts as chairman. Each elector gets a slip of paper and writes his choice on it. They are added, and the highest few are candidates. In the last election here there were three candidates: Dalu Rahong, a clerk in Ende named Hambur from Todo, and a guru from Ruteng named Tjangkung. The guru won, and became the Tjantjar area representative. Note that they can choose a man from anywhere in Manggarai. Conceivably all five members could be from one town! I think this is the English system too, i.e., a local representative need not be a local resident. Note that the dalu got on the slate (old influence) but didn't win (new influence).

634 I asked if there was any way to remove a
646 hereditary officer, for example, the radja.

We

634 646 They said no, but that there was much free talk against the radjas in the parliament now!

622 646 624 888 All hereditary posts are genealogically linked. Most of the kepala kampong are still old illiterates. Parliament members are mainly middle aged people (the oldest literates, therefore). Age is of no concern for the hereditary posts, as one person merely succeeds to the post after another. In the kampong, however, the old men have the most influence, and the young people keep their mouths shut for the most part.

[562] Women may not hold hereditary posts. Until now women took no part in elections, but they may change things here.

829 666 There is still only a very restricted political horizon here, and there is little knowledge about such things. But at least they have elections. This is very important. They start with an election. As they say in Celebes, they catch on fast. Veol is the center of the [614] gelarang, and Rahong is the center of the dalu, [632] and Ruteng is the center of Manggarai. They think nothing about the "place" of Manggarai in Flores; the radja is just a "big man." Beyond this they know practically nothing about the daerah, negara, etc.

648 Most of the people here thought the Dutch were all right and they were too uninformed to criticize them. Also, it must be remembered that they had been under the rule of Bima, and the Dutch at least drove Bima out. They did not even criticize the Japanese! They were simply not concerned. The great memory here is of Bima and slavery. They hate Bima.

609 Except for the pastors, everyone here knows of things and people who are Dutch only by name. Formerly they knew the local civil servants only slightly. They were always afraid of any new men who came here. This is true of my

F 114 C 634 han, which had no mandur or kitchen or bed. I set up a camp bed with the help of the Radja of Kolaka (who was waiting[1] for a Makassar ship with his family after six months banishment in Ruteng by the Dutch) and his assistant. I then went to the dalu's house where Degens worked for awhile. Then I had lunch with the dalu, a sullen young man, whose still living grandfather is the last radja naib of Reo.

F 634 565 632 578 The dalu was bitter about the Radja of Manggarai. He says that he should be radja, but that the mission put in a Catholic. He says that next to him the proper royal house is Tjibal, which is descended from Daeng Tamema of Reo. The proper royal house is not Todo, because Todo was under Bima only, and the Radja is only a dalu subordinate. He also said that his territory was very small, because the Catholics do not like Mohammedans, nor did the Dutch. Only he, the dalu of Pota, and the dalu of a couple of other coastal places are Mohammedan here. He told me a long story about the past, and why his line is the right one. He also said that the Do Donggo are descendants of Manggarai slaves in Sumbawa. He said that Reo, being Mohammedan, was not favored by the schools. In general, he is quite sore.

C 634 565 648 The Radja is a good man, and fed me. He told me a lot about the Celebes radjas returning now to Celebes after exile by the Dutch. He doesn't want to go back to Kolaka, because he said one would get "bodo" if one stayed there. He is traveling on government expense. He will seek an office job in Makassar. Kolaka and Kendari (Laiwui) are under Luwu.

F 505 On the last morning, part of the plaster wall fell down, and I am glad to be getting away. After watching the loading of animals all day at the beach, I got onto a float with the jeep (first loading of a car ever to take place in

[1] [i.e., in Reo --Analyst]

FIELD NOTES ON INDONESIA, 1949-1950

PART III

FLORES

Roworeke - Wailolong - Weol (Veol)

Flores (preliminary): I talked with Riekerk,
124 who was there three years ago, and got this:
647 The Assistant Resident at Ende is Twerida; the
485 Controleurs are Hettinga and Ariens; the Finance man is Fekkes. There are government station houses (pasanggrahans) at least in Ende, Detusoko, Wolowaru, Larantuka, Badjawa, Ruteng, Reo, and a place ten kilometers from Maumere.

Distances are: Maumere--Larantuka 130 km.,
131 Maumere--Ende 140 km., Ende--Badjawa 125 km., Badjawa--Ruteng 125 km., Ruteng--Reo 60 km. Running times, respectively, are 4, 5, 5, 6, and 2 hours.

634 The kepala daerah is the Radja of Sikka, Dom Tomas da Silva.

Possible kampongs for investigation are Sita,
124 50 km. south of Ruteng, or Ruteng kampong or one nearby, for Manggerai; Wologai, 50 km. east of Ende, and there is a pasanggrahan at Ndetosoko, 9 km. to the south, or a part of Ende itself, or Roworeke (population: five hundred)
161 near Ende in the hills, for Ende. The population of Ende is five thousand. The population of Maumere is about the same.

634 Kringa is the center of Tana Ai. There are many troubles here over the succession of the radjas and it has resulted in a number of difficult cases. He says to watch out.

634 Badjawa is the center of Ngada.
Boawai is the center of Nageh.

622 Kraeng Ngambut is the successor to the dead Radja of Mangegarai, but has not yet been installed.

631 In Flores there are many kapitanschappen, for example, there are two in the town of Ende. Other regions may be divided into kapitanschappen under kapitan, or into landschappen under more important rulers.

124 In general I did not get much information from him. I will see Pastor Raats, a member of parliament from Flores. Perhaps the radjas who are here now are going on the same ship to Ende. And Soumokil will send a cable to Papakai, a friend of his and possibly a member of parliament or something similar.

Flores: Before I left Makassar on December 12, three days late because of a ship strike and general irregularity of KPM, I went to see Pastor Raats, a member of the parliament from Flores. He is Dutch. He gave me some information about locations and general facts concerning Flores, but I did not learn anything very specific from him.

634 Following this we spent a wasted day and then on Monday, at 5 P.M., we sailed on a small ship "Kaimana". Most of the Flores radjas who had been in Makassar for a radja conference were on board this ship. The Sikka radja, Dom Tomas da Silva, appeared to be a spoiled and rather impolite person similar to the Arompone. He had a large mustache and looked like a Black Portuguese. I saw a photo of him in Levij's office and will receive a copy later. It shows him in a remarkable satin moujik blouse of black and with a Portuguese gold helmet. He is shown standing between two long upright elephant tusks.
634 He is decked out with gold stuff. He appears to
578 be vain and could be troublesome, but I heard

634 578 [648] that Flores is a hard place to be any kind of a ruler in because of the feuds between chiefs and radjas of all grades. The Dutch complicated matters by changing land borders, putting favorites in offices instead of proper candidates, and altering the borders of petty states. Thus at one time Sikka was a much larger territory, but then Ende was made independent and after that Lio split off from it, and Ndona made a further split. The same thing happened in Flores as in Ambon formerly: the weaker chiefs were raised up and the stronger ones were lowered. Later on, in Roworeke, I heard much about this and how often after a split or a revision of frontiers or putting in an improper man, the people would rebel either passively or actively, and the Dutch would come and tie ropes around the people's necks and take them off to jail. I was told that whole populations might be thus taken in. Thus, one man said, the people finally became very much afraid and did not dare to disobey the rules of the government. Hence there are plenty of old scores and sores here. Now I understand why Riekerk said I must not get mixed up in the feuds of the Flores chiefs.

634 142 Anyway, there was also a Radja of Adonara on board. He looked rather Ambonese, dark with wavy and almost kinky hair and a bony Papuan face. He was rather short too. He spoke a little English and seemed more intelligent than the others. This was a surprise as I have regarded Adonara as a really primitive area. The Radja of Larantuka, who the Controleur Ariens later told me was next to Sikka in power and prestige, seemed to be shy and dopy and rather moody. He has rather light skin and is very dolichocephalic with his head running to a kind of long cone in the rear. He has kinky hair which grows down on either side brow. The Radja

634 from Kupang was large, round, and of an almost
142 Caucasoid Negro type. He was very pleasant. He sweats a lot. Next to the Radja of Adonara, he seemed to be the most agreeable and the most intelligent. The Radja of Nageh Keo was obviously a minor radja in comparison to the others, while he was a nice lad, looking exactly like a Negroid Abdul Careem.

There were also two members of parliament, one from Larantuka but now resident in Ende, and the other from Kupang. They were young and agreeable lads. There was also the Radja of Ende, a smooth faced but dark fellow with straight hair. He looked a little like a dark Bao Dai. He was very pleasant and later helped a lot with getting a start in Ende. I had a few talks with these fellows, but I did not learn much.

122 We landed at Ende early on the morning of December 14, and I had to take the jeep off on a double barge. I drove it down the ramp to the beach.

As usual, the Information Office in Makassar had not sent the wire, or at least that is what the Dutchman said who met us. The Dutchmen who did come to meet us were Twerda, the Assistant Resident; two Controleurs, Ariens and Hettinga; and a Finance man Fekkes. The best one of these was the tall Ariens. All the radjas went
485 to the pasanggrahan and we nearly had to go to another one. Finally, however, we got a little room for two. We had lunch in state with the radjas at the pasanggrahan. The Ende radja was met by a delegation of hadjis recently back
771 from Mecca. The Ende radja is Mohammedan, and he told me later that in Ende the proportion of Christians to Mohammedans is about sixty-forty, but plenty of the people are pagan.

361 The town here is on a very picturesque bay,
133 with Pulo Ende rearing in it and with impressive

361 jagged mountains rising all around the town.
[133] There are also two amazing, high, flat topped volcanic peaks. One is called Gunung Medja. The town stretches along the shore, with plenty of red and yellow flowering trees. There is a large impressive alun-alun [field, plaza] going down to the beach in the center. Behind this are a number of good houses. On the east side is the market and on the west side are good
[342] houses too. The houses are well constructed and there was evidently not much bombing here.
[346] As usual, the high church is but a shell, as it was bombed, this time by the Australians.

485 I found that the town of Ende has practically nothing. There was no running water in the pasanggrahan except for a trickle in the morning.
[377] Electricity is weak and tends to break down.
443 The toko have very little in the way of merchandise. It is impossible to buy beer because the stores are out of it. The cigarettes from the distributie have all been used up and one now has to buy such items on the black market.
495 There is no gas pump, and I have to get gas at the V & W, which pours it out dirty from the tin. Because of this I have had trouble with the jeep for the first time. This is a real end-of-the-world-like place, although the appearance is
[132] rather nice. It is also extremely hot and humid, in fact it is the worst I have experienced yet. At midday it is like taking a Turkish bath here.

485 As usual, the pasanggrahan is not arranged for people who work or read. This is the Indonesian style.

● 634 The town of Ende is the only main town in the state. There is another state in the mountains, Lio, with a radja at Wolowaru. Then to the east is Sikka, with a radja, and east of that Larantuka, also with a radja. To the west of here is the Radja of Nageh Keo, and to the west of that the Radja of Ngada, at the capital

634 Badjawa (the capital of Nageh Keo is Boawai). The Ngada radja is an old style man with thirty wives who hunts and does nothing else. A relative, a wakil, does the work. To the west is the Radja of Manggarai, with the capital at Ruteng. The Dutch Controleur, Degens, also resides in Ruteng. The former radja died three to four months ago, and the new one has not yet been installed.

361 I began by riding out along the road toward Badjawa, and got to a ford about fifteen kilometers out. On the way I saw plenty of small and disorderly looking kampongs, with a definitely different arrangement and house style from 515 any other of the places I have been. Also, I noticed that the people here are slovenly, dirty, and strange in appearance. This is a real mongrel zone, and neatness is noticeably lacking in the people and in the villages. On 771 this west side of Ende in the coastal kampongs the people are mainly Mohammedan. On the east side and into the mountains they are mainly Christian. But in both cases, there are just about as many pagans, and sometimes the pagans are in the majority.

563 The next day I rode out to the east and into 361 the mountains as far as Ndetosoko, high in the 291 mountains. On the evening of the day before I 515 rode out to the other side of the Ende peninsula to Ipi beach. Along this stretch is a kampong made up mostly of Savunese. The houses are of a different style and the people are more like those from Roti in appearance (somewhat of a Hindu type), with sarongs having nice designs and horizontal patterns. I was told by the Controleur's wife that the Savunese are clean and are used here as babu, etc. The Savunese also keep their kampong clean and neat.

764 I stopped here and there along the road into the mountains of Lio and noted some remarkable

764 kampongs with plazas and tombs all over. The latter are usually rectangular stone piles with flat covers, which are evidently lifted in
342 order to put in more bodies. Some of the houses have high pitched roofs coming down to the floor on all sides. They appear to be hooded, and are rather ragged inasmuch as they use alang-alang grass for thatch. Some houses are simpler and follow a more usual design, but all have a different look from those in, for
[531] example, Celebes or Ambon. I saw no gaba-gaba here, but rice stalks are used in the same way and they look like narrower gaba-gaba strips. I
[778] asked at one kampong if they had pusaka houses, and the answer was yes.

[782] I have seen no offering posts yet. I stopped
797 to talk with the priest at Ndetosoko. He was named Nalles and has a church and school and is starting to plant coffee for the church. The nearby kampongs look pagan to me, but he says that about half of the population in these villages have been converted. It is the usual story: the older ones stay pagan. I talked
121 quite a while with him and he advised my choos-
124 ing a kampong near Wolowaru. We then went back toward Ende, and at 7 km. out we stopped at Roworeke. It is on the side of the road, and then we stopped at another kampong, Watu Roga. The whole place looked ideal, with old style houses, tombs in the plaza, primitive looking folk, etc., and it is all very near Ende. We talked with a couple of the men, and they said that the kapitan (district chief) was in the garden at kilometer 10. We said we would come back later. I decided to take this kampong, or rather this double kampong.

634 In the afternoon we went to see the Ende radja.
124 There was a large gathering there including five Chinese, two hadjis (one kapitan of Nggobe, the northern half of Ende town, and the other from

634 Keo), and the kapitan from Gunung Rodja (the
124 southern half of Ende town). After a long sales talk, the Radja offered all of his aid and said that on the next morning the kapitan of Gunung Rodja (evidently a kind of crony of the Radja, and one who usually wears an overseas cap, even while eating) would come to the pasanggrahan and take us to Roworeke. Meanwhile I asked a-
[611] bout Tana Ai, and they knew that it was matrilineal. Then the hadji from Keo said that it was matrilineal too, which was news to me. Then I asked about Wolo Wae, and they said it was in the mountains to the north, in Ende.
614 They seemed to think it was matrilineal too. I
582 then asked about clan exogamy and they said
178 that Mohammedanism was breaking it down, just as had happened in Tulehu in Ambon. But as in Ambon, clan exogamy is kept by the Christians here.

583 Incidentally, the priest in Ndetosoko said
178 that the Catholics are in favor of keeping the
797 bride price, as it strengthens marriages.

We finally left, and the next morning the
124 kapitan of Gunung Rodja appeared without his overseas cap. We got into the jeep and went to Roworeke, but the kapitan there was again in the garden. We went to kilometer 10 and saw the kapitan with several men wading across the river to the garden on the other side. We called him back and he got in suspiciously and we then drove back to his house. There he called the kepala kampong of Watu Roga. This fellow was a relative of his, an old man with an old sarong and short betel teeth, who looked somewhat like a Toradja. Later he called the djurutulis [scribe].

I gave a long sales talk and the kapitan
124 warmed up. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja helped
634 out and was quite enthusiastic. He is evidently
632 a powerful man, but the Controleur says that the

124 really most powerful man in Ende is not the Radja
●634 but the fat and rather fresh hadji kapitan of
632 Nggobe (a descendant evidently of the age-old tuan tanah Ambu Nggobe, the ancestor of Ende). Anyway the talk went well and I settled down to getting some basic facts.

634 The border between Ende and Ndona, which is
621 part of the state of Lio, is along the road in
648 front of the kapitan's house. On the other side, in Lio, is Watu Roga. These are really twin kampongs, and there is much intermarriage, and the clans are all intertwined. That is, the Watu Roga are really Endenese, and the border should be at the river Ndona behind Watu Roga. Behind this there is a natural boundary between Ende and Lio, a high ridge. But the Dutch for some reason in 1924 cut Watu Roga away from Ende by moving the border a few hundred feet west and along the road. The people of Watu Roga were recalcitrant and would not follow the Lio radja, but the Dutch came and tied ropes around their necks and hauled them off to jail. They finally gave in, but they still feel more like Endenese. This explains why the fellow yesterday said that the Watu Roga folk are in Lio and the Roworeke folk are in Ende. This is true in administration, but socially they are both
632 Endenese. The kapitan of Rewarangga (the one in Roworeke), however, should be kapitan of Watu Roga too, but he isn't, and the latter kampong falls within the kapitanschap of Ndona, far off and under the Lio radja. This is mad on any grounds, including social, cultural, and personal feelings of the local people.

621 Anyway, I found that Ende has nine kapitan-
632 schappen: Gunung Rodja (the southern half of Ende town), Nggobe (the northern half of Ende town), Barai, Rukuramba, Numba, Nangapandan, Tangadje, Pulo Ende (the island in the bay) and Rewarangga. This last is the kapitanschap here, and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.

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632 most extinct, with only about twenty members.
614 The kapitan is elected by the orang besar of the eighteen kampongs in the kapitanschap.
634 The Radja of Ende is also elected, in this case by the orang besar of the whole state. This means that he is elected evidently by the kapitan. I must inquire further about this matter.

632 The present kapitan is a nephew of the former
578 kapitan. He was chosen because the son of the former kapitan was not satisfactory. I noted that as I asked about this there seemed to be some embarrassment and I wonder if perhaps there was not a little fuss attached to the selection of a new kapitan even in the past. This seems to bear out the evidence for a feud pattern of which I see so much at first glance in Flores. Anyway, both the radja and the kapitan are elected with a tendency to heredity in the male line. They are elected by the officers of the sections of their domain. It is similar to the electors of Goa.

583 They say that the bride price is necessary
614 for marriage, and that the price is really high.
476 They say that some people go bankrupt in order to pay the bride price. Nevertheless, everyone
237 in the suku helps the man pay his bride price and in turn all helpers are later helped. This bride
[436] price is a clan affair. Formerly the price had to be paid in elephant tusks and in gold pieces called wea. Now most of the tusks are gone be-
[727] cause they have been sold or stolen (during the Japanese time). There are still quite a few of the gold pieces left, however. There were hundreds of thousands of tusks in Flores before. Sikka used only very long ones, but in this area they evidently used both long and short tusks. They are remarkable and I must learn more about them.

614 Marriage is exogamous as far as suku are con-
582 cerned and residence is patrilocal. They did
[591]

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778 I asked if there were no rumah pemali here. They then called it rumah berhala and said that there was none in either Watu Roga or Roworeke. They said there is one at kilometer 17, two kilometers up on a hill. It is the rumah berhala of Wolofea. They said that in it are many pictures painted by the ancestors and that it is big. The people who care for it live nearby. I would like to see this and may have the time to do so.

142 On this tour we saw plenty of good looking folk, especially the proto-Malay female type. Some were handsome. Many were bare to the waist.
736 Many were children. The kapitan said there are many orphans here, perhaps ten per cent of the children, because so many die. They are taken care of by others.

721 They said there used to be lots of wars here.

342 Then we went back to the kapitan's house and thence took the secretary along the road to Ende, and along this road are Aibou and Aiutu. The latter is a magnificent place with high houses. They said that this is because the Japanese did not level them in this place. This is the best
634 house area. The secretary went to his section,
621 Wolomere, on the Watu Roga side of the road.
578 Just beside the kapitan's house is an upright stone. It is said to be the boundary marker between Watu Roga and Roworeke. However, it is in from the road on the Roworeke side. Evidently, from his statement, although the road is the boundary of Lio and Ende states, Watu Roga has a slice on the Roworeke side of the road in Ende territory. This shows again the senselessness of putting any of Watu Roga in Lio. He said that there were many disputes, and when he ascended to the kapitan post he would put a marker up and then put his house half in Watu Roga territory and half in Roworeke. Thus he is "neutral." This again
[181] seemed to show up rivalry and the disputatious nature of these people.

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000 the loss of time in such slow questioning.

632 578 634 614 624 There has been much fighting in the past over the election of a kapitan. In the case of a deadlock the radjas have stepped in and settled it, but this is dangerous because sometimes the people have refused to accept such an imposed choice. Again I see the troubles and feuds around here. The rivalry seems to be between suku. For example, they said that Reandona suku has always been trying to get into the kapitan position, but has never succeeded. I wonder if perhaps the mosa laki were not once actually suku chiefs. I asked the old giri tumba about this and he agreed but probably didn't understand me. And yet there seems to be a connection. Be-
[178] fore the Dutch came, they say that the mosa laki mere was the kapitan and the giri tumba the kepala kampong of Roworeke. Thus the mosa laki mere was the top man and the giri tumba was the kampong chief. As for the other two (ndeto au and sike sani) they said that there were these offices too in the old days.

773 173 614 Then I tried to get onto the subject of the old origin legends in Roworeke. They said that long ago before the Dutch came the mosa laki mere here was of the suku Rewarangga; the giri tumba was of the suku Odja; the ndeto au was of the suku Nggonggora'ba, and they did not know the suku of the sike sani. This mention of Nggonggora'ba led me to ask about the whole business.

The kapitan started the story. In the beginning there were five siblings who came from Java, four brothers and one sister. The four brothers were Rewarangga, Reandona, Nggonggora'ba, and Gasiradja. The sister was Djedjedjo. The last went to Nggobe. Gasiradja went to a mountain kampong in the gemeente of Nggobe. The kampong was named Woroapo. Rewarangga settled in Roworeke, and he was the eldest brother and the most powerful of the siblings. Reandona took over authority in

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793 if they do anything against Catholicism, the guru
178 tells the priest, and the latter or the bearded
797 bishop will condemn them to hell. Thus the threat of hell fire keeps them in line, and the priests are no better than the old witch doctors. This is why so much of the old religion is dying
F out fast.

●634 In the afternoon, at the Radja of Sikka's house, we met the wakil radjas of Ngada (the old Radja has many wives and hunts all the time), Manggarai (a Hindu type, the man with two wives, a Catholic), and Nageh. These plus the new Radja of Lio and several others will meet tomorrow at the pasanggrahan.

F Note on the "office" of the kapitan at Rowo-
344 reke: While we were talking a horse entered the office from the rear and stood there attracting flies. After a long while the secretary went out and chased the horse away.

A Note on Ambon: In Makassar, I met Drop, who
753 said that he had never heard of Baier, former
789 Controleur of Piru, Ceram, having had a matakau cause trouble for him, as I was told in Ambon. I remember it was said that old Gaspersz met him and his face was twisted and his eyes crossed after he unsuspectingly ate a bit of a snake which was cooking in the Ceram hills. The story in Ambon was that within a week he was stricken agonizingly and had to be removed to Makassar where the doctors could not tell what the cause was. Evidently, the truth is, or at least seems plausible, that he was sick when Gaspersz met him and looked bad. He was then told the story about the snake, and Gaspersz with true superstitious Ambonese imagination, filled in the whole business, which then grew with each retelling. I got it from Rehatta finally. Drop said there was nothing wrong with Baier now. Of course, this is a couple of months later, and he may have been worse before.

We
511 as I see more of this country. This area is terribly poor and overcrowded, full of stones, and has little water. The girls and women have
[312] to haul water for Leloba from the coast, which is three kilometers off. And there is little food in the town. They are really hungry.

Vatter told of great illnesses here, and I
164 can see many examples of this today. Sore eyes
511 are terrible and probably caused by lack of vitamins. There are many children with large bellies, skin sores, etc. Nowhere before have I seen such misery in regard to mere existence. Last year, a priest told us later, there was a famine here. And now I can see how vital the old rainmaking and the practices of the tuan tanah must be here.

797 At the mission headquarters in Larantuka we
●634 were told that it is hard for the mission to
661 make plans here, because every time they get an
423 improvement, for example, in the land system,
427 the radja comes in and seizes the best land.
624 Also the tuan tanah stands up against all changes, and he is a "chiseler" also. Thus if they have a project which brings acres of improved land, the bigwigs wait until the work is done on it and then take the best part for themselves. The local people thus lose their land and many have thus been forced to work on the radja's land or for other big men as sharecroppers. Evidently the common division here is one-fourth of the crop for the sharecropper. The priests seem to regard the tuan tanah, who is the ritual and adat leader, as the worst.

622 We had some gin with the priest and then went
159 to the house of the guru Roy. He was Vatter's[1] assistant, and his house is the biggest in the kampong. He could be the kepala kampong, but because he is a guru, he passed the post on to his younger brother. They belong to the Hurin suku, which is different from the usual thing,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

769 or ngadu. These and the bhaga, which I could
346 not see clearly but which are evidently merely minature rectangular houses for female ancestors, are notable features in just about all of the Ngada kampongs. Arndt[1] says the bhaga are empty, but I wonder. These two sorts of structures are erected by the prosperous folk to show respect and honor to their dead ancestors. Each one is given the name of the ancestor. Evidently, a person may build one for himself.

They are always built in pairs, one male and one female.

159 The very fat Radja of Ngada came to the
●634 pasanggrahan in a uniform with shoulder epau-
224 lets, four stripes, and above this a cluster
[292] looking like a sunburst. The uniform was white and not unlike that of a KPM captain. He can't write, and is still a pagan, but he says that his children are Christian. He is very jolly and although tolerant I can see that he thinks little of the missions. He also criticized the forced labor which the Dutch demanded for road work when he was young. He said that anyone who wouldn't follow orders, including the radjas, was jailed or deposed. He is the man who joked about the Dutch and the "modern" Florenese. He never does much in administration,
[595] but likes to hunt and has many wives. He told us that he has many children and grandchildren. He gets in trouble with the government for burning the vegetation in deer hunts. He said it is necessary to kill deer as otherwise they would hurt the gardens. This land has practi-
311 cally no trees on it, but consists mostly of
[137] [133] rolling naked hills as a result of overburning.
[224] Maybe the priest was right who said that he thought they were a hunting folk before and in those days they burned off the whole area in
[241] deer drives. Now they burn off the vegetable

[1] [See pp. 366-69 of Arndt as cited in bibliography, Cat. 113 -- Analyst]

311 cover for agriculture too, and this causes a
241 great, economic problem.

114 He[1] said that much of Arndt's[2] and other scho-
124 lars' findings were wrong as they use Christian
159 gurus as assistants, and the latter do not tell
634 them exactly what the old men say. The young
assistants "doctor up" the information. They
also misunderstand some of the old ideologies.
This was one of many implications in his talk
that showed he was not uncritical of the Chris-
tians. He has been radja longer than any other
in Flores, thirty-one years and seven months.
In his youth he was a Dutch army man too. He
says that there was no road built when he was
first made radja but the mission was already
there. He also says that he is the most impor-
tant radja in West Flores, although all of the
royal families here are interrelated. He says
he represents the older sibling branch, and
Nageh and Manggarai radjas are the younger sib-
ling branches. It is true that the Manggarai
radjadom dates only from 1929, and before this
there were only dalu, three of whom were most
powerful.

194 The Radja speaks Malay with remarkable
gutteral sounds which Arndt[2] says are character-
istic of Ngada folk. They also have at least
one implosive, as in bhaga. He has his house in
the kampong Radja, not far from the town.

361 The town is notably modern in appearance, with
797 the mission influence as usual. In the center
there is a large plaza where the football field
[485] is located, as usual. The pasanggrahan is a
622 good one, and the mandur looks like a nickel-
634 head Indian. He was in the army once too and
served in Sumatra, especially in Atjeh. He is
evidently a friend of the Radja, as he enters
[565] and talks with him freely. The Radja mixes
443 freely with the people here, as we noted at the
pasar malam. The latter, to which we went at

[1] [i.e., the Radja of Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

721 whips. Later the mandur of the pasanggrahan,
555 a Manggarai man from kampong Ruteng, said that girls especially like a man who has knocked out another's eye with a whip.[1] It looks like a head-hunting pattern, but so far I have gotten no response on the subject of head-hunting, and the priests say it did not exist here even in former times. I must check on this.

[126] We took photographs, and one of them was of
634 the Radja. He was a bit drunk, and said that
273 the dancers were hot inside too. He made what
537 seemed to me to be an unnecessary speech to
609 the men around him to the effect that we were Americans and not Dutch and as to why we were here. Later he said he was busy as this was the day of the kampong folk. He said he would see us later so that if we needed any help we could call on him, and he could also warn us of possible dangers. The latter reference was vague, and I can't see the point. He called a lad who came with a bottle of brandy and we had drinks in front of a great crowd. He wore a songko, which is strange for a Christian radja. Evidently, from what we hear, the Radja here has been in for only a short time, and this one is both young and new, as his father died recently (maybe not his father?)

614 Then we went back to the pasanggrahan and
582 talked with the mandur who said that in the Ruteng kampong there is still plenty of the old culture. He said it is possible to marry inside the va'u (this is the correct spelling) or outside. He said marriages usually occur outside. He said something about how if one partner was from the older sibling branch of the va'u and the other from the younger sibling branch, they may marry (could it be that here we have a subclan?) The assistant says they have panga inside the va'u, and he gave his own as the first, which I think means the older branch. Thus

[1] [i.e., during the ritualized mock warfare games; see p.92, cat. 116 --Analyst]

We

614 All the people in Weol gelarang are of va'u
166 Weol. There is one exception, the va'u Tjepang. These folk came in before from Boleng, in North Manggarai. They settled in kampong Weol, but when things became crowded, they went below to kampong Tjantjar. The latter alone has many people who are not of the va'u Weol, except for real newcomers, such as the Ruteng folk in Ndung, who came to work in the gardens (evidently as coolies) and settled down. There are many outsiders in the mixed and new kampong Tjantjar.

614 The original ancestors of the va'u Weol came
773 out of a bamboo at a spot near the present spring
824 below Weol. There are bamboo trees there de-
784 scended from the original one. The original ancestors were a pair: Vako Dangka and Ine Karas. Not only is the bamboo taboo but also the lusa (red beans). For example, if a child eats these unwittingly, a fowl must be killed. They do not "cut off" the tongue symbolically with a leaf as is done in some other areas.

614 Women from other clans marrying into Weol
784 must take on the taboo of their husbands. A
562 Weol woman marrying into another clan may eat
783 lusa, but only after performing the rite called ela penteng pitak, which means "to clean off the mud." She must take on the totem taboos of her husband's clan. The woman marrying into Weol gives up her own taboos, but must also do the ela penteng pitak. This ceremony involves a pig sacrifice. Thus every woman marrying into another clan must do this rite to give up her own totems. The name of the totem taboo is tjek'ki.

565 There is a nobility which applies to the
632 radjas, dalu, and gelarang. The gelarang are
624 the tuan tanah (and kepala kampong) of the cen-
622 tral kampongs of the gelarang districts, for
[634] example, Weol. Thus Weol has two gelarang, and Ndung has only one, because the kepala kampong

114 We
[585] exactly the same rites and all moves are the
[565] same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas'
[784] word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate
[614] ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).[1]
[286] In addition to the technical totem taboos given by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 I note on the map that place names recur
614 often all over Manggarai, especially not far away. These are clan names, which are given to kampongs founded by split offs from the mother kampong. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 The mandur said there is criticism of the
578 Radja today because he is not "one hundred per
632 cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of
648 Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, al-
186 though somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud of this Minangkabau story while at the same time it may harm them in light of Manggarai nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes[1] says that when the Dutch were trying to select a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not a contented area and that the people there wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may see a possible chance of paying off old scores. This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where self-governing setups led to exploitation of lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may try to raise themselves up to a parity level and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask questions, and they will reply without first going through a translator. However, the reply

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

243 where around the earthen plaza there are Every-
251 corn drying racks set upright on tall piles. They
looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the
peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it
were two great slabs set upright. In the cen-
ter of the plaza was a finely carved peo with
shelleyes. It was set in cement.

From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
132 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However,
124 when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from
Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of
two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we
had to stay overnight at the house of a former
kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the
oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see
the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of
Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
●634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan.
He constantly brings up the case with the govern-
ment, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and
his cronies are taking everything. There is
only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewar-
anga). He said the great majority of gemeente
Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed
from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And
now they are asking the Christians to move up

634 166 561 into the hills with their Christian and pagan relatives and leave the lower lands for the Mohammedans.

632 634 771 578 I wonder if the kapitan of Nggobe, the fat and aggressive man, plus the kapitan of Rodja, who seem to be the right hand men of the Radja, may not form a triumvirate of Mohammedan rule here. The Christians rely on the priests to intervene (the Dutch are no longer here for appeal), and it will result in a funny situation if there is Mohammedan-Catholic trouble here. Note also that of the seven radjas here, only one (Ende) is Mohammedan; and one pagan (Ngada). The others are Christian (Manggarai, Nageh, Sikka, Lio, and Larantuka). This presents a curious pattern, especially when one considers that the RIS is mainly Mohammedan. This is similar to the Ambon situation. The Christian majority locally is in a difficult situation with the former local Mohammedan minority now in the majority group of all Indonesia. No wonder the Christians of Indonesia are frequently against independence.

632 829 The former kapitan is quite bitter, but he is clearly glad to see us and talked a lot to us about his troubles, with the obvious although vague idea that we might get the United States to help in some way. He was impressed by the United States elective system and especially gasped with pleasure when we told him that if a leader was not good to the majority of the folk he would not get reelected. He was also impressed with the fact that we told him there are no radjas. But I reminded him that his claim to office rested on inherited succession, and he began to think. They like succession when it is to their advantage, but see the useful points in the elective system when they can visualize that such a condition might ruin their rivals.

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829 assistant said that he just did it, and that it was a revelation to him. They simply do not think in such diagrammatic terms.

769 186 The ancestor cult is strong here and there are many stories about it, but it is not used to glorify the place. In fact, there is no real pride as such. They are simply satisfied as they know nothing else. There is no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village.

178 There has been very little change here in regard to the expanding horizons of social and economic contact.

721 578 178 The old wars and head-hunting continued until recently. Wars seem to have been caused mostly over border disputes, so far as they can remember. Heads were taken as a sign of victory. But I got very little regarding a real head-hunting cult. They said that the heads were placed on the borders, evidently on the borders over which the war had been fought. [789] [266] They said voluntarily that they ate the hearts of enemies in order to increase their magic power. They are quite clear and vivid about this. The hearts were removed through an incision in the back under the shoulder blade. The main enemies were Nggobe and Rodja, but there is no hostility now. More seldom, war was waged against the Lio folk. Spears and [411] guns were used, and formerly bows. Bows were used especially by the Nggobe folk. Circular shields were made of buffalo hide and wood. There were alliances of mutual aid too. For example, Rewarangga (Worowai) and Odja (Roworeke) were in such an arrangement. Also, they [634] went to war for the Ende radja who paid wages for this.

721 634 The radja bitjara (a post no longer present in Ende; he was a kind of minister of foreign relations) (and he was able to talk all lan-

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721 guages and thus carry on negotiations) would
[634] request soldiers. Such wars were usually
against the coastal folk on the north, that
is, Lio and Ende there. In the old days, just
721 about every outside kampong was considered
484 dangerous and it was seldom that a trip was
578 made there unless a bond of friendship existed
178 between one's kampong and the area visited.
[608] Now all of these kampongs are friendly. Still
I note that they don't like to sleep all night
outside the kampong. This is especially true
of the old folks.

829 Note on ideas concerning the "place" of the
local kampong in the world: In just about
every kampong, when I ask about the ranking of
world countries in population, they do not
know what to say (although a young boy knew
that China was the largest), but at once the
assistant and others get paper and copy down
the exact ranking from me with figures. They
evidently want to spring the question on other
people and stick them. It does show a definite
curiosity about these things.

608 The people here have a sort of pela bond
574 between kampongs, or at least they did at one
578 time in the past. They do not drink the blood
178 of each other as in Ambon, but they hold a
feast and drink the blood and eat the hearts of
the animals killed. And they eat together.
They pledge that they will not war against each
other and that they will show a certain degree
of hospitality to each other. Thus Roworeke
has such a bond with Waturoga, Waturoga with
Ndona, etc. This was all in the past, and I
didn't find out if there are any survivals.
I think there are, because the guru from Ndona
said that it is easy for him to live in Watu-
roga as his kampong had a bond with it. In
addition, he married in.

721 War was tabooed by the Dutch in 1908, and
648 since then there have been no wars.
656

We Today there are more meetings and greater
208 effort to get the opinions of the people. This
●634 is especially so since this Radja came in about
178 eleven years ago. Formerly, the radja merely
663 ordered things to be done and paid no heed to
648 the local requirements, etc. Also, the radja gets around to more areas now. (We noted that the Radja is making a good-will tour, and probably all of them are scared of another Java.) He said that there is a much closer arrangement between the radja and the people now. Formerly the Dutch and the radjas worked together very closely, and anyone who spoke up was simply jailed. I can see this is as in Ende, and the Dutch here until the end used the jail as the solution for everything. They wouldn't listen to anything else. If the radja and Dutch work together the result is tyranny, and it is real here.

There is more justice here now, they say. They say this began about eleven years ago with the present Radja. But this may be out of respect, and they admit that the real change has taken place here since the war. The war really liberated Indonesia. There is no more use of brute force. People can speak up now.

789 We had a long talk about magical power. They
769 say that the power of the chiefs, from the radja
622 to the adat kepala kampong to the kepala suku to
[753] the kelake, is all a matter of fear of ancestral punishment. If they do not obey, they
[752] become sick and have misfortunes. The magical power comes mainly from the ancestral spirits, but it is funneled through the magic stones of authority too. The curse power of an adat chief is very great. The power of the purely administrative chiefs, for example, the kepala kampong, who does not deal with adat, and the kalang, is that of the police, etc. This is actually not so because all of the chiefs are of the proper succession. If they ever tried to put one in

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783 The people here must confess at least once a year.

666 There are only two elected representatives
632 here and also in Wailolong. The only election
565 in the area is for the parliament. There is
● 634 also a kind of election for the kakang. The
622 choosers are the twenty-four kepala kampong of
[646] the eight kampongs. In the old days, although they got together, and went through the form of accepting the oldest son of the deceased or ejected kakang, it had to be the eldest son. Now they actually choose from candidates. The candidates must be of the proper nobility, so there aren't very many. Thus, when the previous kakang went out (he was ejected in 1938 because of a misdemeanor), there were three candidates: Roy, a man from Lewohala, and the present kakang. Roy says they were the only ones who were both noble and qualified. By the latter term he means that they were clever enough for the job. They had to be of the direct descending family of the radja tuan or kelake. The Radja of Larantuka is chairman of the electoral committee. Roy said that he does not force a choice, but lets everybody talk freely.

632 Then it came out that there have actually
634 been three phases in the kakang business: (1)
622 pre-1915: he merely represented the succession;
[178] (2) 1915--1938: a period of tyranny, when the radja simply chose whom he pleased. This was the period when the Dutch and the radja worked together, the dark years; and (3) 1938--present: election within limits. Roy knows the word "candidaat."

Nowadays the radja must accept the will of the kepala kampong. The last imposed kakang, of the Larantuka Radja family, was deposed in 1938. He had been chosen by the radja three years before.

[661] In 1924 Roy had been elected by the kepala kampong, but the radja would not accept him (in 1938 Roy was a candidate but was not elected). This is an example of radja tyranny.

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592 The oldest man is the head of the house, and his eldest son succeeds him. This is invariable. The eldest woman is the manager (nu'a luka rumah tangga). The eldest son's wife succeeds her.

783 673 It is interesting to note that both adat sins and church sins are kept track of.

509 We left Larantuka on Tuesday, January 9, and stopped that night in Maumere, so that Kattenburg can get his plane to Makassar on Wednesday.

286 On Wednesday I went on to Ende, and this took six hours, because I went to Sikka (didn't quite get there because the road had been torn up, although I did see Lela, which is near it). Sikka is really isolated, and the road leading there is poor. I noticed all along the road that there were women under or beside the houses weaving. This is true all over Flores. I noticed the drying of threads after dyeing, the looms, the wheels, the piles of cotton, etc. I note the same thing in Roporeke, Wailolong, Leloba, and everywhere.

634 661 439 789 769 I heard much about the radjas' shady business practices (led by the Radja of Sikka, but Larantuka is in on it too) in regard to the surplus distribution sold in Makassar and the copra smuggled into Singapore, etc. The Chinese are in on the deal. Some day these radjas will be out, and this will be better for everyone. I talked with Arriens[1] about them and he was doubtful that they have much magic power here, but I think there is quite a bit. It is perhaps not so directly electrical as in Celebes, but the respect hangs heavy, and they are the apex of the whole ancestor cult. This is true of Larantuka, and I suspect it is true of the other areas.

632 634 Arriens said there has been much trouble in Tana Ai, because they want their own kapitan, but Sikka evidently has his own ideas. Until

[1] [i.e., Controleur at Ende -- Analyst]

634 632 177 not so long ago there were three radjas there[1]: Until Sikka, Kangae and Nita, and there was trouble over putting Sikka in full power. This has never stopped. Arriens[2] agrees that the Dutch were a bit mad to chop things up this way. When he was new here the Assistant Resident sent him to Tana Ai to find out what the situation was. He found that the kapitan there had had a previous meeting with the kepalas warning them to say that everything was all right. Arriens pumped them and the whole thing came out. The Dutch, he said, met the radjas they liked and took their word to the effect that their areas were much larger than they actually were. (But why not try to make a better go of it later on, when they still were able to do as they pleased?) There is little excuse for the stupidity of the government. He has also [661] heard of the fantastic behavior in regard to the rulers here, many of whom are crazy and others are certainly cruel. I can imagine the dirty work which goes on among the radjas. This must end.

697 526 In regard to the "jail parade" in Ruteng, Arriens[2] said that in Kalabahi [on Alor], when it is Queen's Day, the regular event is a tug of war between teams of jail birds. They do this with a will, and after it each one gets a cake of soap.

R Roworeke: I started to work again here on 124 624 Thursday, January 11. It is depressing to be with these inferior informants again after working with the guru Roy, but the secretary is better now since the kapitan is not here. Today two of the four mandurs of Roworeke were present and also the kepala kampong of Wolofeo. His kampong is located at kilometer 17 and is one kilometer up hill from the road. However, he has a house in Roworeke too. When he is away, the mandur is his deputy.

[1] [i.e., in Tana Ai--Analyst]
[2] [i.e., Controleur at Ende--Analyst]

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632 I asked first for the history of the kapitan-
• 634 schap here. I found that it is only about
622 thirty-seven years old. That means that it
[177] dates from the Dutch entry (which began in
1907). And the kepala kampong dates from the
same time. Before that they had only the
adat chiefs, the mosa laki. The record:

1.	Present radja (Odja)	5 years.
2.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	1 year.
3.	Preceding radja (Odja)	2 years.
4.	Preceding radja (Odja)	11 years.
5.	Preceding radja (Odja)	15 years. (approximate).
6.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	3 years (approximate).
Total		37 years

Then we talked about the election of radjas, and I found out that the only "voters" are the nine kapitans and the nine mosa laki mere of the gemeente. The kepala kampong may attend, but he has no voice. This shows how important the mosa laki still are.

622 The ata nggaeh is not the adat kepala kam-
887 pong as I had supposed. What happens is that
624 in every kampong there is an old man who is
called ata nggaeh, and he knows all about adat.
He attends all the adat cases. Thus the man is
Bapa Ketjil. The post is not hereditary, but
is based merely on cleverness. It is that of
the "adat master." His word outweighs even
that of the kapitan in adat cases.

624 Each kampong has varying numbers of mandur,
465 assistants of the kepala kampong. Roworeke
has four of these assistants, Manunggo'o has
two, etc. They receive no pay, but are tax free,

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462 the men. If a woman gets sick, a man may fetch
[286] water, and some men like to cook. The only
thing which is purely a woman's occupation is
[285] weaving. There is no mat or basket making
here. This is done only in the mountains.

426 Small debts may be accumulated among the
kampong folk. Thus if a man has fl. 10.00 he
lets it be known that he will lend it, and he
does so at interest. People seldom borrow more
than fl. 5. For one month for this amount they
must repay fl. 7 to fl. 8. Thus there is a
fantastic amount of interest. The Chinese will
lend only if the borrower has some form of se-
curity, for example, a gold decoration. He
charges the same rate. There were and are no
government pawn shops here.

465 There are about five men who work as coolies
178 in Ende town. These are the only wage earners.
The kapitan receives pay, and the secretary
gets a very small amount. The kepala kampong
gets eight per cent of the tax yield (this is
bad). The mosa laki mere gets meat at all
feasts. He also receives rice. Fifty years
ago there were no wages at all.

443 There are two Chinese stores (at kilometer 6
and kilometer 8). There are eight warong, six
owned by the papalele Ende folk, and the other
two by the guru agama and the kepala kampong.
They sell the same merchandise as the Chinese
stores but have smaller stock.

622 The posts of kepala kampong and kapitan are
● 634 new here. This is true also of their mandur.
578 The radja has always been here as a post.
There have been changes in the borders too.
Thus there is no more Radja of Ndona. The family
lives near the bridge but no longer has the post.
(All over Flores there must be these fragments
of old-time ruling families, and there is a
great deal of potential trouble here unless the
whole radja complex gets cleared away.)

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302 178 (Note: One thing he mentioned as brand new is the matter of haircuts. In the old days they shaved the heads of the young, and some children still have these shaved heads. But the older people had their hair done in a long bob.)

624 All of the adat posts are the same today as they were before, and Migo said that indeed the most important man is the mosa laki mere, even now (aside from the kapitan, perhaps). The only post which is no longer kept up is the non-hereditary panglima perang, or atambani.

634 565 614 632 First there is the Radja of Ende. Then come the families or lineages of the mosa laki, which are strictly hereditary, in an eldest son succession. Thus the eldest of the eldest of the eldest, etc. This forms a kind of hereditary nobility, although it is not considered such. Aside from this, the suku have certain prerogatives now, and even before this was probably the case. And this leads to an important correction: It is true that any male member of the suku Odja or Rewarangga, and of these only, can become kapitan. He is chosen for cleverness (!). The Reandona suku has been trying to get a man into the kapitan's post for a long time, but unless Odja and Rewarangga agree, this is impossible. It is their business. This is why he originally wrote that every member of the Odja suku is "bangsawan." He thinks this is true in the other districts, but he is not sure. Certain suku have the pre-eminence in each district.

622 614 The kepala kampong post also must be within the suku Odja, and the best man gets it. He thinks this is the same for other kampongs. Thus in Worowai, the kepala kampong must be from the Rewarangga suku, etc. Thus even the elective offices must be within a suku which

000 showing the basis of the elective system here.

In regard to Roti, the radio repair man said that there are seventeen radjas in the island, and all are jealous of each other's rights. It is more civilized than Savu, where there are still plenty of pagans. In both islands the main food in the mountains is sugar water. And the islands are so overpopulated that they will fight even over a bit of wood to cook sugar from a palm. This is why, Arriens says, so many people from Roti are outside, and many of them are in the government too. They are clever and are forced to leave because of the population problem.

Roti is hard to deal with as they are always having lawsuits. Every new controleur is the signal for all of the old cases to be brought up again, for generations back. The recent controleur broke down under the strain. They also spied on him, even looking at what his boy bought in the market. They are terrible troublemakers. I remember Nunuhitu saying in Makassar that his family was just getting under way again on an old lawsuit, and this time he was determined to win. Thus it is an example of the feud pattern under the pressure of great need. And there is some of the clan business too.

634 661 The radjas here are operating on a small scale, and have to make their own way, for example, Nageh has plenty of gold articles, but it is ceremonial property and cannot be sold. He has part share in a movie in Ende, along with the Chinese. The Radjas of Sikka and Larantuka are evidently in a smuggling business and in also on the sale of distribution supplies with the Chinese.

511 515 Why don't the children have their noses blown? Mrs. Arriens has a good answer, aside from general filth. It is that there is no

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614 tions. He put down just about everyone as
565 bangsawan, with the only exception being the
624 slave descendants and the absolute newcomers to the kampong. That is, everyone with suku membership who had a land privilege was included in the category "nobles." This means that there is no nobility properly speaking. Thus the mosa laki offices are really only the eldest branch of the eldest branch, etc., of a lineage.

565 This reminds me that when I asked whether
624 the kapitan of Nggobe (whose ancestor Ambu
634 Nggobe of the legends and who was the first
789 tuan tanah here) might not really be a bigger
173 man than the Radja, they said that he could well be that. Indeed, the tuan tanah of Nggobe is legendarily the biggest man here, according to the folk tales. And Rodja is big too. But then so is the Djawi descendant, the radja. Anyway, they are clear that the tuan tanah here are really the old ranks, and the radja is simply elevated to his present post only in recent history. This is probably why the radjas' hold is so weak here. They have no magic power and never were really higher than the tuan tanah. Thus the people here dare to rise against them at any time. What they fear is the government which stands behind the radjas, as well as a certain amount of respect and whatever the radjas have of ancestral claims according to the old adat scheme. When I mentioned the magic practices of Bone and the heaven-descent sanction of radja power in South Celebes, they seemed astonished. I am convinced. If there has developed any real royalty feeling here, it is rudimentary.

614 I asked whether perhaps there is a main man
624 of each suku. They said that the big man of Odja is the giri tumba, and of Rewarangga the mosa laki mere. In other kampongs and suku

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I note also that

554 there is a kind of mark of "upperness" in the
[177] wearing of European shirts by the men! This
[291] probably holds for the European dress worn by
some women too.

195 Roy says that in Larantuka town there is a
high and a low language, but I wonder if this
may not mean that there is merely a polite
idiom. Here in this area they all speak the
same language, but use fancier language in the
[554] ceremonies. The only titles are those of the
listed posts. One must be respectful to the
uppers.

614 The whole rank system depends on genealogi-
565 cal descent. There are no rules in regard to
interclass marriage, and everything depends
upon the suku system.

634 The Radja of Larantuka is a descendant of
565 the Ili, just as the other folk are. He is a
bit mixed up with Timor, via Pategolo. And
the Radja kedua is from Kroko Putang. However,
the entire upper "nobility" is really inte-
grated with the commoners. That is, there is
no heaven descent. They are just like the
other people, except genealogically they are
ranked a bit higher. All power also depends
on descent.

In 1905 the first guru of Leloba, Bala,
793 started his religious work. He had been con-
verted before this at the school in Larantuka.
At that time there were priests in Larantuka.

In 1912 a church was built at the kampong
361 lama of Riang Kamiö (this is another example of
how much and how recently these kampongs have
been moved from place to place). In fact,
only in these years, all kampongs except Lewo-
neda were still in the hills. Wailolong was
moved from the hills to the beach in 1913. At
that time a guru was sent to Wailolong, and in
1922 or 1923 Wailolong moved to the present lo-
cation.

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632 622 152 than the dalu. This, it seems, is the kind of thing that is not discussed!

I must get the dalu relationship straight.

634 I asked if there was really a Radja of Riung, and he said yes. He is on the same level as, for example, Nageh. He said that there has been a radja there for a long time. The radja there now is a Ngada, but the folk there are mainly Manggarai. The houses there are mostly 342 178 the old rectangular type (not the new style rectangular type which is coming in now) of East Manggarai. The round house area is West Manggarai, although there are round houses in East Manggarai too.

I noted that one of the three round houses in Ndung is going to be torn down shortly. Thus the new type house, which came in only about ten years ago, is swiftly replacing the round ones everywhere. I asked if, since originally Ndung 622 was a branch kampong of Weol, the tuan tanah there was not less in prestige than the tuan tanah of Weol. He said that in theory they are the same, but indeed the tuan tanah of Weol was like the older sibling.

614 114 It seemed to me that the va'u here are very large (e.g., va'u Weol has over two gelarang), and I told him so. He agreed and in fact said that he has found that there is a still larger genealogical unit (I must ask about this; maybe it is like the isi that Arndt denies, but that Staveren says is found in Ngada above the voi 685 there). On the way back to Weol I saw a buffalo with one of its rear legs hanging nearly off with a deep cut behind the knee. I was shocked and asked how it had happened. He said that the buffalo had broken into someone's garden and that the owner of the garden, who had become angry, had crippled the buffalo. He said that this is done frequently here. I can see how a feud could be started in this way.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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565 the old adat:
621 (1) The dalu rule, centering on Bima.
174 (2) The kraeng rule, centering on Todo and
177 Pongkor.

177 Thus the locals may have been merely under a
565 double rule, and the actual supremacy of Todo-
621 Pongkor or Bima was never really resolved. It
634 may be that it was like the Madjapahit situa-
[174] tion in outlying areas: the local princes were partly to a largely degree independent and oppressed the locals (the Todo-Pongkor ones here), and the proconsuls of the central government got what they could for the sultan (the dalu). The question remains, whence the dalu? And I must find out whether the dalu family trees are the same as those of the kraeng. Note, incidentally, that the radja is of the Todo kraeng.

It may be that there is a strange unassimilation of rule here. There is the radja, whose supporters would be the kraeng scattered all over (and I heard the first day that "there are a few kraeng of the radja's family now in Tjantjar; they have gotten land there." I wrote at the time: "Any story here?" There seems to be one. Now comes the question whether the dalu
[578] work with the radja, or are still a bit independent, as sort of survivals of the Bima days (and the Dutch days that replaced Bima)? And what of the gelarang? Are they more for the radja or for the dalu? Or are there no tensions at all?

578 I remember that the Radja when he was a bit
634 drunk during the feast told us that he would
565 advise us and tell us of possible dangers, etc. My guess is that all is not peaceful and happy here. Why? There seems to be no real exploitation any more, but perhaps there is a remembered resentment against the kraeng. And the mandur said that the Radja was not really Manggarai,

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565 but a Minangkabau. He belongs to a soccer
●634 team called ATOM (Anak Tanah Orang Manggarai).
578 Is there any "nationalistic" resurgence under the merdeka stuff here? Who would lead? There are only the gelarang. I can see a good chance for elective democracy here, because (1) the old adat system lives, and its class levels are minimal (as the assistant says, the gelarang are "middle"), (2) the dalu may represent Bima rule (and the assistant insists that they are of alien origin), (3) the radja represents the oppression of the kraeng of Todo and Pongkor. Thus the old shakiness of the Flores radjas is even more remarkable here, and the radja is very new anyway.

[124] But the assistant is not ready to talk. I tried to stir up things by saying that perhaps in twenty years there would be no more radjas in Flores. But I think the lesson of oppression has been too recent. It will take a little time for the revolution, if any, to get going in Flores.

565 The kraeng said, when I asked if there was
614 any difference in looks between the classes,
[576] that it was a matter of manners (he said it was a matter of with whom one associates) and money. But he said that you can tell by the manners. I get a definite impression that the kraeng are proud, and perhaps a bit snobbish. I then tried to get at the class business via the clans. I got this, which jibes with the kampongs, as the kampongs are largely clan units, although there is some mixture:

(1) There are one hundred per cent gelarang va'u, e.g., Veol.

(2) There are one hundred per cent leke va'u, e.g., Adjang and the other formerly lampang kampongs, Levat, and the other formerly sekontu va'u, and Lerong, and the other formerly mangko' pitu va'u.

565 (3) There are one hundred per cent kraeng
614 va'u, e.g., Puruk.

(4) There are one hundred per cent dalu va'u, e.g., Rahong.

(5) There is a radja va'u, of kraeng rang, i.e., Todo.

174 The history may be something like this:

(1) Originally, and until about three hundred
621 years ago: the gelarang tuan tanah district
565 chiefs were in, with kampong ramifications.

●634 (2) About three hundred years ago until 1900:
648 the period of Todo-Pongkor kraeng conquest, with also some Makassarese rule from the north (Goa) and Bima rule also.

(3) 1909--1929: Dutch rule without radja.

(4) 1929--1941: Dutch rule with radja.

(5) 1941--1949: Japanese, and later Dutch influence, the latter putting in the East Indonesian negara.

(6) 1949-- : The new Indonesia, with the Dutch gone, but the radja still here, as well as the dalu and the kraeng.

The only real power still alien in this area is that of the Todo-Pongkor kraeng (radja). What will happen?

582 I checked over the marriages in Veol and
614 Ndung, but the assistant will get the va'u of the inmarrying women. However, it looks as though there is no pattern. Looking only at the kampongs whence the inmarriers came, I can find just about no system; the twenty-seven women who married men of Veol came from twenty different kampongs (highest frequency was three). The four men who married women of Veol and came here to live are from three kampongs (highest frequency two).

The twenty-nine women who married men of Ndung came from twenty kampongs (highest frequency four: Tjumbi; another three: Tjara).

The nine men who married women of Ndung and

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166 no bride price or come for some other cause; and those who have come to "work in the gardens" and have settled in the kampong.

166 425 624 This last category accounts for the many outside couples. Thus I discovered that they can sell land to people from outside, with the consent of the tuan tanah, who, so far as the assistant knows, never makes any trouble over this. The person merely informs the tuan tanah that from now on the tribute from his field such and such will be paid by so and so. There are families which have sold all of their land, but this is rare. They usually sell a part of the lands. What happens is that once a new garden is laid out (and most of the gardens here are in the star shaped pattern) and the tuan tanah has divided the wedges among the families, the assigned section belongs to the family until or unless it is abandoned, whereupon the claim lapses and it is given to another family. The family can sell its garden land (so assigned) to anyone, with notification given to the tuan tanah. The outside people are those who have bought land here, and have come to live here. Thus the assistant, whose family land is in Pau, has bought land in Tjantjar and has moved there.

425 624 This led to a discussion of the division of land. Only when a new garden is laid out is the lodok pole set up. The tuan tanah stands here when he divides the wedges. Each family must get a slice, or perhaps if there are too many families and thus the wedges would be too small, some families await their turn when a new garden is laid out. Once the lodok is used, it stands until it falls. Then a stone is placed at the navel, and there each year the rites of the garden are held.

[565] [634] [661] Then came the "low-down" about the radja. I asked how then do the kraeng get land? Do they

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425 stand with the families and get a share, like
624 any ordinary person? This led to the usual
565 wild look and obvious reluctance. Then he
634 came through. The truth is that the kraeng
661 don't get their land directly, but rather, when a new garden is laid out, the radja just says, I'll take this part. It may be a quarter or even half of the pie. And he pays nothing. Then he gives pieces of the land so requisitioned to members of "his family," of whom there are hundreds, and more swarm out of Todo and Pongkor all the time. They pay nothing. Now I see why the kraeng yesterday said that a privilege of the kraeng is to get land anywhere in Manggarai. This seems to be a real burden, and is at least a racket. I can see where, if there is enough open land, a kraeng or anyone else might be given pieces; but the chiseling evidently comes from the fact that they get cleared and nicely laid out land after a lot of hard work has been done on it.

And now I can see perhaps why the priest in Larantuka said that the tuan tanah and the Radja work together (though this seems to be a strange combination, it might take place in Larantuka because the Radja is a kind of big tuan tanah himself and is part of the whole native tuan tanah system; i.e., he is the Kottang of the state), and as soon as the poor folk have cleared the land, the radja steps in and says, "I'll have this piece," and takes the best part. Perhaps the priest linked the tuan
[578] tanah in here because he naturally hates the tuan tanah, who are anchors of whatever paganism is left. This is why I'd like to know here whether the tuan tanah likes the kraeng and the radja and dalu (but the latter is a "different breed") or whether he grudgingly gives what he must.

We In regard to the Radja and the land matter,
425 I finally got it straight. The radja and kraeng
565 used to take what they wanted, worked or un-
634 worked. Also, they used to make the lampang
661 work the unworked fields and gardens. Starting
466 about two years ago there has been no more free
178 labor, but the radja and the kraeng must pay wages. If anyone resisted before, he and the whole family could be enslaved instantly. Even now, they can generally get undeveloped land for the asking when a new field is laid out, but they must work it themselves or pay laborers wages. They do not need to pay for undeveloped fields, any more than the local folk have to pay for them. But other aliens, like the assistant here, must buy such land. If the radja or kraeng wants to obtain developed land today, he must pay for the labor done on it. Even the last remaining privilege, to ask and get a piece of undeveloped land, is in danger. A year ago, in Dalong, the folk took back from the radja a piece of land that had been given him and that he had worked. Thus the old privileges die under merdeka.

565 All of the above information about the dalu
624 being here only since 1880 is wrong. Coolhaas 1
167 has reported that dalu were in Manggarai in
174 the eighteenth century. Their origin is unknown. The assistant says that they all came from overseas. The gelarang were merely tuan tanah. The kraeng were among the dalu. They were originally the dalu of the Todo-Pongkor area. Thus the dalu have been here for a long time. They were evidently pro-consuls of Bima and Makassar (which fought long over Manggarai). The pastor says that he thinks some of them were originally locals who were elevated, and others came from the outside. The assistant insists that their family trees are different from those of the gelarang. Maybe they represent a partly elevated gelarang and partly kraeng from Todo-

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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462 and goats.

There is no shame, however, if one has to do
[887] the work of the other sex. The old people
putter about, for example, the old women make
mats, and the old men carve spoons, etc.

426 If one borrows corn or rice, which is done
686 for the most part, interest is charged at the
rate of one hundred per cent annually. This is
redoubled each year, and if it is finally un-
paid, there may be a court case and the person
may have to pay a horse (the present price of
[435] a horse is fl. 200 and for a buffalo fl. 350).

Money is not borrowed. The reason they bor-
row rice and corn and why they do this from
kampong fellows is that many families are too
311 large. Land is now all divided. The kampong
511 is full. Therefore there is actual hunger in
November and December, when the crops are grow-
ing. Thus if the population continues to in-
crease, some will have to move. The reason
the Dalong folk repossessed one of the Radja's
gardens was that there was an actual shortage
of land. I didn't realize this trouble before.
There are actually poor people here because
the land is all occupied. Therefore, not even
new gardens are possible here. But no one
starves. I asked what the main worry was.
They said getting cloth. It is very hard to
get. Food is a worry only for some people.

465 There are no wage earners except for those
who do a bit of work in other people's gardens.
The present wage is fl. 1.00 a day. Before
even this was not done.

634 In regard to political life there were Bima,
632 dalu, gelarang, and kraeng (some kampongs), and
622 the tuan tanah fifty years ago. In 1940 there
624 were the Dutch, the radja (since 1929), the dalu,
gelarang, tuan tanah, and kepala kampong. In
1950 there are the radja, the dalu, the gelarang,
the tuan tanah, and the kepala kampong.

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622 Rahong is just about the same as fifty years
624 ago, except for the kraeng kampongs which have gone out since about fifteen years ago. Also, there have been kepala kampongs since then. The organization runs as follows: Kampong: tuan tanah; kepala kampong; tuan panga; tuan mbaru. These form the kampong council. Some kampongs have the same man as tuan tanah and kepala kampong.

632 Gelarang: the gelarang (and they use the
614 title dangka for him, also) (one can't use "tenu" and "gelarang" at the same time; thus it is not "tu'a tenu gelarang"), and the kampongs below him are included. There is no council, and there are no scribes, secretaries, oppas, or anything else. The va'u is usually almost equivalent to the gelarang. But this is not always true. Thus va'u Veol covers both Ndung and Veol. And some branches of va'u Veol are in other areas, while, for example, a branch of Tjepang is in the Veol gelarang.

Dalu: dalu, dalu wakil, secretary, oppas, mandur, and the gelarang below. There is no council.

● 634 State: radja (the radja bitjara post is now empty since the former one died), secretary, oppas, mandur, and the office force. Again there is no council and no ministry. However, there is a Hakim Adat of Manggarai. The chairman used to be the radja bitjara, but now he is the radja's younger brother. The members, chosen by the radja, are four in number. At present they are Kraeng Dalu Ruteng, Gelarang Pau (the assistant's father), Gelarang Tenda, and a man of the Ruteng kraeng family.

692 Adat cases may be settled on the kampong, gelarang, or dalu level; or they may go up to the Hakim Adat.

648 The Dutch removed the death punishment,
681 double repayment in cases of theft, lampang and
634

648 other types of slaves, and a few other things.
634 They also put in the radja. Otherwise they did
[681] not make much change in the traditional administration. Bima was out, and this may be why there is not so much feeling against the Dutch here.

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789 the radja, dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, but
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634 However, the dalu wakil is chosen by the dalu, always from his family, I suppose. The kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu after sounding out the feelings of the kampong. Many of these are commoners. Some are also tuan tanah. The tuan mbaru is merely the old man of the house with influence. He is usually the oldest. This position is non-hereditary and is evidently a matter of age.

Thus we see that all of these are hereditary, with the only exceptions those of the new kepala kampong and the unimportant tuan mbaru and the obvious dalu wakil.

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666 (4) Lingkoadjang (East Manggarai)
646 (5) Reo (North Central Manggarai).
635 There is one elector for each five hundred adult taxpaying males. Thus there is one for Veol, and one for Ndung (i.e., for the Ndung gelarang). The kraeng who "works" with me is an elector from Veol. To choose electors, all five hundred men come (or can come) to the
632 place of the meeting. The dalu is the chairman, and the djurutulis sits apart and each man files past him and whispers his choice. He totals up the votes and announces the leaders. There may be four to six or more who become candidates for the position of elector. Then everyone files by again and whispers his choice. The winner is the one who gets the most votes.

From the Tjantjar district there are about one hundred and fifty electors (this means that there are in this area about seventy-five thousand "voters"). On the appointed day they come to Tjantjar (selected because it is on the road and centrally located), and a man from "the office" acts as chairman. Each elector gets a slip of paper and writes his choice on it. They are added, and the highest few are candidates. In the last election here there were three candidates: Dalu Rahong, a clerk in Ende named Hambur from Todo, and a guru from Ruteng named Tjangkung. The guru won, and became the Tjantjar area representative. Note that they can choose a man from anywhere in Manggarai. Conceivably all five members could be from one town! I think this is the English system too, i.e., a local representative need not be a local resident. Note that the dalu got on the slate (old influence) but didn't win (new influence).

634 I asked if there was any way to remove a
646 hereditary officer, for examplo, the radja.

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634 646 They said no, but that there was much free talk against the radjas in the parliament now!

622 646 624 888 All hereditary posts are genealogically linked. Most of the kepala kampong are still old illiterates. Parliament members are mainly middle aged people (the oldest literates, therefore). Age is of no concern for the hereditary posts, as one person merely succeeds to the post after another. In the kampong, however, the old men have the most influence, and the young people keep their mouths shut for the most part.

[562] Women may not hold hereditary posts. Until now women took no part in elections, but they may change things here.

829 666 There is still only a very restricted political horizon here, and there is little knowledge about such things. But at least they have elections. This is very important. They start with an election. As they say in Celebes, they catch on fast. Veol is the center of the gelarang, and Rahong is the center of the dalu, and Ruteng is the center of Manggarai. They think nothing about the "place" of Manggarai in Flores; the radja is just a "big man." Beyond this they know practically nothing about the daerah, negara, etc.

[614] [632]

648 Most of the people here thought the Dutch were all right and they were too uninformed to criticize them. Also, it must be remembered that they had been under the rule of Bima, and the Dutch at least drove Bima out. They did not even criticize the Japanese! They were simply not concerned. The great memory here is of Bima and slavery. They hate Bima.

609 Except for the pastors, everyone here knows of things and people who are Dutch only by name. Formerly they knew the local civil servants only slightly. They were always afraid of any new men who came here. This is true of my

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864 very sure about this. Nothing is a mystery.

178 There have been no changes in the last fifty
565 years in regard to social classes here, except
634 that the kraengs have lost their power, and
621 that Bima is no longer in. Also, the radja is
567 now superimposed. But the regular classes are the same, and even the kraeng still get a bit of respect, although this has suffered a marked decline. Note that the Radja is a Todo kraeng, and I can see that he tries to do the best he can for his enormous "family" by getting land for them, etc.

Cornelius lists in his notes:

tu'a kilo	household head
tu'a mbaru	house head
tu'a panga	lineage chief
tu'a tenu	va'u or kampong chief
tu'a beo	elders of the kampong, collectively
gelarang	who is also a tu'a tenu
dalu	district ruler
radja	new Manggarai ruler
ata leke	commoner
ata mendi	slaves who were bought or captured
ata lampang ata sekontu ata mangko' pitu	other slaves

The general term for "population" is ro'eng.

651 In the old days a tax was paid to Bima in
567 slaves (taki). It is remembered that three
661 men from Veol were taken off in this fashion,
178 but it is not known where they were taken. Others were taken as slaves because they didn't behave correctly toward the Bima dignitaries.
[689] Enslavement was evidently a great form of punishment here for any infringement in showing the proper respect to authority. Today there are no more "slaves"

797 We are the ones who most often get lost to the
183 church, and they are the ones who fight bitter-
578 ly against the church. Perhaps here Mohamme-
595 danism might have an advantage, but the pig necessity at ceremonies would stop it cold. These people can get along without more than one wife, but without pigs the whole ritual life would be unthinkable. Thus each church has its weakness.

● 634 The first Radja of Manggarai, Baruk, was
595 put in by the church, actually. He was a
797 Catholic. The present one has two wives, one
578 of them a Minahasan. The mission is worried.
183 This is why the radja is only a deputy or acting radja and not a full radja. The mission runs Flores and will not agree to let him become a real radja as long as he remains a polygamist. The mission is on the spot. Probably the present man will never get the full status. This is checked by Degens, the Controleur.

Later, in Waingapu, Oudehand, the former Controleur in Larantuka, told me that the Radja of Larantuka also has several wives and keeps them, although he is "Catholic." One of them, the head one, is the daughter of the Sikka Radja.

This is all beautiful material in regard to acculturation and Catholicism. The Catholics are as tolerant as they can be, but they can't accept polygamy.

554 Note: The title nyora (from Portuguese sen-
177 hora) is used here as in Ambon for the guru's
171 wife. I don't know whether it is also used, as in Ambon, for a chief's wife.

771 There is no Mohammedanism here, and no tendency toward Mohammedanism. Polygamy would work out all right, but the pig taboo would be very difficult indeed.

162 Degens says that the population of Manggarai is about one hundred and ninety thousand. Of these, about ninety thousand are Christian.

F 114 C 634 han, which had no mandur or kitchen or bed. I set up a camp bed with the help of the Radja of Kolaka (who was waiting for a Makassar ship with his family after six months banishment in Ruteng by the Dutch) and his assistant. I then went to the dalu's house where Degens worked for awhile. Then I had lunch with the dalu, a sullen young man, whose still living grandfather is the last radja naib of Reo.

F 634 565 632 578 The dalu was bitter about the Radja of Manggarai. He says that he should be radja, but that the mission put in a Catholic. He says that next to him the proper royal house is Tjibal, which is descended from Daeng Tamema of Reo. The proper royal house is not Todo, because Todo was under Bima only, and the Radja is only a dalu subordinate. He also said that his territory was very small, because the Catholics do not like Mohammedans, nor did the Dutch. Only he, the dalu of Pota, and the dalu of a couple of other coastal places are Mohammedan here. He told me a long story about the past, and why his line is the right one. He also said that the Do Donggo are descendants of Manggarai slaves in Sumbawa. He said that Reo, being Mohammedan, was not favored by the schools. In general, he is quite sore.

C 634 565 648 The Radja is a good man, and fed me. He told me a lot about the Celebes radjas returning now to Celebes after exile by the Dutch. He doesn't want to go back to Kolaka, because he said one would get "bodo" if one stayed there. He is traveling on government expense. He will seek an office job in Makassar. Kolaka and Kendari (Laiwui) are under Luwu.

F 505 On the last morning, part of the plaster wall fell down, and I am glad to be getting away. After watching the loading of animals all day at the beach, I got onto a float with the jeep (first loading of a car ever to take place in

[i.e., in Reo --Analyst]

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634 I asked if there was any way to remove a
646 hereditary officer, for example, the radja.

R

521 At feasts, when the old rites are put on,
178 the old people reminisce over the old days and
887 the old ways, especially when they get drunk.
Then they are mournful.

562 There are no women in politics. They do not
641 come to the election meetings and have no voice
in the government. They are not even reckoned
in when the population is totaled to determine
the number of electors. They have no political
representation, and Nigo says that everyone
would be against having women take any part in
politics. It is simply not right.

829 He says that they are stupid here. By this
he means only a few people know anything or
ever say anything about Flores or Indonesian
politics. And even about the local affairs they
say almost nothing. It is starting today, and
there are a few people who are thinking a lit-
tle. But how absolutely rudimentary it is!
This is the most backward place yet, by far.

Locally the people have a vague idea that
Roworeke is the most important kampong in the
district, because it is the center. The fact
is, and the kapitan and a few others know this,
that rank and influence of the districts in
Ende is in the following order: Nggobe, Rodja,
Rewarangga, and Pulo Ende. Below this are the
other five. About all the people know is that
Nggobe is by far the largest, the most populous,
and thus the greatest.

They do not know what Ende's place in Flores
is, or anything about the place which Flores
occupies in Indonesia. This is beyond their
ken. There are no political ambitions (yet
note that the suku Reandona has been trying to
get a man into the kapitan post). They are
politically dead. They know and talk nothing
about the Dutch, the Indonesian Republic, etc.

They knew that the Queen was their radja be-
fore, but that didn't mean much. They know

643

Indonesia OB1
Borneo OC1
Land Dyak OC8
●Flores OF9
Ambon OH4
Ceram OH9

/For a discussion of local rulers, see categories 622, 632, 634, and 635./

Wov

783 The people here must confess at least once a year.

666 There are only two elected representatives
632 here and also in Wailolong. The only election
565 in the area is for the parliament. There is
634 also a kind of election for the kakang. The
622 choosers are the twenty-four kepala kampong of
[646] the eight kampongs. In the old days, although they got together, and went through the form of accepting the oldest son of the deceased or ejected kakang, it had to be the eldest son. Now they actually choose from candidates. The candidates must be of the proper nobility, so there aren't very many. Thus, when the previous kakang went out (he was ejected in 1938 because of a misdemeanor), there were three candidates: Roy, a man from Lewohala, and the present kakang. Roy says they were the only ones who were both noble and qualified. By the latter term he means that they were clever enough for the job. They had to be of the direct descending family of the radja tuan or kelake. The Radja of Larantuka is chairman of the electoral committee. Roy said that he does not force a choice, but lets everybody talk freely.

632 Then it came out that there have actually
634 been three phases in the kakang business: (1)
622 pre-1915: he merely represented the succession;
[178] (2) 1915--1938: a period of tyranny, when the radja simply chose whom he pleased. This was the period when the Dutch and the radja worked together, the dark years; and (3) 1938--present: election within limits. Roy knows the word "candidaat."

Nowadays the radja must accept the will of the kepala kampong. The last imposed kakang, of the Larantuka Radja family, was deposed in 1938. He had been chosen by the radja three years before.

[661] In 1924 Roy had been elected by the kepala kampong, but the radja would not accept him (in 1938 Roy was a candidate but was not elected). This is an example of radja tyranny.

R

622 carries on the prerogatives in a hereditary
614 fashion. If these posts are not so held, the people will not follow the individuals who occupy them.

In regard to magic power, he says that
789 there is none here. Not even the radja pos-
624 sesses any. Nevertheless, he says that everyone, without exception, obeys the officers. They just do it. He thinks that perhaps in the mountain kampongs I might still find ideas about magic power, but not here. I couldn't get anything more about this. Thus the situation here is different from the magic power and support of the ancestors which the officers in Larantuka have.

793 The pastors have magic power (and here per-
789 haps I can say that they are the only ones who today still have such power). They can wash away sins, do miracles, etc.

All adat posts are passed on from eldest son
624 to eldest son in a pure succession manner. They
646 remain the same. The elections of the kepala kampong and the kapitan are new. Also new are the members of the Flores parliament and of the East Indonesian parliament. There are two electors in the district Rewarangga, for there are about one thousand tax-paying men. There is one elector for each five hundred tax-paying men.

666 When there is an election of electors, the kapitan calls all of those tax-paying individuals to his office, and he (the kapitan) posts a list of four candidates (!!). Each man comes forth clutching a stone, and he whispers his choice to the two "guards". The guard slips the stone in the proper pile. This is all done secretly and by whispering (but the guards know!). At first, the people here did not understand this and had to be egged on to come to the election. They did not know what it was all

R

666 about. But with the second election they came without pushing and were then experienced. The two electors recently chosen were both from Roworeke (Migo[1] and one other person). They went to Ende to vote.

666 Migo[1] is uncertain in regard to the system
646 here, but remembers that for the Flores representatives to the East Indonesian parliament there was a list of four candidates, among them the successful one from Ende, Montero, a teacher. He is unclear about the elections for the Flores parliament too (there are two local houses: dewan radja-radja and the dewan perwakilan rakyat Flores). He does not even know how many members there are in all. There is evidently a different election all along the line for each parliamentary representation.

(I know that there are at least three representatives from Flores in the Makassar parliament: Raats, Adrianus, and Montero; maybe more?)

Migo[1] says there is no feeling on the subject of elections, as to whether they are good things or not. He says the people are just stupid, and they do what they are told.

The ones elected today are younger than they
178 were before, as they have to be schooled. Formerly, the older the man the greater his influence. The hereditary posts are just that and always have been. He says there was no conflict between the old and the young, not even at first. They take anything, they are so stupid.

665 There are no political parties. At first
178 there was trouble in regard to the new things, but long since the old ones have decided that this is a modern world (and how this word modern is used all over Indonesia!). There is absolutely no fuss about anything now, and there was very little fuss before.

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

We

648 other types of slaves, and a few other things.
634 They also put in the radja. Otherwise they did
[681] not make much change in the traditional administration. Bima was out, and this may be why there is not so much feeling against the Dutch here.

565 As far as nobility is concerned, there are
789 the radja, dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, but
756 they have no magic power. The kraeng says, however, that Todo and Pongkor sengadji used to have magic power (another sign of Makassar or Bima influence?). The mbako has magic power. The more I hear, the more I see that the mbako is really an important man.

622 The succession of radjas goes from eldest son
624 to eldest son or brother. The same holds for
632 the dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, and tuan panga.
634 However, the dalu wakil is chosen by the dalu, always from his family, I suppose. The kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu after sounding out the feelings of the kampong. Many of these are commoners. Some are also tuan tanah. The tuan mbaru is merely the old man of the house with influence. He is usually the oldest. This position is non-hereditary and is evidently a matter of age.

Thus we see that all of these are hereditary, with the only exceptions those of the new kepala kampong and the unimportant tuan mbaru and the obvious dalu wakil.

666 A recent innovation has been the election
646 of members of the Flores daerah parliament,
635 the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Flores.

There are five members from Manggarai, elected at large, but by electoral districts. There are five districts named according to the place where the electors meet:

(1) Ruteng (South Central Manggarai)
(2) Rekas (West Manggarai)
(3) Tjantjar (Central Manggarai)

We

666 (4) Lingkoadjang (East Manggarai)
646 (5) Reo (North Central Manggarai).
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634 I asked if there was any way to remove a
646 hereditary officer, for example, the radja.

We

634 646 They said no, but that there was much free talk against the radjas in the parliament now!

622 646 624 888 All hereditary posts are genealogically linked. Most of the kepala kampong are still old illiterates. Parliament members are mainly middle aged people (the oldest literates, therefore). Age is of no concern for the hereditary posts, as one person merely succeeds to the post after another. In the kampong, however, the old men have the most influence, and the young people keep their mouths shut for the most part.

[562] Women may not hold hereditary posts. Until now women took no part in elections, but they may change things here.

829 666 There is still only a very restricted political horizon here, and there is little knowledge about such things. But at least they have elections. This is very important. They start with an election. As they say in Celebes, they catch on fast. Veol is the center of the gelarang, and Rahong is the center of the dalu, and Ruteng is the center of Manggarai. They think nothing about the "place" of Manggarai in Flores; the radja is just a "big man." Beyond this they know practically nothing about the daerah, negara, etc.

[614] [632]

648 Most of the people here thought the Dutch were all right and they were too uninformed to criticize them. Also, it must be remembered that they had been under the rule of Bima, and the Dutch at least drove Bima out. They did not even criticize the Japanese! They were simply not concerned. The great memory here is of Bima and slavery. They hate Bima.

609 Except for the pastors, everyone here knows of things and people who are Dutch only by name. Formerly they knew the local civil servants only slightly. They were always afraid of any new men who came here. This is true of my

5: Kennedy--1 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

FIELD NOTES ON INDONESIA, 1949-1950

PART III

FLORES

Roworeke - Wailolong - Weol (Veol)

124 Flores (preliminary): I talked with Riekerk,
647 who was there three years ago, and got this:
485 The Assistant Resident at Ende is Twerida; the Controleurs are Hettinga and Ariens; the Finance man is Fekkes. There are government station houses (pasanggrahans) at least in Ende, Detusoko, Wolowaru, Larantuka, Badjawa, Ruteng, Reo, and a place ten kilometers from Maumere.

131 Distances are: Maumere--Larantuka 130 km., Maumere--Ende 140 km., Ende--Badjawa 125 km., Badjawa--Ruteng 125 km., Ruteng--Reo 60 km. Running times, respectively, are 4, 5, 5, 6, and 2 hours.

634 The kepala daerah is the Radja of Sikka, Dom Tomas da Silva.

124 Possible kampongs for investigation are Sita, 50 km. south of Ruteng, or Ruteng kampong or one nearby, for Manggerai; Wologai, 50 km. east of Ende, and there is a pasanggrahan at Ndetosoko, 9 km. to the south, or a part of Ende itself, or Roworeke (population: five hundred)
161 near Ende in the hills, for Ende. The population of Ende is five thousand. The population of Maumere is about the same.

634 Kringa is the center of Tana Ai. There are many troubles here over the succession of the radjas and it has resulted in a number of difficult cases. He says to watch out.

R

796 done in an excited pagan style, although on the
535 occasion of a Christian festival. We saw
144 clearly the difference between East and West Flores as far as racial composition is concerned. As you pass into Lio hills the proto-Malay becomes much more marked, though the Negroid element is still there. Some of the women are remarkably white. Such women are seldom or never seen in East Flores.

797 About the Malay here: When they want to say someone is converted, in Larantuka, they say that he "ikut Rom" [follows Rome]. The titles
554 are interesting: the territorial priest of
793 Flores is Tuan Regionale; then there are the Tuan Boswesen, Tuan Landbouw, Njonja HPB, Njonja AR (Assistant Resident), Njonja and Tuan Bestuur (Bestuurshoofd), and for a nun
[792] they do not use Njonja, but Tuan Zuster.

● 647 Note: The Controleur here is C. B. Arriens.

Although there is a general similarity in
342 house style all over East and Central Flores, there are differences. The tremendous high roofs are typical of Lio and Ende. The flat and large four-sloped ridges are found in Larantuka, and in between, in Sikka and Tana Ai, there is an intermediate form, with the four-slope ridge a bit on the rounded off side, and the whole thing appears to be smaller.

411 In East Flores especially the bow is still
224 used. We met a large band on Christmas not far
126 from Larantuka with bows and spears. They were coming up from a kampong with a large church. I asked if they were going to war or to hunt, and they said they were going to hunt deer. I took a photograph of them. They are always glad to be photographed. I can hardly take photographs, however, because they all rush in to be included, especially the children.

291 The style of clothing changes from place to
184 place, though here again there is a general

634 578 that Flores is a hard place to be any kind of a ruler in because of the feuds between chiefs and radjas of all grades. The Dutch complicated matters by changing land borders, putting favorites in offices instead of proper candidates, and altering the borders of petty states. Thus at one time Sikka was a much larger territory, but then Ende was made independent and after that Lio split off from it, and Ndona made a further split. The same thing happened in Flores as in Ambon formerly: the weaker chiefs were raised up and the stronger ones were lowered. Later on, in Roworeke, I heard much about this and how often after a split or a revision of frontiers or putting in an improper man, the people would rebel either passively or actively, and the Dutch would come and tie ropes around the people's necks and take them off to jail. I was told that whole populations might be thus taken in. Thus, one man said, the people finally became very much afraid and did not dare to disobey the rules of the government. Hence there are plenty of old scores and sores here. Now I understand why Riekerk said I must not get mixed up in the feuds of the Flores chiefs.

[648]

634 142 Anyway, there was also a Radja of Adonara on board. He looked rather Ambonese, dark with wavy and almost kinky hair and a bony Papuan face. He was rather short too. He spoke a little English and seemed more intelligent than the others. This was a surprise as I have regarded Adonara as a really primitive area. The Radja of Larantuka, who the Controleur Ariens later told me was next to Sikka in power and prestige, seemed to be shy and dopy and rather moody. He has rather light skin and is very dolichocephalic with his head running to a kind of long cone in the rear. He has kinky hair which grows down on either side brow. The Radja

124 634 632 really most powerful man in Ende is not the Radja but the fat and rather fresh hadji kapitan of Nggobe (a descendant evidently of the age-old tuan tanah Ambu Nggobe, the ancestor of Ende). Anyway the talk went well and I settled down to getting some basic facts.

634 621 648 The border between Ende and Ndona, which is part of the state of Lio, is along the road in front of the kapitan's house. On the other side, in Lio, is Watu Roga. These are really twin kampongs, and there is much intermarriage, and the clans are all intertwined. That is, the Watu Roga are really Endenese, and the border should be at the river Ndona behind Watu Roga. Behind this there is a natural boundary between Ende and Lio, a high ridge. But the Dutch for some reason in 1924 cut Watu Roga away from Ende by moving the border a few hundred feet west and along the road. The people of Watu Roga were recalcitrant and would not follow the Lio radja, but the Dutch came and tied ropes around their necks and hauled them off to jail. They finally gave in, but they still feel more like Endenese. This explains why the fellow yesterday said that the Watu Roga folk are in Lio and the Roworeke folk are in Ende. This is true in administration, but socially they are both Endenese. The kapitan of Rewarangga (the one in 632 Roworeke), however, should be kapitan of Watu Roga too, but he isn't, and the latter kampong falls within the kapitanschap of Ndona, far off and under the Lio radja. This is mad on any grounds, including social, cultural, and personal feelings of the local people.

621 632 Anyway, I found that Ende has nine kapitanschappen: Gunung Rodja (the southern half of Ende town), Nggobe (the northern half of Ende town), Barai, Rukuramba, Numba, Nangapandan, Tangadje, Pulo Ende (the island in the bay) and Rewarangga. This last is the kapitanschap here, and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.

R

614 are somewhat moved around, however, and are even scattered, so that one may find parts of a suku in entirely different areas. I must check on this.

624 As for the four adat chiefs, aside from the mosa laki mere, who sits in the center when judging, the giri tumba (whose name means "spear running around") stands or sits to the right of the mosa laki mere. The ndeto au, who is an [791] expert on making adat stuff which I judge to be ordeal material or magical divining, sits or stands to the left of the mosa laki mere. The sike sani acts as a watchman or policeman. I must get the full account of the functions of these men.

701 Then I asked if they had had war leaders formerly and they said yes. They are called "brave men" or atambani (ata-m-bani or orang brani). They said that they were fierce and feared.

793 Then I asked about the priests, and they said
789 that they still have plenty of them. They are called bisa mari. I got the usual story of how
171 they prove their powers of second sight, and it sounded just like the Ambonese talking about guna-guna. These priests are not hereditary, and never were, but the sons usually learn their lore from their fathers.

648 There is much talk here about war with the
175 Dutch and I am told that there were uprisings all over Flores in the year 1907. I was also told of the stern methods of suppression used in those times and how afterwards there was wholesale jailing of the Florenese. They seem to have lost their nerve then and today they no longer rebel.

773 I asked about the old myths concerned with
769 ancestors. The Kapitan Gunung Rodja, who is descended from Djari Djawa, the Madjapahit man who came here on a whale, told a different version

114 We
[585] exactly the same rates and all moves are the
[565] same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas'
[784] word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate
[614] ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).
[286] In addition to the technical totem taboos given by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 614 I note on the map that place names recur often all over Manggarai, especially not far away. These are clan names, which are given to kampongs founded by split offs from the mother kampong. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 578 632 648 186 The mandur said there is criticism of the Radja today because he is not "one hundred per cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, although somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud of this Minangkabau story while at the same time it may harm them in light of Manggarai nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes says that when the Dutch were trying to select a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not a contented area and that the people there wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may see a possible chance of paying off old scores. This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where self-governing setups led to exploitation of lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may try to raise themselves up to a parity level and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask questions, and they will reply without first going through a translator. However, the reply

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

243 where around the earthen plaza there are Every-
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They
looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the
peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it
were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with shelleyes. It was set in cement.

From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
132 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However,
124 when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we had to stay overnight at the house of a former kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
● 648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan. He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and his cronies are taking everything. There is only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And now they are asking the Christians to move up

R

721 guages and thus carry on negotiations) would
[634] request soldiers. Such wars were usually
against the coastal folk on the north, that
is, Lio and Ende there. In the old days, just
721 about every outside kampong was considered
484 dangerous and it was seldom that a trip was
578 made there unless a bond of friendship existed
178 between one's kampong and the area visited.
[608] Now all of these kampongs are friendly. Still
I note that they don't like to sleep all night
outside the kampong. This is especially true
of the old folks.

829 Note on ideas concerning the "place" of the
local kampong in the world: In just about
every kampong, when I ask about the ranking of
world countries in population, they do not
know what to say (although a young boy knew
that China was the largest), but at once the
assistant and others get paper and copy down
the exact ranking from me with figures. They
evidently want to spring the question on other
people and stick them. It does show a definite
curiosity about these things.

608 The people here have a sort of pela bond
574 between kampongs, or at least they did at one
578 time in the past. They do not drink the blood
178 of each other as in Ambon, but they hold a
feast and drink the blood and eat the hearts of
the animals killed. And they eat together.
They pledge that they will not war against each
other and that they will show a certain degree
of hospitality to each other. Thus Roworeke
has such a bond with Waturoga, Waturoga with
Ndona, etc. This was all in the past, and I
didn't find out if there are any survivals.
I think there are, because the guru from Ndona
said that it is easy for him to live in Watu-
roga as his kampong had a bond with it. In
addition, he married in.

721 War was tabooed by the Dutch in 1908, and
648 since then there have been no wars.
656

R

609 has a friend-bond with the kampong of Ndona;
582 and he married a Waturoga woman. The Maumere
608 teacher has a somewhat harder time, but he married locally and this helps. (I think he married locally, although I am not sure now.)

632 In the district, the "pusat" kampongs are
624 Roworeke and Worowai. The latter is the older
621 and the kampong of the real prime suku, that
778 of the oldest of the original brothers, Rewarangga. There live three of the Big Four (mosa laki mere, ndetu au, and sikesani), and it is thus a sort of adat center. Roworeke is newer, and it is the administrative center, where the kapitan lives. Here also, however, is the big giri tumba. Formerly, these two were one kampong. In the kampong, the section or hamlet Roworeke Asal is the oldest, and there the grave-bone shrine of the Odja suku is located. It is the adat center. There also is the tubu musu. Nuamere means the big village, and this hamlet is where the kapitan lives. Thus it is the administrative center. Still, the ata nggaäh nua, the adat kepala kampong (Bapa Ketjil) and his adi, the administrative kepala kampong, live in Ae Utu (I think).

361 The present Nuamere was newly established
621 here in 1907. There had been a previous ham-
632 let Nuamere up the hill. The Dutch, however,
[648] as usual made most of the hamlets move down to the road. Thus there is a general pattern here that in each district there is a kind of original kampong, and in each kampong there is a sort of original hamlet. But it is not a constellation arrangement as in Toradja country, where all the kampongs and hamlets spread out from the center like a star. This is truer of the kampongs than of the districts, because the latter here are coming to be more and more a coming together of independent kampongs, some old and some younger. Thus

Wa. Today there are more meetings and greater
208 effort to get the opinions of the people. This
694 is especially so since this Radja came in about
178 eleven years ago. Formerly, the radja merely
663 ordered things to be done and paid no heed to
648 the local requirements, etc. Also, the radja gets around to more areas now. (We noted that the Radja is making a good-will tour, and probably all of them are scared of another Java.) He said that there is a much closer arrangement between the radja and the people now. Formerly the Dutch and the radjas worked together very closely, and anyone who spoke up was simply jailed. I can see this is as in Ende, and the Dutch here until the end used the jail as the solution for everything. They wouldn't listen to anything else. If the radja and Dutch work together the result is tyranny, and it is real here.

There is more justice here now, they say. They say this began about eleven years ago with the present Radja. But this may be out of respect, and they admit that the real change has taken place here since the war. The war really liberated Indonesia. There is no more use of brute force. People can speak up now.

789 We had a long talk about magical power. They
769 say that the power of the chiefs, from the radja
622 to the adat kepala kampong to the kepala suku to
[753] the kelake, is all a matter of fear of ancestral punishment. If they do not obey, they
[152] become sick and have misfortunes. The magical power comes mainly from the ancestral spirits, but it is funneled through the magic stones of authority too. The curse power of an adat chief is very great. The power of the purely administrative chiefs, for example, the kepala kampong, who does not deal with adat, and the kalang, is that of the police, etc. This is actually not so because all of the chiefs are of the proper succession. If they ever tried to put one in

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186 This may come later. The truth seems to be that they are not "Flores-conscious" or "Larantuka-conscious."

186 Indeed, the only slight flare of criticism
798 of any other section or group on Flores was Roy's statement that the Mohammedans cause a bit of trouble (but this seems to be a fear or perhaps a recognized resemblance to the previous troubles here; for example, see the history of the Mohammedan attacks on Christian settlements in Flores). They are singularly mild on all this, especially when contrasted with Ambon and the chronic "gripers" there.

648 The people here all knew that they were a
609 subject group. Although they were not happy,
578 there was no revolutionary spirit. There was
681 some secret criticism, and everyone was sure that it would be better to be free. Roy said that one impressive thing was that the people disliked the coarse quality of the Dutch, and he said that there was too much of the "god verdomme" stuff. He imitated a coarse Dutchman swearing at the natives. And in the prewar period, all the people here would gladly have seen every single Dutchman leave, except the pastors. They liked the latter, but hated the officials. A sore point, of course, was that of taxation, but they also hated the summary way they were so easily put in jail. He keeps on saying how if a man tried to press his case with the Dutch, the latter just waved his hand and said, "To the bui with him."

648 When the guru had his famous case concerning
578 the land, and the kepala kampong was put in jail
609 because Roy and he would not sign the paper, twenty soldiers surrounded his house. The kampong people were so angry that they wanted to start a battle then and there. Roy dissuaded them, however, and then offered to pay a fine in order to release the kepala kampong. The

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648 Dutch said there would be no release unless he
578 signed. He signed on a promise that the case
609 would be reheard, but then after he signed the Dutch refused to reopen the case. I get the idea that there was real hostility to the Dutch here, but that the people were so scared that there was no revolt. Indeed, this is what the Rowoeroke men said: at first the people resisted, but when many of them were sent to jail, they gave up. The Dutch came here late, and the rough stage of colonialism was a recent one. It came earlier elsewhere. At any rate, there is no sorrow at all here that the Dutch have gone. They really hated the Dutch except the pastors. The lack of politeness of the Dutch seems to have impressed the folk here very much. There were radjas, however, who sided with the Dutch, and in fact I think this was the previous line of the radja kedua family.

829 In regard to Holland, they all thought that
648 it was a very big and powerful place. This is why there was great muttering yesterday when I told of the population of Holland. They regarded the Queen as their Radja, because her head was on the money. This is an illustration of the primitive political views here. They also saw that the Larantuka radja was well under the Dutch, and his rank fell very far.

609 The pastors here are the great exception.
797 The people love them, and when Roy tries to ex-
758 plain why, the first thing he mentions is medi-
177 cine, and then comes the standard stuff in regard to religion. This is a good example of how religion rides in on the advanced culture's material strength. They indeed have more powerful "medicine." This kind of thing seems to have been the wedge. Then the schools would come in, etc. That is, primitive people can see
797 quickly the obvious advantages in material and
177 job terms, etc., of the outside superior culture,

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797 and the price the outsiders ask is giving up
177 the old religion.

829 The people know nothing about other lands
565 and certainly nothing about their governments. However, they know the names of other countries and a bit about the roles they play in world events. I asked if they knew about demokrasi, and he said that the word is used all over here now, although it is brand new. They don't know what it means. He says that they tend to think that it means a kind of anarchy where anyone can take anything, with no respect for rank. I wonder if maybe in this thoroughly ordered and stratified place, where inherited rank and inequality prevails (rank, class, ritual, respect, etc.), and indeed exists in the very heart of the society, whether when they first heard that democracy meant that all people were equal, this did not sound like anarchy, as they could not imagine an ordered world where there was no rank.

829 They know nothing about the actual facts of
648 the United Nations, but they have heard plenty about the "Kumpulan Medja Bundar". [Round Table Conference]. This all came out when they saw the red and white flag and asked what all of this was about. They got the story that there was the Round Table Conference, and that at it Indonesia became free and this was the new flag. The flag was the symbol that produced the story. They also have heard a lot about the United States and that it helped in obtaining Indonesian freedom (perhaps we managed to salvage some touted good will in Indonesia). Beyond this, however, they know nothing of world politics. They did know about the Allies (Bangsa Serikat; Kattenburg says "Pemerintah Serikat"), as they were partly involved in the war. They think that this union, and especially the United States, beat the Japanese. When asked if the Dutch helped, Roy said that they have no thought on this matter, as

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829 they only saw them run away when the Japanese
[648] came in. He then said something which was quite interesting: that it is not hard for even the illiterates here to understand the government of any land in the world, as they have had so much experience with a system of government here. All they have to do is imagine the alien organization in terms of their own political organization.

875 As for information spread about in regard to
203 politics and current events, Roy says that the guru do a lot of this. The people ask them questions, and they are really big men.

521 The people here do not talk much about poli-
829 tics. Even when they had the big day of celebrating independence and the flag was flown, after the main information about the Round Table Conference was out, the people began to talk about their gardens, etc. They know about Sukarno, because his picture is everywhere [the Hitler theme?]. The thing which really settled
[798] the rumor that the red and white flag is that of Islam was Sukarno's speech that all religions were free. Priests must have publicized this.

The local people know that Java is the center
829 of all Indonesia, but there is little talk about
203 this yet. Roy sees the importance in this of
521 the complete absence of movies, radio, and the relative absence of papers. If the people had these, they would talk more (as do the backward Buginese who see movies of other lands and are curious about them).

794 Roy says that Catholicism does not mix itself
665 up with politics here at all. When elections are held, the priest says in church that they must be sure to choose the right man. At least, he insists that the church is not involved in politics. I tried to press Roy by telling him how the church tried to get another radja for Manggarai, because the present one, although

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829 that the big radja here is in Ende, and that's all.

609 648 [197] The general attitude toward the Dutch has always been one of fear. This is not a specific fear and is not equivalent to the resentment one sees in Larantuka caused by stern rule and frequent jailing. He says that the real reason is that they do not know what they fear, and they can't even talk with or understand the Dutch. The Dutch speak only Malay, and few of the local people here speak Malay. They just tried to avoid the Dutch, and that was easy. As the status of Malay began to rise, there was a bit of a change among the young people, but there was little thought about or contact with or talk concerning the Dutch at any time.

What I have just said is even more true of the mountain areas. Whenever aliens come into the neighborhood they just run away. Thus when Migo goes there for tax work, he sees only the kepala kampong, unless he lures the adat chiefs with tobacco, and other presents. I asked him why he was afraid. After all, he could speak their language. Then he shifted ground and said nothing specific, and stated that they do not even fear taxes, but they have the attitude that any outsider should be avoided. [515] Also, he says that they are so dirty in the mountains that they are ashamed to meet outsiders. (If this is so, they at least are conscious of dirt.) Their clothes are bad and dirty, and they never bathe. The women and children are especially filthy. He says it is too cold in the mountains to bathe. The water is especially cold, even in midday. This is a queer business.

771 Religion does not mix in with politics here. There is no trouble with Mohammedanism either. They don't talk much about such things. Even

411 I also noted many spear bearers. The one I talked with in Tana Ai said that his spear (with a regular head) had been bought from a traveling seller who had brought it from Adonara. Over the line in Lewotobi, I asked a man with a spear, whose head had only one barb, what kind of spear he was carrying. He said that it was unique to Lewotobi, and later I saw others like it. I guess they make them themselves.

Then I went on to Larantuka, where the
443 pasanggrahan disintegrates more all the time.
515 This time the place was full of medicine
514 sellers who follow fairs about and do tricks on bicycles. They sang Mohammedan chants endlessly, washed clothes and urinated in the bathroom, and sat around in the way. I had already run into a similarly unsanitary Arab couple in the Ende pasanggrahan. The medicine people were from Celebes. Now this place is really going native. The toilets are falling into ruin. I noted on my way that the tele-
206 graph wire was down at kilometer 44, and I told the next road foreman. Four days later I found the wire still down. The bridges will
491 never be rebuilt, it seems. The road simply uses fords, that's all.

797 I hear from Arriens that letters are coming
●648 to the Flores Council asking how long the Dutch
178 are going to remain in their posts. The whole place is on the way down. I hear that Radja Sikka, has appointed Pastor Raats, a Dutchman, as a special adviser. Thus the mission alone will remain of the West here. The new superstition is substituted for the old.

797 I get more and more depressed by Larantuka with its constant Catholic processions. On the way in at a suburb, a long procession with crosses, chanting, etc., came winding out of a church (I wonder if it was the old time one at

797 Waibalun?). There must have been hundreds of them in this procession. Following this there was a long parade of a lot more. Perhaps this was the Confreria Santa Maria, the underground men's organization that kept Catholicism going in the kampongs during the long time when the Portuguese missionaries were not here. The second guru in Leloba told me that the white sheet cloak I saw on him as he was leading a funeral last week was the robe of the Confreria. In spite of everything, the mission is the only modern, efficient, and perhaps one of the few honest (how honest?) things in Flores.

I am glad I shall be leaving this truly
377 forsaken island before long. It gets on one's
181 nerves. One can't buy anything, few places have electric lights (the ones here just went off, but miraculously came on again after a few minutes), everything is broken down, the people are stupid, the radjas are hopeless.

124 Larantuka: I spent a final three days in Leloba finishing up the schedule on Wailolong, and it was lucky I did this, because, as usual, my assistants (the same everywhere in Indonesia so far, except in Makassar) did not finish the answers. They did do the census and the map. Anyway, I got onto the schedule at once, covering old spots which were not filled in yet, and finishing what was left undone.

Wa In 1913 the Dutch forced the people to move
648 down from the old hill location to the present
361 location of Wailolong. Formerly, it was located one-half kilometer from Leloba. Then, in 1922, it was allowed to move back, but it moved not all the way back to its former location, but only as far as it is now. This whole business is typical of the Dutch administration in the worst days, when, for the sake of "peace, order, and taxes," and for all I know, the mission, they made these poor people move out of the

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361 hills and down to the coast. This caused much
[648] malaria and misery all over Indonesia. And after many years, the Dutch let them move up higher again, having stopped the spirit of revolt. (One can find this very expression in the reports.)

Five families from Wailolong have moved into Balela, a kampong inside the town of Larantuka (note that several Leloba families have moved there too). Balela is a little uphill, and perhaps this is the reason for the movement. I also think that it may have some relations with the "behind the mountain" area. Anyway, of these five families, only one has moved back to Wailolong. They simply do not move very much.

443 No one, but no one, has moved into the kam-
438 pong, except for women marrying in (and the
[166] two gurus). There are no toko or shops in Wailolong. They do not even have warong here. The women come from the beach area to sell and buy a few things (e.g., to buy arak, and to sell fish). These women come from such places as Waibalun, Larantuka, etc. But there is not much trade.

484 Everyone here has seen at least some other kampong, if only a nearby one. There are some old people who have never seen Larantuka town, or at least that is what he thinks.

167 Only two people that he knows have left Wailolong to work in some other place. One of them at least went to Borneo. As yet they have not returned.

697 Roy said that all who have been to jail have
648 seen Larantuka town. This is one way to see the world. There is real bitterness here about the jail business, and I hear it cropping up
648 constantly. The Dutch really ruled here with an iron hand, especially Seegeler, they say, whose report I got from Twerda. He was the

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648 controleur around 1931, when the radja also was an unfit person.

167 I was surprised when he said that just about all the young men here would like to leave and see the world. But they have almost no chance. If they did have such an opportunity, there would be a great exodus here.

721 The only great fear in the old days was war-
152 fare, and this is an intermittent danger today also. Thus, Leloba was at war with Waibalun last month, and it is feared even to walk near there. He admits that there was some fear of bad spirits formerly, but this was relatively not so bad. Still, my guess is that there are few people who are brave enough to go and sleep in other places.

20 The kakang has a telephone in his office. The only telegraph here is in Larantuka. There is no postal service. Letters must be gotten at the Larantuka Post Office. There is no radio here, and hardly anyone has ever heard one.

The mandur of the kakang transmits important orders from the administration. Rumor is very important as a means of communication, but there is practically no other means here.

The few who receive or read the mission newspaper are asked about what is in the paper. Bulletins are never posted. They see them only in Larantuka town.

443 There are a few women who come here to buy
438 and sell some items. The small market at Okka crossroad on the beach is held once a week, on Tuesday, in the afternoon and until Wednesday. There used to be another market on the beach at Delang.

However, there is no market system here. Roy says they simply have too little surplus to sell, and nearly nothing to buy with. In Adonara, which is richer, there is a regular pasar ring system.

565 (3) There are one hundred per cent kraeng
614 va'u, e.g., Puruk.

(4) There are one hundred per cent dalu va'u, e.g., Rahong.

(5) There is a radja va'u, of kraeng rang, i.e., Todo.

194 The history may be something like this:

(1) Originally, and until about three hundred
621 years ago: the gelarang tuan tanah district
565 chiefs were in, with kampong ramifications.
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(2) About three hundred years ago until 1900:
648 the period of Todo-Pongkor kraeng conquest, with also some Makassarese rule from the north (Goa) and Bima rule also.

(3) 1909--1929: Dutch rule without radja.

(4) 1929--1941: Dutch rule with radja.

(5) 1941--1949: Japanese, and later Dutch influence, the latter putting in the East Indonesian negara.

(6) 1949-- : The new Indonesia, with the Dutch gone, but the radja still here, as well as the dalu and the kraeng.

The only real power still alien in this area is that of the Todo-Pongkor kraeng (radja). What will happen?

582 I checked over the marriages in Veol and
614 Ndung, but the assistant will get the va'u of the inmarrying women. However, it looks as though there is no pattern. Looking only at the kampongs whence the inmarriers came, I can find just about no system; the twenty-seven women who married men of Veol came from twenty different kampongs (highest frequency was three). The four men who married women of Veol and came here to live are from three kampongs (highest frequency two).

The twenty-nine women who married men of Ndung came from twenty kampongs (highest frequency four: Tjumbi; another three: Tjara).

The nine men who married women of Ndung and

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621 are established or where the people have mar-
614 riage relations. The dalu area is quite
602 secondary, as it is not genealogical. There are, e.g., three Veol kampongs in the dalu Tjibal, and these are closer than the other non-Veol kampongs nearer in distance or others in the same dalu but of a different va'u. Even though a family has lived for a long time in another kampong and has few close acquaintances any more in the old kampong, the bond is still closer than with the neighbors in the kampong of residence. This shows that residence is
[571] less important here than blood. Still, as propinquity makes for marriages, there is a tendency for a family to establish new marriage relations in the place of residence. Thus it is either the consanguineal or the affinal group that counts, in order.

There are no relations at all with other tribes or places.

[648] The Dutch stopped the wars. They say that
721 if there were no police now they would have wars
614 again soon.
578 When a war comes all the va'u kampongs help. They could also call on the vina-rona families, i.e., the affinal relatives. These might refuse, however.

Once there was a war between two places (and usually wars were thus along va'u lines, except for the dalu wars), and everlasting enmity remained between these two places. Thus the wars were va'u against va'u and dalu against dalu, not kampong against kampong, although they might start that way. And in this area, most of the wars were dalu wars. Some wars were dalu or even a va'u against Bima, and there might be quite an alliance against Bima. Once in awhile Bima lost. On the border there were many wars against Ngada.

Some dalu here fought against Todo and Pong-

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622 Rahong is just about the same as fifty years
624 ago, except for the kraeng kampongs which have gone out since about fifteen years ago. Also, there have been kepala kampongs since then. The organization runs as follows: Kampong: tuan tanah; kepala kampong; tuan panga; tuan mbaru. These form the kampong council. Some kampongs have the same man as tuan tanah and kepala kampong.

632 Gelarang: the gelarang (and they use the
614 title dangka for him, also) (one can't use "temu" and "gelarang" at the same time; thus it is not "tu'a tenu gelarang"), and the kampongs below him are included. There is no council, and there are no scribes, secretaries, oppas, or anything else. The va'u is usually almost equivalent to the gelarang. But this is not always true. Thus va'u Veol covers both Ndung and Veol. And some branches of va'u Veol are in other areas, while, for example, a branch of Tjepang is in the Veol gelarang.

Dalu: dalu, dalu wakil, secretary, oppas, mandur, and the gelarang below. There is no council.

634 State: radja (the radja bitjara post is now empty since the former one died), secretary, oppas, mandur, and the office force. Again there is no council and no ministry. However, there is a Hakim Adat of Manggarai. The chairman used to be the radja bitjara, but now he is the radja's younger brother. The members, chosen by the radja, are four in number. At present they are Kraeng Dalu Ruteng, Gelarang Pau (the assistant's father), Gelarang Tenda, and a man of the Ruteng kraeng family.

692 Adat cases may be settled on the kampong, gelarang, or dalu level; or they may go up to the Hakim Adat.

648 The Dutch removed the death punishment,
681 double repayment in cases of theft, lampang and
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648 other types of slaves, and a few other things.
634 They also put in the radja. Otherwise they did
[681] not make much change in the traditional administration. Bima was out, and this may be why there is not so much feeling against the Dutch here.

565 As far as nobility is concerned, there are
789 the radja, dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, but
756 they have no magic power. The kraeng says, however, that Todo and Pongkor sengadji used to have magic power (another sign of Makassar or Bima influence?). The mbako has magic power. The more I hear, the more I see that the mbako is really an important man.

622 The succession of radjas goes from eldest son
624 to eldest son or brother. The same holds for
632 the dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, and tuan panga.
634 However, the dalu wakil is chosen by the dalu, always from his family, I suppose. The kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu after sounding out the feelings of the kampong. Many of these are commoners. Some are also tuan tanah. The tuan mbaru is merely the old man of the house with influence. He is usually the oldest. This position is non-hereditary and is evidently a matter of age.

Thus we see that all of these are hereditary, with the only exceptions those of the new kepala kampong and the unimportant tuan mbaru and the obvious dalu wakil.

666 A recent innovation has been the election
646 of members of the Flores daerah parliament,
635 the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Flores.

There are five members from Manggarai, elected at large, but by electoral districts. There are five districts named according to the place where the electors meet:

(1) Ruteng (South Central Manggarai)
(2) Rekas (West Manggarai)
(3) Tjantjar (Central Manggarai)

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634 646 They said no, but that there was much free talk against the radjas in the parliament now!

622 646 624 888 All hereditary posts are genealogically linked. Most of the kepala kampong are still old illiterates. Parliament members are mainly middle aged people (the oldest literates, therefore). Age is of no concern for the hereditary posts, as one person merely succeeds to the post after another. In the kampong, however, the old men have the most influence, and the young people keep their mouths shut for the most part.

[562] Women may not hold hereditary posts. Until now women took no part in elections, but they may change things here.

829 666 There is still only a very restricted political horizon here, and there is little knowledge about such things. But at least they have elections. This is very important. They start with an election. As they say in Celebes, they catch on fast. Veol is the center of the [614] gelarang, and Rahong is the center of the dalu, [632] and Ruteng is the center of Manggarai. They think nothing about the "place" of Manggarai in Flores; the radja is just a "big man." Beyond this they know practically nothing about the daerah, negara, etc.

●648 Most of the people here thought the Dutch were all right and they were too uninformed to criticize them. Also, it must be remembered that they had been under the rule of Bima, and the Dutch at least drove Bima out. They did not even criticize the Japanese! They were simply not concerned. The great memory here is of Bima and slavery. They hate Bima.

609 Except for the pastors, everyone here knows of things and people who are Dutch only by name. Formerly they knew the local civil servants only slightly. They were always afraid of any new men who came here. This is true of my

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789 that the Larantuka radja does have an aradjang, but this is not the word for it here. I must get the right word. There seem to be no out-
554 ward signs of status. The main thing seems
614 to be a general knowledge of everything in the kampong and also whether a person lives in a "big house" or not. The Lango'Bele' system is impressive.

Notes on Larantuka: The mandur in the
551 pasanggrahan is a Madurah who married a Catholic woman here. His name before was Ali, but now since he became A Catholic he is known as Andreas. His children have taken their mother's Larantuka name, Dosari, and their forenames are Dominicus, Paulus, and Maria. One who died was named Aloysius.

501 There was one prau owned in Leloba. It was owned by the guru. It was wrecked yesterday.

●651 The tax here now is fl. 23.50 per adult man. In the prewar period it was fl. 5.00. The people have trouble paying it and always have had this difficulty.

656 In the prewar period if one did not obey
687 the government one could be jailed easily. Since the war this government control has weakened. For example, in a recent land case the present kepala kampong would not sign a paper of the government, nor would the guru. The kepala kampong was jailed, but the guru tried to bail him out. The government refused to accept bail unless he signed. He asked if it would be possible to re-open the case later if he signed. They said yes, but then refused to re-open the case afterwards.

R Roworeke: On Christmas, we came back through
796 the mountains. On the way, especially in the
535 kampongs in the Lio mountains, we saw many small processions with drums, singing, and many people who were drunk. While dancing the people seem to use handkerchiefs most of the time. This is

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614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and Rundu.

784 824 614 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The other kinds, for example betong, which is thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung pesi is also tabooed for the members of the Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only on the first-born of each family. The first-born is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 114 624 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his material. There are now two more kampongs in the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas is in error in stating that Ladja is the fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung. Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung. The Manggarai

624 824 796 name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Teno is the kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post which is set in the center of the star of fields for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a

[533] [562] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum. Some of the beats are the same for the men and for the women, but others differ by sex. Another term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 423 ●651 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which are basically the property of the tuan tanah. Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay tribute for his house space. This tribute is used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 778 [104] Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on the side of the highest hill. It is in the form of a rough human figure, which used to have

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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614 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and
778 broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive. It is located a little to the side of the path and in a rather inconspicuous place.

[773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about this: it is a woman turned to stone with her child because she bathed naked) is located four kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong Bangkavelo.

231 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,[1]
241 they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the
782 garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connec-
114 tion with agricultural rites. They do this in the kampong. In the garden itself they kill only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent, Coolhaas is right.

565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The term kraeng is used for all three levels of nobles.

114 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 336,[1]
632 the people here still give tribute to the dalu
●651 when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls,
466 etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now
624 wants a new house he may no longer expect free
476 labor. Now he must pay for such service. If, however, there is need of a new tuan tanah house, labor is given without pay. And if there is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps, although other kampongs may assist in some way or other.

567 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi).
565 Their descendants are still known. It is also
114 true that new slaves were put in stocks (lampang) until it was certain that they would not run away. It is also correct that slaves who had been in a family for a long time might even marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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567 a stage where they were taken into the clan of
565 the master. The slaves who were paid as a tax
114 (taki) to Bima in Reo were not longtime ones,
●[651] but newly bought ones. This is because long standing slaves were used to the house and would not run away. If they were sold and then had to be replaced, this would mean breaking in new slaves. Most slaves were owned by nobles, but some rich commoners had them too.

567 The ata lampang, slaves of the sultan or
565 dalu who used to live in separate kampongs,
621 are now living in mixed kampongs, although there
114 is not much mixture. That is, other people have moved into their kampongs, and they also have moved into other kampongs. It is remembered, however, that they are descendants of slaves. In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 346, he is right about the kind of slaves called sekontu. They were directly under the kraengs of Todo and Pongkor, and had special duties. Their descendants are still numerous in their kampongs: Tengka, Levur, and Levat (i.e., these are the Rahong ones). There has not been much mixture.

567 The mangko' pitu are so called because they
565 are located in seven kampongs. The name means
651 seven cups or dishes. Their duties are to see
621 that rice, etc., are delivered if the kraeng of
114 Todo or Pongkor are on a trip, and also they must provide supplies for law cases on tour. Their kampongs are Tjera, Lerong, Se'ing, Ngadjok, and three others. These are now mixed. These kampongs are not under either the dalu or gelarang, but are under the direct rule of Todo and Pongkor (until fifteen years ago). They are now assimilated just about to commoners, but they still remember their descent.

114 Coolhaas is all right on page 348.
601 Coolhaas's kin terms are O.K.:

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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829 a small scale.

Everyone here knows the places in and the arrangement of the kampong and the district and the Larantuka town road. Perhaps only ten people know about the setup as far as Maumere, and probably only the guru is clear about the rest of Flores. Perhaps only two people know about the general arrangement of the geography of Indonesia. And except for a few place names and countries, no one knows about world geography.

One boy who is in the fifth grade knew the population of Indonesia, and he also knew the population of the United States! He was absolutely correct. Other people could not give this information, and as for other countries even he had no idea.

As usual we got a terrific reaction when we told them how few people there were in Holland. They muttered for several minutes. They said that two men in Wailolong and one in Leloba receive the mission paper. Perhaps ten other people borrow and read it.

[197] [204]

484 521 203 The very few people who have visited towns outside of Flores are loquacious in telling about their experiences, mostly limited to kampong life. Others listen to this, but there is evidently very little reaction.

178 632 651 There has been just about no change in the political structure in the last fifty years here. The kakang and all others were here long ago. The kakang has shifted from one kampong to another and that's about all. The traditional system of government has seen little change. Taxation started forty years ago. Now they pay a tax of fl. 1.00 for each animal killed for food, and fl. 10.00 for each animal killed for sale. (This just about stops any chance of a meat-selling market or animal industry.)

000 Today there are more meetings and greater

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546 the sound track was just a gramophone playing a kind of spoken accompaniment to the pictures! This shows either that he has actually never seen a movie since sound came in, or that he did not understand. If the latter, it shows that few if any Malay language films come to Ende. Yet the Dutch I asked said that they thought there had been a few (but they seemed to be not certain about this). What a revelation, if this is true, it will be in Ende to a lot of folk when the first Malay movies come in. I can hardly believe this. Maybe the kapitan has seen only silent movies at the mission. I should have asked more closely, but I always have such trouble working with these restless people that I forget to follow up, and I am glad to get what I can and move on.

538 I get the idea that tales are important here, though probably much less so than in such places as Larantuka.

527 I wonder if any of the three holidays they have here mean much to these people, who work only in the gardens. They probably just keep on going. But I seem to note more men about on Sundays than on other days, and my guess is that Sunday has become a kind of holiday.

167 651 486 They say that many young men would like to see the world but have no opportunity to do so. The kapitan says that perhaps nearly all in the town districts of Nggobe and Rodja would leave if they got the chance. But the radja would not give permits anyway. I asked Arriens[1] about this infringement of freedom of movement, and he says it is for the purpose of collecting taxes. I guess it is also because traditionally these small units have been like nations, with everything outside the radjadom to be considered as foreign. I can see why there is chiseling and why the radjas do not want their

[1] [i.e., Controleur at Ende--Analyst]

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167 651 486 men to leave, as the tax is on each household headed by an adult man (fl. 12.50 annually), and thus the radja would lose income if they emigrated.

266 681 754 There was head-hunting here before. They say that the only cannibalism was the eating of the hearts of enemies in order to gain additional strength. There was no human sacrifice, they say, but they have heard of the Lio stuff (and I checked with Arriens[1] and noted that de Bruine[2] in a report on Lio did not list this as among the crimes of the executed Radja of Lio--whose alias was Pius!--but Arriens says that he did it anyway). The only way a person could be given the death punishment was to be proven a suwanggi.

778 831 178 More about the tubu musu. They say that "musu" means "two become one." If so, this is perfect, and indeed the tubu musu is similar to the linggam-yoni. Indeed, they say that it consists of an upright stone, less than a meter high, standing on a flat one. "Tubu" they say means "stone," but I note that Arndt gives it an "obscene" meaning (or is it the musu part that is obscene? check Arndt's Lio dictionary).

They have a rather vague idea that this tubu musu may represent male and female. And it can have children. Thus it is like many such stone-bearing stones in Indonesia, including the stones of Larantuka and some on Ambon. I asked if the tubu musu still had children, and this is beautiful, "no more." It is like Roy saying that the familiars of his father appear no more (but they are there and he could call them: "I can call the spirits from there, etc." "Yes, but will they come?") He has no doubt that they would come. I should have asked if the stones still could have children. Anyway, both they and Roy are completely serious about what used to happen. There are no more rites held at the tubu musu, but plenty were held formerly.

[1] [Controleur at Ende--Analyst]; [2] [Probably Controleur at Lio--Analyst]

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000 tubu musu, but plenty were held formerly.

Thus ended my work in Roworeke, a trying
164 place. The last day, Sunday, I again had to go to Ndona to get the old dukun, who was coming to give the kepala kampong a final treatment. The old man looked at me with bleary eyes as he entered the jeep for the second time in his life (and probably the last), and he seemed a bit less scared. He took my hand to help him in. What was he thinking, if anything, about this which was probably his first direct meeting with a white man? I later asked the doctor in Ende what could have been the illness that caused the nose hemorrhage, and he said it was surely malaria tropica.

[126] I had to take a last photograph of the kapi-
661 tan, with his new bike, (and the giri tumba and a few others). The bike, Arriens[1] says, has been quite a case. Evidently the kapitan was avid for one and bought one for fl. 300.00. He then told the Radja and the latter scolded him, as he said he should have it for only fl. 150.00 on the distributie. Arriens said that he did not know about all of this when the kapitan and the Radja appeared and the Radja said why not give this man a bike. Arriens said that several other kapitan were in line for bikes ahead of him. However, the Radja said that the kapitan was doing good work and should have one. As I see the game, the kapitan, if he received the distributie bike, might sell the other one and get back something. Perhaps the Radja likes to keep one Christian kapitan, or perhaps the kapitan does good work. Or perhaps he is so dumb that he makes for little trouble.

● 651 Today, Sunday, the kapitan said there was plenty of trouble, because about fifty men say they will not pay taxes. He says it is because they think merdeka means no payment of taxes.

[1] [i.e. Controleur at Ende --Analyst]

651 Arriens said that he had heard this from the Radja as a big source of trouble now. I can imagine it. Their big trouble on this simple level, with the government, was only taxes (and for a few, jail). Thus, when freedom comes in, it means freedom from the Dutch burden, taxes.
[622] Anyway, I noted that the kapitan, as usual
[554] when in trouble, had called the giri tumba and the big ata ngga'eh nua (Bapa Ketjil) to come to his house in full adat dress. This underlines again the point that real prestige is in these old adat chiefs. They are the ones to call upon when a real decision has to be made. And there sat the malcontents, about to face the adat chiefs.

114 In Ndona, as I waited for the assistant to get the dukun from the hills, I sat in the jeep and read Bruine's[1] report on Lio, which was very
123 appropriate. As church got out, there gathered about at least twenty men and boys, and the latter hung over me while I was reading or at least trying to read the book. They were astonished, and read aloud, when they saw words
[212] like "mosa laki Ndona." And some of them could
[515] read the Dutch. Overall was the smell of sweat and onions.

181 The last trick of the assistant was to ask
123 for my fountain pen so that he could look at it and think of me. These folk are easily the most greedy yet. I doubt that one could appeal to mere good spirit here.

114 I think I have finally located the Rea which Elbert and Körner[2] always refer to as Rea Ndona.
103 I think they mean the Ende coastal area. I know where Ndona is, but I now see in a map in the Bruine[1] report that Tanah Rea is the former name of the area in which Nangapanda is on the south coast. It stretched to the north coast of Flores.

000 Back in these hills, which I wish I could explore, there may well have been endocannibalism!

[1] [Probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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212 one could read or write. In fact, this goes
for all of Manggarai. Everyone here speaks
191 the local language. About fifty per cent of
the people here speak Malay, and most of those
who are not able to speak it are oldsters. No
one can speak Dutch or English here.

212 Only those who have gone to school can read
204 and write. No one reads Bentara, a mission
797 paper (although the guru does). Two people
read the sheet which the mission puts out for
Manggarai. It is called Palita.

212 The only books here are religious books and
song books (and books in the school?). Note:
I saw many children with their school "tackle"
hanging on a string around their necks. They
wear them on their backs. They are a piece of
chalk stuck in a bamboo, a ruler, and a bamboo
with a wet cloth. These are for writing on
slate.

[651] The children and other literates write in
[217] order to "keep books." Thus there are the "tax
books" showing how much each person must pay in
palm wine, etc., to the tuan tanah. These are
written for him. All sorts of transactions are
"recorded," e.g., prices, borrowing, gifts for
such things as marriage feasts, etc. This is
brand new. There is practically no other form
of writing done here.

185 Everyone is eager to learn here. The only
191 language other than their own which is taught
here is Malay, but in class four they are start-
ing to learn Dutch, taught by the guru who was
in a seminary for two years.

207 There are no radios here. Once a pastor in
546 1941 brought a movie projector here, and many
people saw movies then. That's all.

412 There are many new tools here, for example,
shovels, drills, and axes. They are even able
178 to make some of these now. There is much more
415 use of iron tools and utensils than was formerly
the case.

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864 very sure about this. Nothing is a mystery.

178 There have been no changes in the last fifty
565 years in regard to social classes here, except
634 that the kraengs have lost their power, and
621 that Bima is no longer in. Also, the radja is
567 now superimposed. But the regular classes are the same, and even the kraeng still get a bit of respect, although this has suffered a marked decline. Note that the Radja is a Todo kraeng, and I can see that he tries to do the best he can for his enormous "family" by getting land for them, etc.

Cornelius lists in his notes:

tu'a kilo	household head
tu'a mbaru	house head
tu'a panga	lineage chief
tu'a tenu	va'u or kampong chief
tu'a beo	elders of the kampong, collectively
gelarang	who is also a tu'a tenu
dalu	district ruler
radja	new Manggarai ruler
ata leke	commoner
ata mendi	slaves who were bought or captured
ata lampang, ata sekontu, ata mangko' pitu	other slaves

The general term for "population" is ro'eng.

● 651 In the old days a tax was paid to Bima in
567 slaves (taki). It is remembered that three
661 men from Veol were taken off in this fashion,
178 but it is not known where they were taken. Others were taken as slaves because they didn't behave correctly toward the Bima dignitaries.
[689] Enslavement was evidently a great form of punishment here for any infringement in showing the proper respect to authority. Today there are no more "slaves"

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789 that the Larantuka radja does have an aradjang, but this is not the word for it here. I must
554 get the right word. There seem to be no out-
614 ward signs of status. The main thing seems to be a general knowledge of everything in the kampong and also whether a person lives in a "big house" or not. The Lango'Bele' system is impressive.

Notes on Larantuka: The mandur in the
551 pasanggrahan is a Madurawho married a Catholic woman here. His name before was Ali, but now since he became A Catholic he is known as Andreas. His children have taken their mother's Larantuka name, Dosari, and their forenames are Dominicus, Paulus, and Maria. One who died was named Aloysius.

501 There was one prau owned in Leloba. It was owned by the guru. It was wrecked yesterday.

651 The tax here now is fl. 23.50 per adult man. In the prewar period it was fl. 5.00. The people have trouble paying it and always have had this difficulty.

656 In the prewar period if one did not obey
687 the government one could be jailed easily. Since the war this government control has weakened. For example, in a recent land case the present kepala kampong would not sign a paper of the government, nor would the guru. The kepala kampong was jailed, but the guru tried to bail him out. The government refused to accept bail unless he signed. He asked if it would be possible to re-open the case later if he signed. They said yes, but then refused to re-open the case afterwards.

R Roworeke: On Christmas, we came back through
796 the mountains. On the way, especially in the
535 kampongs in the Lio mountains, we saw many small processions with drums, singing, and many people who were drunk. While dancing the people seem to use handkerchiefs most of the time. This is

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721 guages and thus carry on negotiations) would
[634] request soldiers. Such wars were usually
against the coastal folk on the north, that
is, Lio and Ende there. In the old days, just
721 about every outside kampong was considered
484 dangerous and it was seldom that a trip was
578 made there unless a bond of friendship existed
178 between one's kampong and the area visited.
[608] Now all of these kampongs are friendly. Still
I note that they don't like to sleep all night
outside the kampong. This is especially true
of the old folks.

829 Note on ideas concerning the "place" of the
local kampong in the world: In just about
every kampong, when I ask about the ranking of
world countries in population, they do not
know what to say (although a young boy knew
that China was the largest), but at once the
assistant and others get paper and copy down
the exact ranking from me with figures. They
evidently want to spring the question on other
people and stick them. It does show a definite
curiosity about these things.

608 The people here have a sort of pela bond
574 between kampongs, or at least they did at one
578 time in the past. They do not drink the blood
178 of each other as in Ambon, but they hold a
feast and drink the blood and eat the hearts of
the animals killed. And they eat together.
They pledge that they will not war against each
other and that they will show a certain degree
of hospitality to each other. Thus Roworeke
has such a bond with Waturoga, Waturoga with
Ndona, etc. This was all in the past, and I
didn't find out if there are any survivals.
I think there are, because the guru from Ndona
said that it is easy for him to live in Watu-
roga as his kampong had a bond with it. In
addition, he married in.

721 War was tabooed by the Dutch in 1908, and
648 since then there have been no wars.
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789 even the rice, animals, iron and trees have it. If an animal lives for a long time despite many blows, he is in possession of a lot of this power. Men differ in the amount of this power they may have. The radja has lots, and so on down the line. Thus power is a combination of ancestor sanction and real, indwelling power which comes with the blood of legitimacy. The stones and other fetishes linked with office reinforce and symbolize this power. One can even have power from animal familiars, as is the case with the assistant's father.

769 797 182 This led to a talk about how to reconcile the ancestors, who were pagan, with the abandonment of the rites they were used to. They have rationalized that God is more powerful than their ancestors, and the latter are in heaven anyway. They call on them rather than call them in person. The pagans, however, still do the latter. This is usual, and I think it is a real problem to them. Roy told how Laba, the last powerful pagan of Leloba, gradually took on Christianity after swearing that he would not. He tried it and his crops were still good. He decided that maybe it was all right. What would have happened if his crops had failed? And what if his crops failed steadily now or there was a great calamity? Could there be a nativist revival of paganism? The Catholics are working fast to kill everything before there is any chance of this.

346 [656] [796] I asked why the korke of several kampongs were in such bad repair. He said that this was because of the great cost in animals, etc. needed for a feast at the time of rebuilding. And, the government will not allow "wasteful" rites to be held. They say that it is a waste because so much food is consumed and so many beasts are killed. But why, then, let them build a new church for the one which is now burned in Riang Kamië?

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000 for tolerance!

764 178 At death, different rites are given according to the age of the deceased. Formerly, children were just buried, fast. Today they are also buried, but after a Catholic funeral service. Before and now, among all groups, after four days a beast is killed and the house is cleaned up. After eight days they wash the hair and bathe (does this mean that they do not wash until then?) and throw all the dirt into the river. Anyway, they buried and still bury after one day.

The same treatment is given for a person of middle age or a mere adult. If the person is very old, more rites are held. The blake (means mother's brother, but also all affinal relations) must bring tusks, goats, pigs. Until these are brought, there is no burial. Formerly, the body would be kept until it began to smell. Evidently, this was a kind of shaming. But if it got too smelly, it was buried (and evidently they still bury under these conditions) finally even though no gifts came from the blake. For an old person, a little house would be built on the grave. I gather that the government will not let them keep the bodies any more, so probably this practice is no longer kept up even by the pagans. Thus it seems that they have sanitary laws which have changed the death cult and rites over all Indonesia.

[656]

765 In the old days, after four days an animal was killed, and after eight days they had the wash up, cleaning of the hair, and the throwing of the dirt into the river. (This is clearly a rite to rid the community of the stain of death.)

764 178 656 And here it is, as I see it. Yes, he says the government now forces them to bury within a day. But until now, for an old person it was proper for the blake to bring a tusk and beasts.

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764 If the people were very poor (or evidently for
178 some other reason) they may not bring them.
[656] Thus there has not been much change except for the fast burial now enforced in all cases.

One can see a change in that the Catholics have church rites as well as pagan. And another change is that whereas even now all pagan bodies, are merely wound up in mats, Catholic bodies are put in a coffin. Formerly, very
766 famous men and stillborn children were buried near the house. Other people were buried outside the kampong (something like Limbo!).

Another thing is that if an old person dies,
764 one must guard his sleeping mat (evidently all
769 of this applies to old women too) for four days. Food for the soul and a lit lamp are placed beside the body. The ghost comes and eats. It can be seen whether or not the ghost is happy if the food has been neatly eaten. If the food is left messy, it shows that the dead one is not happy. The pagans still do all of this, and sometimes the Catholics do too.

764 There are no tombs here, and there were none in the past. They have graves. There are stone markers placed on the graves.

53 All forms of entertainment are local. They are particularly fond of singing. They also dance, and there are many kinds of songs using a complement of such instruments as drums, flutes and gongs. There are no viols. He stresses that they love singing.

526 Soccer is a new game here but it is very much
524 liked. They also have raga, the rattan ball kick game. This is also new here, Roy says. They do not play cards, dice, etc. They have a kind of fruit-pits-in-holes game.

53 There is no sculpture here. A little carving is done (on the korke, barns, and they used to have images in the korke). There is no painting.
536 There is no drama (but he sees the point that

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764 were put in a box and placed in the "attics" of the tombs. All except one of these tombs are gone, and this one is the Odja shrine. Now I understand why the bones are placed above in this shrine. This is like all the big men in the old days. Today, they can't [656] use trees because the government forbids this on hygienic grounds (why worry? the place is so dirty and disease-ridden that it seems foolish). Today the big men are buried in especially elaborate tombs of stone, in which many bodies are put (as in Sumba). Formerly, ordinary folk were just buried, or if they had money enough they were placed in tombs.

764 554 565 Thus one can say that only big men, that is, the kepala suku, were put in the attics of the pondok before. Other nobles were placed in stone tombs if they could pay the expenses. Evidently both of these kinds of nobles were first placed in a tree. An ordinary noble who did not have enough money, however, was simply buried, as there would be no use putting him in a tree if there was not to be a second funeral and a stone tomb.

764 Today bodies must be buried within twenty-four hours. They are buried or put in tombs. The only "memory feast" aside from the second burial disposal was held when it was desired to ask for rain by calling directly on the dead (evidently).

[184] Only the pagans still put the body in knee-chest position at burial. The Christians and Mohammedans bury their dead in an extended posture.

At the old tombs, when they have a funeral of one to be put therein, the Catholic priest, (and I presume the Mohammedan leader too) prays.

At the funeral feast, pagans, Catholics and Mohammedans all kill animals.

517 All amusement is local, except for rare and

We.

621 rang Veol was run between the two kampongs. This was because if it had included in the Veol gelarang all the kampongs inhabited by va'u Veol, it would have been very large. And Bima wanted to have as many gelarang as possible, because thus a greater tax yield was made certain.

342 592 656 178 Fifty years ago all houses were round. There were three of them, two in Veol and one in Ndung. These houses were about two times as large as the present round ones, that is, about twenty meters in diameter rather than about twelve meters in diameter. In one such house there might live up to three hundred people!

The assistant until about five years of age lived in a house in Pau with three hundred people. There were only two in the Pau kampong, one for each of the two va'u there. Then, in 1926, came a law stating that not more than three families could be housed in a single dwelling. It took some time before the houses became smaller.

In 1927, came a law stating that all houses had to be rectangular, not round (the paternalistic Dutch!). The people were willing to make their houses smaller, but they refused to make them rectangular. Also, they didn't know how to build a rectangular house. They had to call in specialists, carpenters. It is notable here that a really complex style of building, the round house type, was known to the primitive folk, but not the simpler rectangular type! Anyway, the law about having to build rectangular houses was rescinded after three hopeless years. Since then, houses until very recently were mostly round but smaller.

342 178 The next change was to have low walls on round houses, and also they began to use nails (I noticed that in the new rectangular house

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326 do not know how to do it.
178 Formerly there was no gold or silver work here. Today there is some. However, it was in Todo-Pongkor for a long time. Only a few people have learned this trade recently. The
● [656] Dutch forbade any metal work in any kampongs because it resulted in metal theft (what fools!).
262 There have been very few changes if any in the local diet. There is a little flour, tinned milk, etc. today. However, these things exist in very small amounts. The local people eat almost entirely their own food. The staple foods here are corn and rice, of about equal importance. In most of Manggarai, corn is more important (remember that the pastor said there was more rice now, but as a result of the wet irrigated rice fields there are more mosquitoes and more malaria). Meals are
[264] served three times a day. The people eat vegetables but almost no fruit. Meat is generally reserved for feasts, and this applies even for fowl. They may cut a fowl if there is a guest, but pigs and the like are reserved for feasts. There is no longer much hunting
[224] at all. There is some bird snaring. A lot of
[223] dry fish from the coast is eaten. This they have to buy. There are almost no river fish. The use of milk is new. Cheese and butter are said to make people sick. However, they eat all kinds of animals if they can get them, including cats, pythons, dogs, horses, etc.

The situation regarding food is much better today than it was. There are now many gardens, whereas formerly there were few. Today they
[438] must buy salt, tobacco, fish, betel ingredi-
[435] ents, and in particular, cloth. (This is dear; an ordinary sarong costs fl. 60.00 now.)
241 Irrigated rice fields and terracing tech-
178 niques came in only twenty years ago. Farming tools have been introduced. The buffalo and

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634 646 They said no, but that there was much free talk against the radjas in the parliament now!

622 646 624 888 All hereditary posts are genealogically linked. Most of the kepala kampong are still old illiterates. Parliament members are mainly middle aged people (the oldest literates, therefore). Age is of no concern for the hereditary posts, as one person merely succeeds to the post after another. In the kampong, however, the old men have the most influence, and the young people keep their mouths shut for the most part.

[562] Women may not hold hereditary posts. Until now women took no part in elections, but they may change things here.

829 ●666 There is still only a very restricted political horizon here, and there is little knowledge about such things. But at least they have elections. This is very important. They start with an election. As they say in Celebes, they catch on fast. Veol is the center of the gelarang, and Rahong is the center of the dalu, and Ruteng is the center of Manggarai. They think nothing about the "place" of Manggarai in Flores; the radja is just a "big man." Beyond this they know practically nothing about the daerah, negara, etc.

[614] [632]

648 Most of the people here thought the Dutch were all right and they were too uninformed to criticize them. Also, it must be remembered that they had been under the rule of Bima, and the Dutch at least drove Bima out. They did not even criticize the Japanese! They were simply not concerned. The great memory here is of Bima and slavery. They hate Bima.

609 Except for the pastors, everyone here knows of things and people who are Dutch only by name. Formerly they knew the local civil servants only slightly. They were always afraid of any new men who came here. This is true of my

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000 ring system.

829 Since the war, there has been plenty of talk and interest in Indonesian affairs. Before the war one never heard of such things. Formerly, the people knew only of the Dutch as far as the outside world was concerned. They knew very little about other parts of Indonesia. The war "opened the world" to these remote people. (But, I'd say, this was still a very slim opening.)

871 There was no school here at all fifty years ago. In those days, however, there was one guru in Wailolong and one guru in Leloba who could read and write. No students from here have studied at a university or at an HBS. Two students from here are now attending the middle school, in class six. All children from here now go to the lower school. One from Wailolong goes to school in Larantuka. There is also a middle school at Maumere. There are no native schools here.

[185] Roy reports that the people here like school today, and want their children to go as high as possible. (I doubt this. I think many, if not most, are rather vague about this subject. But I have to take his word for it.)

[463] There are no noticeable differences in activities connected with the level of education achieved by individuals in this area. This is because everyone is a farmer. The only exceptions would be the guru, but there are no local men of Wailolong who are guru.

[876] There is no non-official individual training. At one time they tried (evidently under government propaganda) a system where "everyone teaches another" but it stopped fast.

[797] The mission runs the schools here, but the government subsidizes them. I think this is
● [658] true for nearly all of the schools in Flores (check).

Wa.

000 much of a waste of animals.

796 I finally found out which kampongs do the
614 main ritual functions when they have a general
346 Belakang Gunung feast at which all kampongs are represented. This is when they have a new korke (or church). The order is as follows:

1. Kottang is Mudakaputu (descendants of Bampowa).

2. Keleng is Lewohala (descendants of Kewaka).

3. Hurint is Leloba (descendants of Belawaburak).

4. Marang is Wailolong (descendants of Keweluk).

5. The passer of food and drink and betel ingredients is Watuwiti (descendant of Mado). Thus they are the five brothers.

624 Hence we have the "sistim" which he himself
614 is so impressed by. There are priests in the
793 sense that the radja tuan and the kelake are
565 really suku and ama priests. They are administrative and ritual officers. In addition,
789 there are priests and gurus of the new religion.
756 And there are the molang or medicine seers. These have more power and influence if they are of bangsawan descent. Thus again the magic power of proper descent comes to the fore and we see that blood and rank affect even the influence of medicine men. Then there are the dukun, who are doctors but with magical aspects.

798 They are extremely liberal toward all religions. The only sign of any animosity I ever saw was toward Mohammedanism, and it was not even here except in Kampong Baru. The pagan resistance was more pronounced formerly. Today the two cults work together without much, if any, friction.

871 The schools are government schools, but the
797 mission runs them and evidently provides, but
● 658 does not pay, the teachers. The schools were

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871 once solely in the hands of the mission, but
658 they are now given government support. This
797 is a curious situation. I see more of the same thing in Roworeke, where the Mohammedan problem enters.

771 There are plenty of debates in Leloba about
798 religion always, and this was especially true in the days when Catholicism was coming in. Roy talked ceaselessly with the last pagan power, Laba. However, there was much less debate in Wailolong. In fact, Roy says that Wailolong is not much interested in religion, and he says that this is largely because the gurus there are outside men. They have little influence. And thus again we see the closed world aspect of this situation. Even when preaching the universal religion, a man has to be from the Belakang Gunung region and even from the very same kampong in order to get much of a hearing. I suppose the pastors are an exception. They are such big medicine that they can even be Dutch. I note, however, that probably Holland is so far off that it is like "a far-off heaven" and there is therefore no friction with the little closed world here. Roy says that Wailolong is not much for Christianity at all. Thus I see what I first saw, that Wailolong is really a pagan kampong with a Catholic name. That is why paganism shows up so clearly. And it may also be why there is no particular love for Leloba here, and why Roy is so much afraid to work there, or at least why he was so afraid at first. He actually feared being snubbed.

Roy predicts that the last pure pagan will have died in another ten years. There is knowledge only of Catholicism and pagan cults here. Hence there is no "comparative religion." Note again that Christianity means Catholic. Protestants are evidently seldom mentioned. How nice for tolerance!

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114 Roworeke: I started on the last two days, January 21 and 22, and went to work on the schedule.

797 Fifty years ago there were no Christians here at all. In 1922, and the kapitan says that it was in October or November, the Catholics entered. They cannot remember who the first convert was. At first acceptance was very slow (and this may be linked with the wars against the Dutch), but there was no strong resistance. These folk took it, they say. But I note that there are plenty of pagans even today.

771 162 The assistant says that this area is about sixty per cent Christian. All have been in contact with Christianity, as even the pagans have relatives who are Christians. There are also relations with Mohammedanism, as there are many Mohammedans near here, although few in this kampong. There are no troubles with any religion.

875 797 [658] There are two school teachers in Watu Roga, and two religious teachers. The school building belongs to the mission, but the government pays the costs and the salaries of the teachers. Perhaps it is a mere subsidy. There are no real troubles in regard to religion in school, partly because the teachers do not propagandize much, and partly because the people seem not to worry about religion. In fact, they kept on saying that I, as an educated man, might fuss over points of religion, but they knew so little that they would not know if they were being propagandized. Thus, I suspect that the gurus do not ever attack paganism directly, as this might cause trouble. Instead, they just slide in the Christian belief as though it were normal.

They have no trouble with Mohammedan teachers, as there is only one such in the whole Ende area. He is the son of the big kapitan Nggobe. The

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871 old people have been heard to say that they
185 wished they were young again so that they could go to school. "We didn't have these advantages in my day."

871 There is no trouble between the educated and
212 the uneducated. Until recently there was no
[578] conflict between the illiterate older people and the schooled young. Of course, they have only three grades anyway, but in all events they haven't had the problem of the stuck up children at all. There is no disobedience. There are still a few dalu and kepala kampongs who are illiterate, but this is becoming less and less so all the time. And they have assistants who help them.

The young do not teach the old here. The literacy campaign of the East Indonesian government failed here as everywhere. It started and then stopped. (Why learn to read when there is nothing to read? Why learn to write when no one writes? This is my interpretation.)

[787] The schools are run by the mission, but the
[658] government pays all of the expenses except for what the mission wants to give, for example, books. This is a system found all over Flores, I think. Mission schools are paid for by the government. The whole administration is carried out by the mission.

874 There is not a single person from here who
797 has gone to seminary. After the six grades the gurus go to OVO (Opleidingsschool voor Volksonderwijzers), a two year course at the mission in Ruteng. There is also a trade school at the Ruteng mission. The trade school gurus must go to a two year course in Ende Ambachtsschool, in the mission there, after they have finished six grades. There is no other available special education.

614 The assistant worked until midnight getting information for the outline in Veol and Ndung,

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771 conservative, but not fanatic. Cornelius[1] says that they do not analyze the situation by thinking of what good things Catholicism has brought. Opposition is in the form of criticism, not in terms of a balance of good and bad. Just about all education is in the hands of the mission, although schools are paid for mainly by the government. Even in Mohammedan Reo, I found, the schools are mission run.

[871] [797] [658]

The people here do not debate very much about religious matters, but they do criticize the Catholic opposition to polygyny and feasts. There are no real debates or discussions, however, not even within families.

[521]

In regard to other religions, they know only Catholicism. All they know about Mohammedanism is that they eat no pork and are allowed four wives. There is no knowledge of other cults.

[829]

764 Formerly, in disposing of the dead, a mat was used, not a coffin. Today boxes are used everywhere. The big change in funeral rites has been the addition of Catholic rites, but the old ones are carried out too, as in the case of the wedding. When someone dies, everyone howls, and this includes men and women. Then two or three children carry a spear around the area, telling who has died. A few people from each house come to the house of the dead. They place the dead on a mat, on the floor, with the head toward the door. A cloth is placed over the whole body including the face. Thus the body remains on the floor for one day. A coffin is made. The dead is dressed in fine clothes. A few carefully saved silver coins are usually put in the mouth of the dead.

[178]

At the cemetery a man hits the ground five times with a stick before the grave is dug. When the grave is ready, they bring the coffin and bury the body. The reason for hitting the ground five times is in hope that in this way

1 [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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684 out, one or both could be killed. (He said that usually one escaped.) (I didn't ask about widows, but must do so.)

659 Note: Formerly, no vital statistics were kept here. Only since the war have they bothered to keep a record of births, and deaths. They still do not record marriages.

842 The belief here is that the more children one
534 has the better it is for him. A man feels big
556 if his family is large. It is fine to have
857 twenty children. They have no idea at all of limitation, or that it might even be conceivable. If a man has no children it is cause for terrific shame. This applies even if he has only a few. They like boys and girls, and perhaps boys even a bit more than girls. Girls bring in tusks, but this is not all gain, because the family must pay a return gift. The boys, however, work in the fields and thus bring in a certain income. In addition, if there are lots of boys and thus a large family income, the family can buy tusks.

Thus the girls get tusks, weave, and cook; but the boys work and bring to the family an income and keep the group name going (and in the old days were probably good for warfare).

181 The word hasil is very important here. It means product, and this is the center of their life. Everything is judged in terms of hasil, and even religious and ritual leaders are judged by their hasil. If they produce, they are all right. If they do not, something is wrong. And these profits, or income, or produce, include food, children, tusks, magic, etc. This is a wide concept. They want lots of hasil, and of all kinds.

721 I asked about war in the old days and how
789 any of the kampongs could fight the traditional enemy Riang Kamië when it was always so much bigger. The kepala kampong looked significantly

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511 as I see more of this country. This area is terribly poor and overcrowded, full of stones, and has little water. The girls and women have [312] to haul water for Leloba from the coast, which is three kilometers off. And there is little food in the town. They are really hungry.

Vatter told of great illnesses here, and I 164 can see many examples of this today. Sore eyes 511 are terrible and probably caused by lack of vitamins. There are many children with large bellies, skin sores, etc. Nowhere before have I seen such misery in regard to mere existence. Last year, a priest told us later, there was a famine here. And now I can see how vital the old rainmaking and the practices of the tuan tanah must be here.

797 At the mission headquarters in Larantuka we 634 were told that it is hard for the mission to ●661 make plans here, because every time they get an 423 improvement, for example, in the land system, 427 the radja comes in and seizes the best land. 624 Also the tuan tanah stands up against all changes, and he is a "chiseler" also. Thus if they have a project which brings acres of improved land, the bigwigs wait until the work is done on it and then take the best part for themselves. The local people thus lose their land and many have thus been forced to work on the radja's land or for other big men as sharecroppers. Evidently the common division here is one-fourth of the crop for the sharecropper. The priests seem to regard the tuan tanah, who is the ritual and adat leader, as the worst.

622 We had some gin with the priest and then went 159 to the house of the guru Roy. He was Vatter's[1] assistant, and his house is the biggest in the kampong. He could be the kepala kampong, but because he is a guru, he passed the post on to his younger brother. They belong to the Hurin suku, which is different from the usual thing,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113—Analyst]

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783 The people here must confess at least once a year.

666 632 565 634 622 [646] There are only two elected representatives here and also in Wailolong. The only election in the area is for the parliament. There is also a kind of election for the kakang. The choosers are the twenty-four kepala kampong of the eight kampongs. In the old days, although they got together, and went through the form of accepting the oldest son of the deceased or ejected kakang, it had to be the eldest son. Now they actually choose from candidates. The candidates must be of the proper nobility, so there aren't very many. Thus, when the previous kakang went out (he was ejected in 1938 because of a misdemeanor), there were three candidates: Roy, a man from Lewohala, and the present kakang. Roy says they were the only ones who were both noble and qualified. By the latter term he means that they were clever enough for the job. They had to be of the direct descending family of the radja tuan or kelake. The Radja of Larantuka is chairman of the electoral committee. Roy said that he does not force a choice, but lets everybody talk freely.

632 634 622 [178] Then it came out that there have actually been three phases in the kakang business: (1) pre-1915: he merely represented the succession; (2) 1915--1938: a period of tyranny, when the radja simply chose whom he pleased. This was the period when the Dutch and the radja worked together, the dark years; and (3) 1938--present: election within limits. Roy knows the word "candidaat."

Nowadays the radja must accept the will of the kepala kampong. The last imposed kakang, of the Larantuka Radja family, was deposed in 1938. He had been chosen by the radja three years before.

[661] In 1924 Roy had been elected by the kepala kampong, but the radja would not accept him (in 1938 Roy was a candidate but was not elected). This is an example of radja tyranny.

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592 The oldest man is the head of the house, and his eldest son succeeds him. This is invariable. The eldest woman is the manager (nu'a luka rumah tangga). The eldest son's wife succeeds her.

783 673 It is interesting to note that both adat sins and church sins are kept track of.

509 We left Larantuka on Tuesday, January 9, and stopped that night in Maumere, so that Kattenburg can get his plane to Makassar on Wednesday.

286 On Wednesday I went on to Ende, and this took six hours, because I went to Sikka (didn't quite get there because the road had been torn up, although I did see Lela, which is near it). Sikka is really isolated, and the road leading there is poor. I noticed all along the road that there were women under or beside the houses weaving. This is true all over Flores. I noticed the drying of threads after dyeing, the looms, the wheels, the piles of cotton, etc. I note the same thing in Roworeke, Wailolong, Leloba, and everywhere.

634 661 439 789 769 I heard much about the radjas' shady business practices (led by the Radja of Sikka, but Larantuka is in on it too) in regard to the surplus distribution sold in Makassar and the copra smuggled into Singapore, etc. The Chinese are in on the deal. Some day these radjas will be out, and this will be better for everyone. I talked with Arriens[1] about them and he was doubtful that they have much magic power here, but I think there is quite a bit. It is perhaps not so directly electrical as in Celebes, but the respect hangs heavy, and they are the apex of the whole ancestor cult. This is true of Larantuka, and I suspect it is true of the other areas.

632 634 Arriens said there has been much trouble in Tana Ai, because they want their own kapitan, but Sikka evidently has his own ideas. Until

[1] [i.e., Controleur at Ende -- Analyst]

634 Until[1]
632 not so long ago there were three radjas there:
197 Sikka, Kangaë and Nita, and there was trouble over putting Sikka in full power. This has never stopped. Arriens[2] agrees that the Dutch were a bit mad to chop things up this way. When he was new here the Assistant Resident sent him to Tana Ai to find out what the situation was. He found that the kapitan there had had a previous meeting with the kepalas warning them to say that everything was all right. Arriens pumped them and the whole thing came out. The Dutch, he said, met the radjas they liked and took their word to the effect that their areas were much larger than they actually were. (But why not try to make a better go of it later on, when they still were able to do as they pleased?) There is little excuse for the stupidity of the government. He has also
• [661] heard of the fantastic behavior in regard to the rulers here, many of whom are crazy and others are certainly cruel. I can imagine the dirty work which goes on among the radjas. This must end.

697 In regard to the "jail parade" in Ruteng,
526 Arriens[2] said that in Kalabahi [on Alor], when it is Queen's Day, the regular event is a tug of war between teams of jail birds. They do this with a will, and after it each one gets a cake of soap.

R Roworeke: I started to work again here on
124 Thursday, January 11. It is depressing to be
624 with these inferior informants again after working with the guru Roy, but the secretary is better now since the kapitan is not here. Today two of the four mandurs of Roworeke were present and also the kepala kampong of Wolofeo. His kampong is located at kilometer 17 and is one kilometer up hill from the road. However, he has a house in Roworeke too. When he is away, the mandur is his deputy.

[1] [i.e., in Tana Ai--Analyst]
[2] [i.e., Controleur at Ende--Analyst]

000 showing the basis of the elective system here.

In regard to Roti, the radio repair man said that there are seventeen radjas in the island, and all are jealous of each other's rights. It is more civilized than Savu, where there are still plenty of pagans. In both islands the main food in the mountains is sugar water. And the islands are so overpopulated that they will fight even over a bit of wood to cook sugar from a palm. This is why, Arriens says, so many people from Roti are outside, and many of them are in the government too. They are clever and are forced to leave because of the population problem.

Roti is hard to deal with as they are always having lawsuits. Every new controleur is the signal for all of the old cases to be brought up again, for generations back. The recent controleur broke down under the strain. They also spied on him, even looking at what his boy bought in the market. They are terrible troublemakers. I remember Nunuhitu saying in Makassar that his family was just getting under way again on an old lawsuit, and this time he was determined to win. Thus it is an example of the feud pattern under the pressure of great need. And there is some of the clan business too.

634 The radjas here are operating on a small
● 661 scale, and have to make their own way, for example, Nageh has plenty of gold articles, but it is ceremonial property and cannot be sold. He has part share in a movie in Ende, along with the Chinese. The Radjas of Sikka and Larantuka are evidently in a smuggling business and in also on the sale of distribution supplies with the Chinese.

511 Why don't the children have their noses
515 blown? Mrs. Arriens has a good answer, aside from general filth. It is that there is no

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000 tubu musu, but plenty were held formerly.

Thus ended my work in Roworeke, a trying
164 place. The last day, Sunday, I again had to go to Ndona to get the old dukun, who was coming to give the kepala kampong a final treatment. The old man looked at me with bleary eyes as he entered the jeep for the second time in his life (and probably the last), and he seemed a bit less scared. He took my hand to help him in. What was he thinking, if anything, about this which was probably his first direct meeting with a white man? I later asked the doctor in Ende what could have been the illness that caused the nose hemorrhage, and he said it was surely malaria tropica.

[126] I had to take a last photograph of the kapi-
●661 tan, with his new bike, (and the giri tumba and a few others). The bike, Arriens[1] says, has been quite a case. Evidently the kapitan was avid for one and bought one for fl. 300.00. He then told the Radja and the latter scolded him, as he said he should have it for only fl. 150.00 on the distributie. Arriens said that he did not know about all of this when the kapitan and the Radja appeared and the Radja said why not give this man a bike. Arriens said that several other kapitan were in line for bikes ahead of him. However, the Radja said that the kapitan was doing good work and should have one. As I see the game, the kapitan, if he received the distributie bike, might sell the other one and get back something. Perhaps the Radja likes to keep one Christian kapitan, or perhaps the kapitan does good work. Or perhaps he is so dumb that he makes for little trouble.

651 Today, Sunday, the kapitan said there was plenty of trouble, because about fifty men say they will not pay taxes. He says it is because they think merdeka means no payment of taxes.

[1] [i.e. Controleur at Ende --Analyst]

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621 Pongkor until perhaps fifteen years ago, and
565 the kraeng kampongs are still directly under
567 the dalu. It seems that the ata lampang kampongs were under the dalu formerly too, but maybe they were merely slave kampongs under local rulers. The sekontu were indeed directly under Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps the picture was: under the dalu, the kraeng and the lampang kampongs; under Todo and Pongkor, the sekontu and mangko' pitu kampongs.

(5) There are kampongs which are about one hundred per cent of the dalu class. These are evidently the "capitals" of the dalu, for example, Rahong kampong.

567 Cornelius[1] says again that in his time, at
565 the most twenty years ago, there were still
624 plenty of slaves, and the Dutch hit this system
423 hard in order to get them out. Evidently the
[177] real mendi, the bought or captured ones, were merged first (as the slave trade and war were forced out), but the lampang type persisted until very recently. He later told me how much the lampang had to give in tribute to the kraeng. This links with what the kraeng (who was from Pongkor and a very soft spoken lad) who is now in Tjantjar said. He said that the kraeng had and have the right to settle and get land in any kampong. He has gotten land here. But they have to ask the consent of the tuan tanah first and have to pay the regular tribute to the tuan tanah. But the permission is not refused. I asked if they could take a lot of land, and he said no, that they had to be reasonable.

621 He said, the Todo and the Pongkor rulers (and
565 the dalu too, evidently) also placed kraeng in
●661 the kampongs to keep order (as so many wars were held that the folk would let them judge the cases, although they were not really administrative men, but rather prestigeful men) and to act as spies of the Todo and Pongkor rulers

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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621 and of the dalu. (Later the assistant said that
565 they were spies all right; they checked to see
●661 that the lampang didn't chisel on tribute and paid the proper share of produce to Todo, Pongkor, and the dalu. The assistant said they had to pay plenty.

567 Thus there has been a very rapid change here,
178 in the disappearance of the slaves as a class. And the recency may explain some of the sensitivity. These folk are just trying to make their way into full freedom and won't be held back.

565 When I first started on this, the kraeng, whose identity I didn't know as he was just dressed in shorts and was very unimpressive, said that all men were equal now! Then he went on to say that the kampong folk gave respect to the kraeng.

621 Possibly three hundred years ago there were
565 only two sorts of kampongs (see Coolhaas;[1] had the dalu in the eighteenth century). The dalu were not in yet then. The two sorts were: the ones where most of the population was gelarang (for example, Veol), and the ones where most of the population were commoners (for example, Adjang, which later became lampang). I asked whether any of the gelarang kampongs were made lampang, and the assistant said that he thought not, as the kraeng had to keep the native nobles in in order to keep things going (indirect rule!).

Cornelius[2] says that he does not know whence came the dalu or what the situation was before they came in. Evidently the Todo and Pongkor kraeng were conquerors and rulers here before the dalu came in (see Coolhaas).[3] It looks as
[177] though the dalu were put in by the Bima administration.

567 In regard to the recency of slavery here, note that the Sarasins[3] in 1902 or thereabouts

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst] [2] [i.e., the assistant -- Analyst] [3] [See 2: Kennedy, OB1 Indonesia, cat. 116, p. 242 -- Analyst]

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425 stand with the families and get a share, like
624 any ordinary person? This led to the usual
565 wild look and obvious reluctance. Then he
634 came through. The truth is that the kraeng
661 don't get their land directly, but rather, when a new garden is laid out, the radja just says, I'll take this part. It may be a quarter or even half of the pie. And he pays nothing. Then he gives pieces of the land so requisitioned to members of "his family," of whom there are hundreds, and more swarm out of Todo and Pongkor all the time. They pay nothing. Now I see why the kraeng yesterday said that a privilege of the kraeng is to get land anywhere in Manggarai. This seems to be a real burden, and is at least a racket. I can see where, if there is enough open land, a kraeng or anyone else might be given pieces; but the chiseling evidently comes from the fact that they get cleared and nicely laid out land after a lot of hard work has been done on it.

And now I can see perhaps why the priest in Larantuka said that the tuan tanah and the Radja work together (though this seems to be a strange combination, it might take place in Larantuka because the Radja is a kind of big tuan tanah himself and is part of the whole native tuan tanah system; i.e., he is the Kottang of the state), and as soon as the poor folk have cleared the land, the radja steps in and says, "I'll have this piece," and takes the best part. Perhaps the priest linked the tuan
[578] tanah in here because he naturally hates the tuan tanah, who are anchors of whatever paganism is left. This is why I'd like to know here whether the tuan tanah likes the kraeng and the radja and dalu (but the latter is a "different breed") or whether he grudgingly gives what he must.

5: Kennedy--337 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

We In regard to the Radja and the land matter,
425 I finally got it straight. The radja and kraeng
565 used to take what they wanted, worked or un-
634 worked. Also, they used to make the lampang
661 work the unworked fields and gardens. Starting
466 about two years ago there has been no more free
178 labor, but the radja and the kraeng must pay
wages. If anyone resisted before, he and the
whole family could be enslaved instantly. Even
now, they can generally get undeveloped land
for the asking when a new field is laid out,
but they must work it themselves or pay labor-
ers wages. They do not need to pay for un-
developed fields, any more than the local folk
have to pay for them. But other aliens, like
the assistant here, must buy such land. If
the radja or kraeng wants to obtain developed
land today, he must pay for the labor done on
it. Even the last remaining privilege, to
ask and get a piece of undeveloped land, is
in danger. A year ago, in Dalong, the folk
took back from the radja a piece of land that
had been given him and that he had worked.
Thus the old privileges die under merdeka.

565 All of the above information about the dalu
624 being here only since 1880 is wrong. Coolhaas 1
167 has reported that dalu were in Manggarai in
174 the eighteenth century. Their origin is un-
known. The assistant says that they all came
from overseas. The gelarang were merely tuan
tanah. The kraeng were among the dalu. They
were originally the dalu of the Todo-Pongkor
area. Thus the dalu have been here for a long
time. They were evidently pro-consuls of Bima
and Makassar (which fought long over Manggarai).
The pastor says that he thinks some of them were
originally locals who were elevated, and others
came from the outside. The assistant insists
that their family trees are different from those
of the gelarang. Maybe they represent a partly
elevated gelarang and partly kraeng from Todo-

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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864 very sure about this. Nothing is a mystery.

178 There have been no changes in the last fifty
565 years in regard to social classes here, except
634 that the kraengs have lost their power, and
621 that Bima is no longer in. Also, the radja is
567 now superimposed. But the regular classes are the same, and even the kraeng still get a bit of respect, although this has suffered a marked decline. Note that the Radja is a Todo kraeng, and I can see that he tries to do the best he can for his enormous "family" by getting land for them, etc.

Cornelius lists in his notes:

tu'a kilo	household head
tu'a mbaru	house head
tu'a panga	lineage chief
tu'a tenu	va'u or kampong chief
tu'a beo	elders of the kampong, collectively
gelarang	who is also a tu'a tenu
dalu	district ruler
radja	new Manggarai ruler
ata leke	commoner
ata mendi	slaves who were bought or captured
ata lampang	other slaves
ata sekontu	other slaves
ata mangko' pitu	other slaves

The general term for "population" is ro'eng.

651 In the old days a tax was paid to Bima in
567 slaves (taki). It is remembered that three
● 661 men from Veol were taken off in this fashion,
178 but it is not known where they were taken. Others were taken as slaves because they didn't behave correctly toward the Bima dignitaries.
[689] Enslavement was evidently a great form of punishment here for any infringement in showing the proper respect to authority. Today there are no more "slaves"

We Today there are more meetings and greater
208 effort to get the opinions of the people. This
694 is especially so since this Radja came in about
178 eleven years ago. Formerly, the radja merely
●663 ordered things to be done and paid no heed to
648 the local requirements, etc. Also, the radja gets around to more areas now. (We noted that the Radja is making a good-will tour, and probably all of them are scared of another Java.) He said that there is a much closer arrangement between the radja and the people now. Formerly the Dutch and the radjas worked together very closely, and anyone who spoke up was simply jailed. I can see this is as in Ende, and the Dutch here until the end used the jail as the solution for everything. They wouldn't listen to anything else. If the radja and Dutch work together the result is tyranny, and it is real here.

There is more justice here now, they say. They say this began about eleven years ago with the present Radja. But this may be out of respect, and they admit that the real change has taken place here since the war. The war really liberated Indonesia. There is no more use of brute force. People can speak up now.

789 We had a long talk about magical power. They
769 say that the power of the chiefs, from the radja
622 to the adat kepala kampong to the kepala suku to
[153] the kelake, is all a matter of fear of ancestral punishment. If they do not obey, they
[152] become sick and have misfortunes. The magical power comes mainly from the ancestral spirits, but it is funneled through the magic stones of authority too. The curse power of an adat chief is very great. The power of the purely administrative chiefs, for example, the kepala kampong, who does not deal with adat, and the kakang, is that of the police, etc. This is actually not so because all of the chiefs are of the proper succession. If they ever tried to put one in

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423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
497 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has magical power, but we didn't get into the full
[778] story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

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684 This was not so. They were merely a kind of fine
231 for committing the wrong, and the animals were all those of the groom. Both parties give animals at the wedding feast.

665 There are no political parties here, not even
181 internal factions. At any given time they may have a kind of loose lineup on an issue, but this is purely ephemeral. There is not even enough issue feeling to have meetings on any subject. Roy keeps saying that the folk here are stupid, and when it comes to politics they are youngsters. This is an illustration of the prevailing habit in East Indonesia of running themselves down. This may be a form of politeness or modesty or a real feeling of self-disparagement learned through many years of subjection to the radjas and to the Dutch.

462 No posts are held by women. This adat. Women
562 are household managers, and work on clothing, food cooking, and the arranging of marriages (or at least advising the men on how to arrange good marriages). They also hold the positions in ritual of nu'a luka and tuno wudjo. If there is a discussion taking place in a house, for example, a group of lads sitting about and talking on political topics (at this level), etc., the women of the house may join in a bit. This is all. However, I don't get the impression that women are suppressed here at all.

186 In the old days, the local people were very proud of Larantuka, and they remember now that Larantuka alone, in all Flores, remained independent when the rest was under Bima. Larantuka was free, and as Roy says, "It bordered on Bima." As for feelings in regard to other radjadoms in Flores, there seems to be no rivalry or enmity. They have not come up enough to do as the people in Ambon do, and say that Flores is the "forgotten island." They do not yet know enough to complain about their share in the Indonesian government.

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829 they only saw them run away when the Japanese
[618] came in. He then said something which was quite interesting: that it is not hard for even the illiterates here to understand the government of any land in the world, as they have had so much experience with a system of government here. All they have to do is imagine the alien organization in terms of their own political organization.

875 As for information spread about in regard to
203 politics and current events, Roy says that the guru do a lot of this. The people ask them questions, and they are really big men.

521 The people here do not talk much about poli-
829 tics. Even when they had the big day of celebrating independence and the flag was flown, after the main information about the Round Table Conference was out, the people began to talk about their gardens, etc. They know about Sukarno, because his picture is everywhere [the Hitler theme?]. The thing which really settled
[798] the rumor that the red and white flag is that of Islam was Sukarno's speech that all religions were free. Priests must have publicized this.

The local people know that Java is the center
829 of all Indonesia, but there is little talk about
203 this yet. Roy sees the importance in this of
521 the complete absence of movies, radio, and the relative absence of papers. If the people had these, they would talk more (as do the backward Buginese who see movies of other lands and are curious about them).

Roy says that Catholicism does not mix itself
794 up with politics here at all. When elections
665 are held, the priest says in church that they must be sure to choose the right man. At least, he insists that the church is not involved in politics. I tried to press Roy by telling him how the church tried to get another radja for Manggarai, because the present one, although

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794 Catholic, has two wives, but he was adamant.
●665 As for Mohammedanism, he says that they are dormant politically, or at least they have been until recently. Now that Dr. Sutomo is here he is becoming a kind of Mohammedan leader. However, the Mohammedans are few and they are important only in Kampong Baru. There was a
798 rumor here on the Japanese entrance that the
203 Japanese were Mohammedans. It went further to the effect that all Christians and pagans were to be killed. The theme was that you had better get your songko boys. There was a new version, when the red and white flag went up. It went that this was really the flag of Islam and that the Christians and pagans would have no voice in the government. He thinks that perhaps this rumor was started by the Mohammedans. It was here that he joyfully parroted several times my word desas-desus [whispering, rumors]. He learns new words fast.

The situation here is the reverse of the
178 usual thing. The Catholics are the radicals,
797 in the sense that they are against the old
565 things which are pagan, and the pagans are the
177 conservatives in the sense that they want to
769 keep the old ways. This will change later, surely.

This led to a long talk about the entry of Catholicism here. Roy admits that he may be the most powerful factor in the fast and one hundred per cent conversion here. He said that the main reason was that he gave good lessons (ketranggan [interpretation, clarification, proof]) and the second reason was that he happens to be a real noble. The latter meant not only that he had a good name and respected rank, but that he was in close touch with and had real privileges in the pagan ancestral stuff. Indeed, his own rank depends on the ancestor cult. If he was willing to take a chance with the new

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797 that there was less open conflict than in Leloba.
798 There was a chance to mix the pagan with the new
177 and develop a syncretism. In Leloba it was a
184 life and death struggle, and indeed it was, as
578 the issue shows, a showdown. Perhaps Roy refused to compromise. This is a very interesting contrast. They had their fight out in Leloba and gave up paganism, while Wailolong held onto a little of the old. Indeed, he says that the Catholics in Wailolong do many of the pagan rites today, whereas the Catholics of Leloba have no ceremonies left to participate in.

[665] Since there are no political parties here,
797 and the real issue in Wailolong now is religion,
177 since all depends on it, I went right back to
798 the struggle on this point too. The leader of
578 the Catholics in Wailolong is the guru from Bama. His outside origin is a handicap. (I am just about sure that Roy is the main man to destroy paganism in Leloba. He was the perfect man for the job.) The leader of the pagans is Blawa, the kelake of one of the Datong ama. He is the one who shares the office with the legitimate kelake, Doeng, who is less able to do so. The Radja tuan of this head suku is not so eloquent, and so Blawa is the center of resistance. I asked if he got along all right with the guru and with Roy, and he said yes. Again the mild-
[181] ness of the folk stands out, together with their
[152] tolerance. They simply do not show anger.

Anyway, the pagans, even Blawa, have given up. Their only struggle is over little things (please let us have at least one little girl for a tuno wudjo!). They just try to hold on, like their last gasp. They are going down the road to death, and after them the pagans will be eclipsed. It is dramatic.

166 The only people who go away from here usually
484 go to jail, as Roy says. This is the only trip they make.

We.

•665 The thought of a political career is absolutely absent. No one has it, not even the guru.

204 The one local paper, the mission bi-weekly
203 "Bentara" (herald), is received by only one
212 guru in Leloba and two guru in Wailolong. It is read by perhaps ten other individuals in each place. It is very important, as it is the only paper here. The people are now in the habit of asking the guru what is in the paper. Thus the word of mouth is the main vehicle, but the feeble paper is an important item. The only books here are school books and religious books. Adults read only the latter, and not for fun. However, they love stories, and he is sure that a library would be deluged with readers. Literate adults over thirty or forty are rare. Younger people are mostly literate. There is
[207] no radio here at all.

582 There have been no changes in the marriage
593 system to speak of in the last half century.
858 Roy says there have been few changes in the
888 family either. I tried to ask if the children are less respectful or obedient now, but he said no. I tried to get this by the religious conflict, but he is adamant that it never split up families. Even here there was never a loss of respect for the elders, even though they were pagans and the children were Christians. And the elders, although their hearts were sick, never tried to force their children to follow them. They were just not violent. There was never a case of disowning. He said a parent would be ashamed forever if he had done so, and indeed it was quite unthinkable. They love children so much that, though they might try to talk with them, if a child remained firm always a child would get its will. The parents would be ashamed of any open or loud conflict. They might have troubled hearts, but that's all. Although they might try reasoning with them, they would go no further.

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666 about. But with the second election they came without pushing and were then experienced. The two electors recently chosen were both from Roworeke (Migo[1] and one other person). They went to Ende to vote.

666 Migo[1] is uncertain in regard to the system
646 here, but remembers that for the Flores representatives to the East Indonesian parliament there was a list of four candidates, among them the successful one from Ende, Montero, a teacher. He is unclear about the elections for the Flores parliament too (there are two local houses: dewan radja-radja and the dewan perwakilan rakyat Flores). He does not even know how many members there are in all. There is evidently a different election all along the line for each parliamentary representation.

(I know that there are at least three representatives from Flores in the Makassar parliament: Raats, Adrianus, and Montero; maybe more?)

Migo[1] says there is no feeling on the subject of elections, as to whether they are good things or not. He says the people are just stupid, and they do what they are told.

The ones elected today are younger than they
178 were before, as they have to be schooled. Formerly, the older the man the greater his influence. The hereditary posts are just that and always have been. He says there was no conflict between the old and the young, not even at first. They take anything, they are so stupid.

665 There are no political parties. At first
178 there was trouble in regard to the new things, but long since the old ones have decided that this is a modern world (and how this word modern is used all over Indonesia!). There is absolutely no fuss about anything now, and there was very little fuss before.

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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783 The people here must confess at least once a year.

666 632 565 634 622 [646] There are only two elected representatives here and also in Wailolong. The only election in the area is for the parliament. There is also a kind of election for the kakang. The choosers are the twenty-four kepala kampong of the eight kampongs. In the old days, although they got together, and went through the form of accepting the oldest son of the deceased or ejected kakang, it had to be the eldest son. Now they actually choose from candidates. The candidates must be of the proper nobility, so there aren't very many. Thus, when the previous kakang went out (he was ejected in 1938 because of a misdemeanor), there were three candidates: Roy, a man from Lewohala, and the present kakang. Roy says they were the only ones who were both noble and qualified. By the latter term he means that they were clever enough for the job. They had to be of the direct descending family of the radja tuan or kelake. The Radja of Larantuka is chairman of the electoral committee. Roy said that he does not force a choice, but lets everybody talk freely.

632 634 622 [178] Then it came out that there have actually been three phases in the kakang business: (1) pre-1915: he merely represented the succession; (2) 1915--1938: a period of tyranny, when the radja simply chose whom he pleased. This was the period when the Dutch and the radja worked together, the dark years; and (3) 1938--present: election within limits. Roy knows the word "candidaat."

Nowadays the radja must accept the will of the kepala kampong. The last imposed kakang, of the Larantuka Radja family, was deposed in 1938. He had been chosen by the radja three years before.

[661] In 1924 Roy had been elected by the kepala kampong, but the radja would not accept him (in 1938 Roy was a candidate but was not elected). This is an example of radja tyranny.

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622 carries on the prerogatives in a hereditary
614 fashion. If these posts are not so held, the people will not follow the individuals who occupy them.

In regard to magic power, he says that
789 there is none here. Not even the radja pos-
624 sesses any. Nevertheless, he says that everyone, without exception, obeys the officers. They just do it. He thinks that perhaps in the mountain kampongs I might still find ideas about magic power, but not here. I couldn't get anything more about this. Thus the situation here is different from the magic power and support of the ancestors which the officers in Larantuka have.

793 The pastors have magic power (and here per-
789 haps I can say that they are the only ones who today still have such power). They can wash away sins, do miracles, etc.

All adat posts are passed on from eldest son
624 to eldest son in a pure succession manner. They
646 remain the same. The elections of the kepala kampong and the kapitan are new. Also new are the members of the Flores parliament and of the East Indonesian parliament. There are two electors in the district Rewarangga, for there are about one thousand tax-paying men. There is one elector for each five hundred tax-paying men.

● 666 When there is an election of electors, the kapitan calls all of those tax-paying individuals to his office, and he (the kapitan) posts a list of four candidates (!!). Each man comes forth clutching a stone, and he whispers his choice to the two "guards". The guard slips the stone in the proper pile. This is all done secretly and by whispering (but the guards know!). At first, the people here did not understand this and had to be egged on to come to the election. They did not know what it was all

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[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

648 other types of slaves, and a few other things.
634 They also put in the radja. Otherwise they did
[681] not make much change in the traditional administration. Bima was out, and this may be why there is not so much feeling against the Dutch here.

565 As far as nobility is concerned, there are
789 the radja, dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, but
756 they have no magic power. The kraeng says, however, that Todo and Pongkor sengadji used to have magic power (another sign of Makassar or Bima influence?). The mbako has magic power. The more I hear, the more I see that the mbako is really an important man.

622 The succession of radjas goes from eldest son
624 to eldest son or brother. The same holds for
632 the dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, and tuan panga.
634 However, the dalu wakil is chosen by the dalu, always from his family, I suppose. The kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu after sounding out the feelings of the kampong. Many of these are commoners. Some are also tuan tanah. The tuan mbaru is merely the old man of the house with influence. He is usually the oldest. This position is non-hereditary and is evidently a matter of age.

Thus we see that all of these are hereditary, with the only exceptions those of the new kepala kampong and the unimportant tuan mbaru and the obvious dalu wakil.

666 A recent innovation has been the election
646 of members of the Flores daerah parliament,
635 the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Flores.

There are five members from Manggarai, elected at large, but by electoral districts. There are five districts named according to the place where the electors meet:

(1) Ruteng (South Central Manggarai)
(2) Rekas (West Manggarai)
(3) Tjantjar (Central Manggarai)

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666 (4) Lingkoadjang (East Manggarai)
646 (5) Reo (North Central Manggarai).
635 There is one elector for each five hundred adult taxpaying males. Thus there is one for Veol, and one for Ndung (i.e., for the Ndung gelarang). The kraeng who "works" with me is an elector from Veol. To choose electors, all five hundred men come (or can come) to the
632 place of the meeting. The dalu is the chairman, and the djurutulis sits apart and each man files past him and whispers his choice. He totals up the votes and announces the leaders. There may be four to six or more who become candidates for the position of elector. Then everyone files by again and whispers his choice. The winner is the one who gets the most votes.

From the Tjantjar district there are about one hundred and fifty electors (this means that there are in this area about seventy-five thousand "voters"). On the appointed day they come to Tjantjar (selected because it is on the road and centrally located), and a man from "the office" acts as chairman. Each elector gets a slip of paper and writes his choice on it. They are added, and the highest few are candidates. In the last election here there were three candidates: Dalu Rahong, a clerk in Ende named Hambur from Todo, and a guru from Ruteng named Tjangkung. The guru won, and became the Tjantjar area representative. Note that they can choose a man from anywhere in Manggarai.[1] Conceivably all five members could be from one town! I think this is the English system too, i.e., a local representative need not be a local resident. Note that the dalu got on the slate (old influence) but didn't win (new influence).

634 I asked if there was any way to remove a
646 hereditary officer, for example, the radja.

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592 The oldest man is the head of the house, and his eldest son succeeds him. This is invariable. The eldest woman is the manager (nu'a luka rumah tangga). The eldest son's wife succeeds her.

783 It is interesting to note that both adat sins
● 673 and church sins are kept track of.

509 We left Larantuka on Tuesday, January 9, and stopped that night in Maumere, so that Kattenburg can get his plane to Makassar on Wednesday.

286 On Wednesday I went on to Ende, and this took six hours, because I went to Sikka (didn't quite get there because the road had been torn up, although I did see Lela, which is near it). Sikka is really isolated, and the road leading there is poor. I noticed all along the road that there were women under or beside the houses weaving. This is true all over Flores. I noticed the drying of threads after dyeing, the looms, the wheels, the piles of cotton, etc. I note the same thing in Roworeke, Wailolong, Leloba, and everywhere.

634 I heard much about the radjas' shady busi-
661 ness practices (led by the Radja of Sikka, but
439 Larantuka is in on it too) in regard to the
789 surplus distribution sold in Makassar and the
769 copra smuggled into Singapore, etc. The Chinese are in on the deal. Some day these radjas will be out, and this will be better for everyone. I talked with Arriens[1] about them and he was doubtful that they have much magic power here, but I think there is quite a bit. It is perhaps not so directly electrical as in Celebes, but the respect hangs heavy, and they are the apex of the whole ancestor cult. This is true of Larantuka, and I suspect it is true of the other areas.

632 Arriens said there has been much trouble in
634 Tana Ai, because they want their own kapitan, but Sikka evidently has his own ideas. Until

[1] [i.e., Controleur at Ende -- Analyst]

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186 This may come later. The truth seems to be that they are not "Flores-conscious" or "Larantuka-conscious."

186 798 Indeed, the only slight flare of criticism of any other section or group on Flores was Roy's statement that the Mohammedans cause a bit of trouble (but this seems to be a fear or perhaps a recognized resemblance to the previous troubles here; for example, see the history of the Mohammedan attacks on Christian settlements in Flores). They are singularly mild on all this, especially when contrasted with Ambon and the chronic "gripers" there.

648 609 578 681 The people here all knew that they were a subject group. Although they were not happy, there was no revolutionary spirit. There was some secret criticism, and everyone was sure that it would be better to be free. Roy said that one impressive thing was that the people disliked the coarse quality of the Dutch, and he said that there was too much of the "god verdomme" stuff. He imitated a coarse Dutchman swearing at the natives. And in the prewar period, all the people here would gladly have seen every single Dutchman leave, except the pastors. They liked the latter, but hated the officials. A sore point, of course, was that of taxation, but they also hated the summary way they were so easily put in jail. He keeps on saying how if a man tried to press his case with the Dutch, the latter just waved his hand and said, "To the bui with him."

648 578 609 When the guru had his famous case concerning the land, and the kepala kampong was put in jail because Roy and he would not sign the paper, twenty soldiers surrounded his house. The kampong people were so angry that they wanted to start a battle then and there. Roy dissuaded them, however, and then offered to pay a fine in order to release the kepala kampong. The

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727 was then that Keweluk said it was taboo to kill,
266 (to kill women only evidently?). Maybe Vatter[1] has a version? Anyway, he did admit that when an enemy was captured in war, although they didn't kill him in the korke (he was a bit shocked at the idea), they would kill him outside the kampong. His father did this, which was quite decent after all!

He insists that there was no cannibalism at
754 all, except that formerly (and even today?) the
[266] suwanggi did it. They were and are evidently the devils here. They do the things that other people wouldn't. I wonder if perhaps they are the scapegoats for past practices. That is, they say that their ancestors never did such things, only the suwanggi did them. But, note that there were plenty of suwanggi. Roy's father had to kill fourteen in one day in Leloba alone! There is something fishy here. Either he won't tell everything, or else he has forgotten, or else I am really wrong to suspect him.

681 The death punishment was given only to suwang-
684 gi (again the devils). It was also given in cases of adultery if the offenders were caught red handed.

Thus my work in Leloba--Wailolong ended. Roy
115 is a fine old fellow. His only requests were to
124 ride with me if I happened to be going the "same" way," and to take his relatives and family along. He also wanted some photographs, and I will send him a photograph of me. And a copy of my book. I will also send him some medicine for asthma. How different he is from the begging and crafty Endenese.

Roy probably won't live much longer. He is a dramatic figure.

He, more than anyone else, probably, killed off paganism here. But he retains the tolerance and respect for his ancestors, and a knowledge of and pride in the legends and old things.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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167 651 486 men to leave, as the tax is on each household headed by an adult man (fl. 12.50 annually), and thus the radja would lose income if they emigrated.

266 ●681 754 There was head-hunting here before. They say that the only cannibalism was the eating of the hearts of enemies in order to gain additional strength. There was no human sacrifice, they say, but they have heard of the Lio stuff (and I checked with Arriens[1] and noted that de Bruine[2] in a report on Lio did not list this as among the crimes of the executed Radja of Lio--whose alias was Pius!--but Arriens says that he did it anyway). The only way a person could be given the death punishment was to be proven a suwanggi.

778 831 178 More about the tubu musu. They say that "musu" means "two become one." If so, this is perfect, and indeed the tubu musu is similar to the linggam-yoni. Indeed, they say that it consists of an upright stone, less than a meter high, standing on a flat one. "Tubu" they say means "stone," but I note that Arndt gives it an "obscene" meaning (or is it the musu part that is obscene? check Arndt's Lio dictionary).

They have a rather vague idea that this tubu musu may represent male and female. And it can have children. Thus it is like many such stone-bearing stones in Indonesia, including the stones of Larantuka and some on Ambon. I asked if the tubu musu still had children, and this is beautiful, "no more." It is like Roy saying that the familiars of his father appear no more (but they are there and he could call them: "I can call the spirits from there, etc." "Yes, but will they come?") He has no doubt that they would come. I should have asked if the stones still could have children. Anyway, both they and Roy are completely serious about what used to happen. There are no more rites held at the tubu musu, but plenty were held formerly.

[1] [Controleur at Ende--Analyst]; [2] [Probably Controleur at Lio--Analyst]

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622 Rahong is just about the same as fifty years
624 ago, except for the kraeng kampongs which have gone out since about fifteen years ago. Also, there have been kepala kampongs since then. The organization runs as follows: Kampong: tuan tanah; kepala kampong; tuan panga; tuan mbaru. These form the kampong council. Some kampongs have the same man as tuan tanah and kepala kampong.

632 Gelarang: the gelarang (and they use the
614 title dangka for him, also) (one can't use "tenu" and "gelarang" at the same time; thus it is not "tu'a tenu gelarang"), and the kampongs below him are included. There is no council, and there are no scribes, secretaries, oppas, or anything else. The va'u is usually almost equivalent to the gelarang. But this is not always true. Thus va'u Veol covers both Ndung and Veol. And some branches of va'u Veol are in other areas, while, for example, a branch of Tjepang is in the Veol gelarang.

Dalu: dalu, dalu wakil, secretary, oppas, mandur, and the gelarang below. There is no council.

634 State: radja (the radja bitjara post is now empty since the former one died), secretary, oppas, mandur, and the office force. Again there is no council and no ministry. However, there is a Hakim Adat of Manggarai. The chairman used to be the radja bitjara, but now he is the radja's younger brother. The members, chosen by the radja, are four in number. At present they are Kraeng Dalu Ruteng, Gelarang Pau (the assistant's father), Gelarang Tenda, and a man of the Ruteng kraeng family.

692 Adat cases may be settled on the kampong, gelarang, or dalu level; or they may go up to the Hakim Adat.

648 The Dutch removed the death punishment,
● 681 double repayment in cases of theft, lampang and
634

648 other types of slaves, and a few other things.
634 They also put in the radja. Otherwise they did
[681] not make much change in the traditional administration. Bima was out, and this may be why there is not so much feeling against the Dutch here.

As far as nobility is concerned, there are
565 the radja, dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, but
789 they have no magic power. The kraeng says,
756 however, that Todo and Pongkor sengadji used to have magic power (another sign of Makassar or Bima influence?). The mbako has magic power. The more I hear, the more I see that the mbako is really an important man.

622 The succession of radjas goes from eldest son
624 to eldest son or brother. The same holds for
632 the dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, and tuan panga.
634 However, the dalu wakil is chosen by the dalu, always from his family, I suppose. The kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu after sounding out the feelings of the kampong. Many of these are commoners. Some are also tuan tanah. The tuan mbaru is merely the old man of the house with influence. He is usually the oldest. This position is non-hereditary and is evidently a matter of age.

Thus we see that all of these are hereditary, with the only exceptions those of the new kepala kampong and the unimportant tuan mbaru and the obvious dalu wakil.

666 A recent innovation has been the election
646 of members of the Flores daerah parliament,
635 the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Flores.

There are five members from Manggarai, elected at large, but by electoral districts. There are five districts named according to the place where the electors meet:

(1) Ruteng (South Central Manggarai)
(2) Rekas (West Manggarai)
(3) Tjantjar (Central Manggarai)

We

538 but many are still remembered. I get the idea that the decline here is not so great as in many other areas.

484 There is practically no desire here yet to go to places which are "happier."

721 There was no head-hunting here at any time,
266 nor was there any cannibalism, although they did drink blood for revenge pleasure in war. There was no human sacrifice and no torture.
●681 The death punishment was given for murder, a slave having sex relations with a kraeng woman, primary incest (but more distant incest was punished by a purifying rite only). The way the death punishment was carried out here and in Pongkor was to throw the victim down into a river from a high point.

411 Note: To kill a beast the people here use
231 a spear or a long knife. It is nearly always the latter.

778 The tjompang tree may be only either waringin
824 or dadap.

515 I see plenty of lice-plucking here. The pretty wife of the head guru I saw plucking the head of another woman. And I see this all over. And here, judging by the smell, they seldom bathe. I see no bathing places. Toilets are evidently holes in the ground enclosed by a screen. I don't remember seeing lice-plucking in Makassar or Buginese areas, but perhaps they do it too. I also do not remember seeing it in Ambon. The Toradja certainly do it. Note that the Endenese and people in Larantuka bathe. The Toradja don't. I think it is probably mountain people (especially the dirty Ngada) who do not bathe and also who have more lice. In this regard, note the Manggarai Ngada, Toradja, and Batak. The Minangkabau, although living in the mountains, bathe (a sign of former coastal life?).

124 Thus ended the Manggarai work, and the as-

782 suku, does the praying, as the Kottang, Kelen,
788 and Hurint do their jobs. The guru has seen old
614 men of all suku do the praying, but has never
happened to see a Marang doing it. This is conclusive. He agrees that perhaps some relation exists between the term and the function and the suku, but he doubts it.

I read how Vatter,[1] shortly after he left
721 Leloba, heard that there was a war between Le-
●682 loba and Waibalun. And right now while we are here, after nearly twenty years, there is a war between Leloba and Waibalun. They ask whether aliens here bring the wars. At present there are several Leloba men in jail because they have killed a Waibalun man (just the other day).

I read the passage in Vatter which tells that the guru's father, when he was kepala kampong, killed (I think) fourteen suwanggi in one day. The guru said that this was true and that nowadays even though there are still suwanggi the government will not allow them to be killed. The kepala kampong said that it happens once in a while that a man, plagued by the wickedness of a suwanggi, kills someone and is then sent to jail.

Then we started to work on the social organi-
614 zation of Wailolong. What is happening is that
621 I am getting material on the two kampongs and maybe that is the way to present it, not explicitly, but with emphasis on Wailolong. There
[184] are noticeable contrasts with the one hundred per cent Christian community.

Ama Datong, Leworita, Ama Hurint, and Lewato,
[788] and Lewodoreng are the suku. The first plays the part of Kottang in ceremonies. Kottang is not found here. Leworita plays the part of Kelen, which is not here. Hurint is O.K. The Datong are the original settlers here.

I. Ama Datong

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

R

684 fine. Evidence of a man adulterer is not good. I think he pays a fine to the wife, but I am not sure. Anyway, there was a case of a man in Ende who killed his wife when he caught her and a man in his room. The man escaped. The murderer got only a three months sentence.
[583] Although an injured man receives a fine, he does not get the bride price back, because he keeps the errant wife. If he kills her, he loses both the bride price and the wife, but he gets the fine anyway.

754 Note: This led easily into the matter of
682 killing a suwanggi. They say that there are plenty of suwanggi here, and, although the government forbids killing them, they do it secretly. They just won't stand for them to get away with their witchcraft. The guru said that they wait until the suwanggi is alone in the garden and then kill him. And no one in the kampong will inform on them, he says. They do fear jail, however, and this reduces the number of suwanggi murders.

589 A widow may stay in the house of her husband. The children belong to his family. The same is true of a widower.

587 A very regular procedure is the levirate. There is no bride price in such a case. The brother merely takes in a widow or widows together with the children. It is a duty, and moreover they are pusaka of the family, as the old man paid for the women. I asked what the Catholics did about this, and he said this is all right if they merely take in a poor widow and her children, but they do not allow sex relations or marriage with her. Then he added slyly, but of course probably a man in such a position does have sexual relations with her secretly.

The sororate is also usual, although it is not required. However, if the pair has already

We.

763 There was a death in Veol, and from the hill there came the sound of weeping and howling. I asked if someone had died recently, and he said after listening that the person had died this morning. He could tell by listening, so it seems that there are evidently stages of howling. The next day there was no drumming in the kampong, because of the death, and evidently the dead takes precedence over wood.

186 Everywhere in Indonesia now, as this morning from the school, one can hear Indonesia Raja sung. They all know that it was taboo before.

342 I saw the Radja's house in Ruteng today. It is a complex of three round houses, with one big one in the center. Of course, it was made of fine wood, which was about octangular, but the roof was made of grass thatch. It was impressive.

766 The Radja's daughter of about ten years of age died today, and there was a constant coming and going of cars, police jeep and others, bringing the local kraeng to Ruteng. I took one of the kraeng along at noon. I also took 515 a lot of others, and the smell was strong in the car. I think they never bathe. The pretty head guru's wife got sick, and also one child. They vomited because of carsickness.

194 The mandur said the Ngada can never get over their accent, which is full of gutturals. It is like Dutch. I heard this in the Radja's Malay in Badjawa. The guttural g is here a bit too, as noted in the place name Ndeges, with the g pronounced as in Dutch.

756 683 The assistant agrees that several mbako were jailed from time to time. The charge has been magic murder, but they can't get a conviction because they have no "witnesses." Still, this is a big reason why they no longer tell outsiders who the mbako are.

In regard to the radja and the land matter,

614 ama chiefs. As for the marriage rules, many of
582 them are based on the old marriage relations
835 which were complicated by ritual stuff. He
684 talks a lot about how such and such cannot marry so and so because his group is an older or a younger brother of the latter. This could stand further investigation. Anyway, marriages are as follows:

Men of	Marry Women of
I-1a	IV, V-2
I-1b	II-2, III, (I-2) (note)
I-2	II-1, IV, V
I-3a	IV
I-3b	III-2, III-3a, III-3b
II-1	I-1a, III
II-2	I-3b, IV
III-1	I-3b, IV
III-2	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, V
III-3a	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2
III-3b	I-2, I-3a, IV, V
IV-1a	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-1b	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-1	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a

[583] The notable case of a marriage inside a suku
[178] started three generations ago when a man of I-1b wanted to marry a woman of I-2 (Ama Kottang Belepe Lolong Lango' Kene' and Waktuka(ng), thus. This was heavily taboo, but the man wanted the woman badly and the men of Waktuka(ng) said that if he paid a terrific bride price he could have her. This was done, not without some fuss, and ever since it has been possible to do this without paying the terrific price because the ice
582 was broken. All know that it is a terrible
614 thing, however. I expressed horror and asked
835 whether these two groups weren't having bad trou-
684 bles because of the curse of incest. The guru
688

582
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[688]

said yes, it had caused great misfortune. I told about the evils of breaking the pela and fam rules in Ambon, and he burst out with a speech about how much worse it is to commit an adat sin than it is to commit a religious sin. The latter hurts a man only when he faces God, and it may be washed away before he dies. But the former makes a man an outcast all his life, shunned and marked, and the curse afflicts his crops, children, and everything. This was a guru serani speaking!

The women run as follows (incidentally he says he knows of a case of the same sort of incest from Wailolong, which I will get tomorrow). (In the old days punishment for breaking marriage rules consisted of expulsion from the suku, ripping off of clothes, and even the death penalty.)

Women of	Marry Men of
I-1a	II-2, III-2, III-3a
I-1b	IV, V
I-2	III-2, III-3a, (I-1b) (note)
I-3a	III-2, III-3a, III-3b
I-3b	II-2, III-1
II-1	I-2, IV, V
II-2	I-1b, II-1
III-1	I-1b, II-1
III-2	I-1b, I-3b, II-1
III-3a	I-1b, I-3b, II-1, IV, V
III-3b	I-1b, I-3b, II-1
IV-1a	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
IV-1b	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
IV-2	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
V-1	I-2, III-2, III-3b
V-2	I-1a, I-2, III-2, III-3b

In the evening I tried to make some sense out of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

Wa

	Men of	Marry Women of
582	IVa2	III
614	IVb	I, II
835	IVc	I, II
	Va	I, II
	Vb	I, II

582 614 835 583 684 178 The case of IIIc intermarrying with IIIa (perhaps it is IIIb) was one of incest which involved three virtually simultaneous marriages which occurred two generations ago. There were three men from one family who paid a very high bride price. This is like the similar case in Leloba. I asked how much higher the bride price was in these cases, and he said that they had to pay more tusks, but the man had to kill all of his animals. Thus it seems like a kind of tremendous purifying feast in order that the incest may be allowed. He said that the Leloba incestuous arrangement is still technically in, and anyone who wants to follow it now may do so without paying the tremendous price the pioneers once did. Both of the men who did it in Leloba are dead now. As for the Wailolong cases, this arrangement has been stopped, or rather, if it is carried on today it is wrong. They don't do it any more. There were the three men and then it ended. I asked about any resulting disasters and he said it is true that these sinners had had terrible troubles. I must ask what these troubles were exactly.

624 The offices are as follows:

622
614 --Kepala Kampong Kottang (Ib)

554 I. Radja Tuan Datong (kepala suku, tuan tanah) (Ia)

(2) a. Kelake Ama Radja (kepala ama (same man as I)

797 178 ever, he says that this was not caused by misfortunes. I asked about the Catholics trying to kill all of the old culture, and he said that they use no force. I gave the case of [346] the church and the taboo on the expense of rebuilding a korke, and how the Catholics allowed for the great cost of a new church in Riang Kamië. He saw my point, but then when I asked about the sale of tusks in order to pay for the church, he said that this was a suggestion of the Riang Kamië folk themselves (no urging by the priest?) and that this was to be done only by a few families or groups which set the disastrous fire.

583 452 This led us on to a talk about the tusks. He says that they do not need many to keep the marriage system going. Thus both in Wailolong and Leloba they have about twenty-five left today. This is enough. But they must have at least five, as this is the minimum price for a girl. As long as they have the price for one girl they can keep the system going on a credit scheme. This is amazing. It is necessary, and absolutely so, to keep five.

I told about Roworeke, which has lost all their tusks, and he said haggardly that this might possibly happen here, but he didn't want to think of the results. The minimum number of five holds for this part of the district, but in the Riang Kamië sector it is only three, so they could keep the system going with a minimum of three. The reason Roy is so firm on this matter concerning the tusks is that he insists that one cannot get married without tusks, or at least credit for tusks. There is nothing else that can be used for the bride price. Thus there are no animals, gold, money, or anything else used.

684 231 Error: I said before that the animals killed in the incest cases were part of the bride price.

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694 This was not so. They were merely a kind of fine
231 for committing the wrong, and the animals were all those of the groom. Both parties give animals at the wedding feast.

665 There are no political parties here, not even
181 internal factions. At any given time they may have a kind of loose lineup on an issue, but this is purely ephemeral. There is not even enough issue feeling to have meetings on any subject. Roy keeps saying that the folk here are stupid, and when it comes to politics they are youngsters. This is an illustration of the prevailing habit in East Indonesia of running themselves down. This may be a form of politeness or modesty or a real feeling of self-disparagement learned through many years of subjection to the radjas and to the Dutch.

462 No posts are held by women. This adat. Women
562 are household managers, and work on clothing, food cooking, and the arranging of marriages (or at least advising the men on how to arrange good marriages). They also hold the positions in ritual of nu'a luka and tuno wudjo. If there is a discussion taking place in a house, for example, a group of lads sitting about and talking on political topics (at this level), etc., the women of the house may join in a bit. This is all. However, I don't get the impression that women are suppressed here at all.

186 In the old days, the local people were very proud of Larantuka, and they remember now that Larantuka alone, in all Flores, remained independent when the rest was under Bima. Larantuka was free, and as Roy says, "It bordered on Bima." As for feelings in regard to other radjadoms in Flores, there seems to be no rivalry or enmity. They have not come up enough to do as the people in Ambon do, and say that Flores is the "forgotten island." They do not yet know enough to complain about their share in the Indonesian government.

Wae

592 178 become competent earlier. They learn to work earlier now. Roy[1] says that the school helps in getting them trained at an earlier age and they begin to weave and do other tasks sooner.

836 178 684 I jumped on this to see if there was much premarital sex, and he said that it was extremely rare. He said that as far as this is concerned there has not been much change. I pressed, and Kattenburg got the kepala kampong aside and tried to pump him. They remained adamant, however. It is just very rare. Even when a man is not married until he is thirty-five, they claim he does not engage in sexual promiscuity. [598] There is no prostitution here and none in Larantuka either. And anyway, they never go anywhere where they might get girls. There are very strong taboos on premarital sex. (He said that the girls would lose their name, which indicates that it has happened, perhaps.)

584 836 But there is an exception which came out when he told of two ways to get married. These are the two: (1) Prearranged and regular marriages. This type counts for most cases. (2) Boy likes girl and begins to hang around her house at night. He slips a cloth or something into her sleeping place and she asks who is there. He tells, and if she doesn't like him she tells him to go away. If she is willing to talk, they talk, and this may go on at night for as long as five years. If a girl has several such suitors, she sends all except one away, and he keeps on having dates. Perhaps the parents do not find out about this, or perhaps in singing and gossip it comes out that they are "going together." At this point a marriage may be arranged. Or, and here comes in the premarital sex practices, the girl may at least let the boy in and they have sexual intercourse. As soon as her parents discover them, marriage must take place. (Also, I suppose, if she be-

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

Wa.
584 comes pregnant.) This sexual activity is about
836 the same as marriage anyway, as it leads finally to marriage. And anyway, there is no
584 adat rite of marriage. What happened in the
836 old days and what still goes on among the
178 pagans is simply that one day, when everything
178 is all right, the girl is brought to the boy's house, and the couple simply moves in. There is no ceremony.

Nowadays, with Catholicism, and with prearranged marriages, they have a church rite before they sleep together. But the other type of marriage goes on, and in this case they just confess and get married after having slept together. This is a pretty case. And even
595 prettier is the case of polygyny. In the old
178 days this was more frequent, but even now there
183 are Christians who have more than one wife. In this case the first one is married in church, but the second can have no church rites. (As he says, she has no sacramen.)

684 They are very prudish about molesting girls
832 (ganggu). If, for example, a boy squeezes the
721 breast of a girl, and even if she likes it and says nothing, her father and brothers, if they
128 hear about it, go to his house and kill his
627 animals and break up his tusks. They get directly at his property (and that of his ama or suku too) thus, and so it hurts. He has molested their property, and they get back at him in the same way. This might lead to war, and often did in the old days. Note that he mentions as the second most frequent cause of war that of molesting women.

832 He gave a fine case of trouble between kam-
684 pongs resulting from such a case. In his youth
628 three girls from Leloba were molested by boys from another kampong. The girls were getting water. The father and brothers of the girls became angry and smashed up the belongings of

Wae

832 those rascals. They scolded them, saying that
684 if they wanted women, they should ask about
628 them, and speak up about it. That is, they were willing to hear a request, but it had to be done through regular channels without chiseling. ("If you had come to us decently, etc.")

582 In regard to the relative ages of the couple when marriage takes place, the ideal is to have a couple whose ages are nearly the same. If either is older it is better for a boy to be a bit a girl's senior. If there is too great a discrepancy in age, it is not good.

595 His grandfather had four wives. I note that
183 he does not seem to regard polygyny as very bad, even now. And he does not hesitate to tell me that other Christians do this. It is simply that they do not get the sacramen for the second, or third, or even later wife. That's all. Dispensation is called isin.

582 He says that the people in Tandjung Bunga
836 marry when they are very young, and that they begin their sex life as early as nine years old.

178 In the old days, the boys in Leloba and Wailo-
513 long slept regularly in the korke or sebuang
882 (the ama korke, and this is a correction:
[346] sebuang does not refer to the barns of the ama,
[614] but to the cult houses).A I think he said that this is not done any more in Wailolong. It was not required, but they just did it. This took place after a boy reached the age of about sixteen. Roy did it himself. They liked this because it was more fun. They could talk, sing, discuss girls, etc. (I think it was practically a rule, and I wonder what they would have said if a boy did not go there.)

What has happened now is peculiar. The boys
178 sleep together in groups, wherever it seems
513 good. They get in the habit, for example, of
882 sleeping on the benches of a certain house, or
171 in a vacant house, etc. (Thus I see that the

A [See cat. 116, p. 166 -- Analysis]

We.

764 bells in the chapel tolled and the service was
held. The body was buried in the cemetery.

Roy has been full of life since I gave him
124 some medicine for his asthma. He jokes and
123 laughs. He had a meeting of the Red Cross
yesterday, and the Radja and Dr. Sutomo and
other notables were there. He knocked them out
with the new words he has learned from me
(sistim, desas-desus, kekuatan adjaib, etc.).
They asked how this came about, and he said
that the American professor was responsible.
He told the priest that I was better than Vat-
ter,[1] as we talk over each point at length, and
I tell him details too, and then we discuss
everything. Also, he says, everything is told
to me and nothing is hidden, as he puts it.
He tells the people, even in front of me, that
I am like a suwanggi, because I learn so fast
and come with material that an outsider should
not know, and because I anticipate things that
are not yet told. At one point, he said that
I could join up and become a member of the
Kottang sib.

The ratio between men and women here is about
162 fifty-fifty. They think this is all right.
793 Perhaps only two per cent of the women never
589 marry, and it is exceedingly rare to find an
old bachelor. There are no nuns or priests in
Wailolong yet. Leloba has one nun now. There
is a case in Lewohala at the present time of
a father making a terrific fuss because his
daughter wants to become a nun and his son
wants to go to a seminary. (Is he a pagan?)

586 Formerly there was no divorce according to
178 adat. There are two pagan cases in Wailolong
and this is considered new.

684 I asked about adultery, and Roy said that
in the old days if there was a case of adultery,
the woman remained the man's wife, but a fine
had to be paid. Or, if the couple were found

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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684 out, one or both could be killed. (He said that usually one escaped.) (I didn't ask about widows, but must do so.)

659 Note: Formerly, no vital statistics were kept here. Only since the war have they bothered to keep a record of births, and deaths. They still do not record marriages.

842 The belief here is that the more children one has the better it is for him. A man feels big
534 if his family is large. It is fine to have
556 twenty children. They have no idea at all of
857 limitation, or that it might even be conceivable. If a man has no children it is cause for terrific shame. This applies even if he has only a few. They like boys and girls, and perhaps boys even a bit more than girls. Girls bring in tusks, but this is not all gain, because the family must pay a return gift. The boys, however, work in the fields and thus bring in a certain income. In addition, if there are lots of boys and thus a large family income, the family can buy tusks.

Thus the girls get tusks, weave, and cook; but the boys work and bring to the family an income and keep the group name going (and in the old days were probably good for warfare).

181 The word hasil is very important here. It means product, and this is the center of their life. Everything is judged in terms of hasil, and even religious and ritual leaders are judged by their hasil. If they produce, they are all right. If they do not, something is wrong. And these profits, or income, or produce, include food, children, tusks, magic, etc. This is a wide concept. They want lots of hasil, and of all kinds.

721 I asked about war in the old days and how
789 any of the kampongs could fight the traditional enemy Riang Kamië when it was always so much bigger. The kepala kampong looked significantly

R

582 or father's father's father's sister's daughter's
835 daughter's son). However, the priests will give dispensation only with a certain amount of fuss here (unlike in Manggarai, where it is evidently easier because the Catholics are newer there and maybe they want to go slower at first).

583 A bride price must be paid for a good marriage, but the very poor folk may omit it, although they try to pay a little, and merely go and live together. The price is variana. Formerly it included tusks, money, animals (buffaloes, horses, cattle). They try to give these things now, but it is degenerating into money alone. The return gift is called tau laguana. The girl's family gives it. It usually includes properly a pair of gold earrings, gold beads, and formerly slaves. The price also formerly might have included slaves, I think. In addition, the girl's family gives a kind of "household outfitting" to the couple, including baskets, gear, food, and formerly slaves. This is like a dowry. Evidently it is also called laguana.

They say that if they did not give a return gift it would be like selling a slave.

[197] The church enforced a shift to more distant mother's brother's daughter type marriages.
[178] The price is much lower now, and this constitutes a big change in the last fifty years or
[565] so. In the old days, for a noble girl one might pay one hundred tusks, ten gold units, two slaves, etc. This depended on her rank.

582 Another change is the removal of the former
178 taboo on slave-noble marriages. In the old days,
565 an upper man might take as a concubine a slave
567 girl, but they seem pretty sure that he would
684 not ordinarily marry her, although he might do so. In the old days, however, if a slave man tried anything with a noble girl, it would mean that both of them would be put to death. This

R

582 has long since been tabooed by the government.
178 Nevertheless, I wonder if there is not a re-
565 luctance to marry a slave descendant. They
● 684 say that there used to be plenty of slaves
567 here and that they were obtained mainly by war.

583 They say that the Mohammedans have just
about given up the bride price here, but that the
184 Christians keep it up firmly. This is another
example of the greater conservatism in some
ways which the Christians demonstrate.

I wonder also if what a priest says may not
be true: that the Catholic church has decided
that the bride price is a good idea, as it
solidifies the marriage bond, and why drive it
out?

585 As for changes in the wedding procedure,
583 Migo gave me first the way a pagan marries to-
day and the way everyone married formerly:

First the intermediaries sound out the girl's
parents. If all is O.K., the parents get to-
gether and decide on the price. The wedding
starts with the boy, with his best man, going
to the house of the bride, and there her family
kills a pig. The girl and her bridesmaid and
the boy and his best man eat the pig or part
of it that evening, and then the couple have
their first sex relations in the girl's house.
The next morning the boy goes home taking what
is left of the pig and gives it to his family.
That day he returns to the girl's house with
his best man, leading a goat. This is presented
to the girl's family and they eat it. That
evening, the girl's family again kills a pig,
and the four eat part of it and then the couple
sleep together again. The next morning the boy
goes home taking the remains of the pig to his
family. He then returns with another goat and
gives it to the girl's family. That evening a
third pig is killed and the four eat of it and
the pair sleep together. The next morning the

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614 that the exogamy taboo is off, as he still is
507 half Gusa. Also, he still must attend all suku ceremonies of Gusa, as well as those of his adopted suku Odja. Thus, indeed, he is a double-sibbed man. Note that he could become kapitan only via adoption, because only an Odja or a Rewarangga suku man can be, and this does not apply to a man of Gusa. This is a good case.

583 In former times there was a strong force
178 behind the ruling which made a child marry anyone chosen by a father. This ruling has weakened, but still survives. The force, however, is no longer absolute. If a boy or girl remains adamant, the marriage is not forced. This is why they do not pay the bride price early any more, as they are not sure that the children will obey them when they are grown, and they stand to lose the payment for a non-fulfillment of contract. The bride price is paid, and that is all.

611 The system here is patrilineal, and there has been no shift away from this in any direction.

162 The sex ratio here is about equal, and this is approximately the same as it was before. They think this is all right.

586 There is no divorce here, and there never
583 was. They at once said, "why in the world do that, when the bride price of a woman is so high?" (A good substantiation of the priest's point that the bride price is a good thing in order to keep and strengthen the marriage bond!)

● 684 I asked what happens in a case of adultery. They said that formerly as well as today a man was satisfied with a fine, and gets this anyway. If the spouse catches the couple in the act, he can kill both of them. This is the same as before. The wrong party, always the man in the case, must pay the injured mate a

R

684 fine. Evidence of a man adulterer is not good. I think he pays a fine to the wife, but I am not sure. Anyway, there was a case of a man in Ende who killed his wife when he caught her and a man in his room. The man escaped. The murderer got only a three months sentence.

[583] Although an injured man receives a fine, he does not get the bride price back, because he keeps the errant wife. If he kills her, he loses both the bride price and the wife, but he gets the fine anyway.

754 682 Note: This led easily into the matter of killing a suwanggi. They say that there are plenty of suwanggi here, and, although the government forbids killing them, they do it secretly. They just won't stand for them to get away with their witchcraft. The guru said that they wait until the suwanggi is alone in the garden and then kill him. And no one in the kampong will inform on them, he says. They do fear jail, however, and this reduces the number of suwanggi murders.

589 A widow may stay in the house of her husband. The children belong to his family. The same is true of a widower.

587 A very regular procedure is the levirate. There is no bride price in such a case. The brother merely takes in a widow or widows together with the children. It is a duty, and moreover they are pusaka of the family, as the old man paid for the women. I asked what the Catholics did about this, and he said this is all right if they merely take in a poor widow and her children, but they do not allow sex relations or marriage with her. Then he added slyly, but of course probably a man in such a position does have sexual relations with her secretly.

The sororate is also usual, although it is not required. However, if the pair has already

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789 unfulfillment of ancestral duties can cause ill-
753 ness too (note the illness fear theme; this is just right for these folk who are ill a good deal of the time). But there is no real kekuatan adjaib here.

567 There were many slaves here before, and this
582 applies even to twenty years ago (this is
178 probably a bit too late, I think). The regular
565 thing was for the father of a girl to include
[583] in the return gift at marriage, two slaves (like the "and two persons" still used in the formula for the bride price among the Buginese). There are slaves in the kampong now, but he thinks that only about two to three per cent of the population are so categorized. They are, and were, taken into the suku, but formerly there was little intermarriage with them, and then it was only between a higher man and
• [684] a slave girl. If the reverse took place, the death punishment could be meted out. The marriage taboo is still in, but it is lessening, and even a boy of slave descent (if he is an excellent man and a good worker) may marry a higher girl. However, they are well known, and in general are still to be classed underneath. For example, they have to do certain duties (the guru said they are like "servants"; he used the Dutch word "jongens"). They live in houses with regular people, or perhaps in their own houses. Everyone knows who they are, but no mention is made of this because they reportedly get furious. This is a thing worth investigating further: exactly what are the duties, and exactly how are they thought of and what do they think of themselves, etc.? (Remember that in the United States no one really thinks of taunting Negroes with an open charge of being descended from slaves.)

565 There are few possibilities for class mo-
555 bility. There are some meager beginnings at

Wa

727 was then that Keweluk said it was taboo to kill,
266 (to kill women only evidently?). Maybe Vatter[1] has a version? Anyway, he did admit that when an enemy was captured in war, although they didn't kill him in the korke (he was a bit shocked at the idea), they would kill him outside the kampong. His father did this, which was quite decent after all!

He insists that there was no cannibalism at
754 all, except that formerly (and even today?) the
[266] suwanggi did it. They were and are evidently the devils here. They do the things that other people wouldn't. I wonder if perhaps they are the scapegoats for past practices. That is, they say that their ancestors never did such things, only the suwanggi did them. But, note that there were plenty of suwanggi. Roy's father had to kill fourteen in one day in Leloba alone! There is something fishy here. Either he won't tell everything, or else he has forgotten, or else I am really wrong to suspect him.

681 The death punishment was given only to suwang-
● 684 gi (again the devils). It was also given in cases of adultery if the offenders were caught red handed.

Thus my work in Leloba--Wailolong ended. Roy
115 is a fine old fellow. His only requests were to
124 ride with me if I happened to be going the "same" way," and to take his relatives and family along. He also wanted some photographs, and I will send him a photograph of me. And a copy of my book. I will also send him some medicine for asthma. How different he is from the begging and crafty Endenese.

Roy probably won't live much longer. He is a dramatic figure.

He, more than anyone else, probably, killed off paganism here. But he retains the tolerance and respect for his ancestors, and a knowledge of and pride in the legends and old things.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

Wa

586 another wife.

586 In the case of adultery on the part of a
● 684 woman, a fine must be paid to the grieved hus-
562 band. The wife pays only a little, her paramour a lot. In the case of a man committing adultery, there is no fine or punishment of any sort. The wife may be angry, but that is all.

A man may divorce an errant wife, but there is no bride price return. This just about never occurs. A man is satisfied with the fine.

Adat here does not allow for killing an adulterous couple caught in the act. This may be done later, but it is still not allowed, and not condoned. The payment of a fine is the thing here.

If a divorce is requested by a man, there is no repayment of the bride price, and he must pay one horse. If a wife asks for a divorce, the price must be repaid. The children always stay with the father's family.

842 The people here like many children; the more the better. There is no set limitation. When I talk about birth control, often, all over they say about condoms that they are "like the Japanese use." He was surprised about other methods of birth control. Until now there has been no thought of limitation.

Cornelius[1] says that about ten children are
[163] born per woman, but only about half or a little more live to adulthood. Sons are more important. If a couple has only one child, they prefer a son. A few more sons than daughters are wanted. Va'u and bride price considerations are important.

868 When the children are very young the mother takes care of their education. Then the children follow the parent of the same sex and learn their roles and work.

584 There is just about no courtship. Formerly
178 marriages were all prearranged. Now, most frequently the young people tell their parents

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

We

632 622 152 than the dalu. This, it seems, is the kind of thing that is not discussed!

I must get the dalu relationship straight.

634 I asked if there was really a Radja of Riung, and he said yes. He is on the same level as, for example, Nageh. He said that there has been a radja there for a long time. The radja there now is a Ngada, but the folk there are mainly Manggarai. The houses there are mostly 342 178 the old rectangular type (not the new style rectangular type which is coming in now) of East Manggarai. The round house area is West Manggarai, although there are round houses in East Manggarai too.

I noted that one of the three round houses in Ndung is going to be torn down shortly. Thus the new type house, which came in only about ten years ago, is swiftly replacing the round ones everywhere. I asked if, since originally Ndung 622 was a branch kampong of Weol, the tuan tanah there was not less in prestige than the tuan tanah of Weol. He said that in theory they are the same, but indeed the tuan tanah of Weol was like the older sibling.

614 114 It seemed to me that the va'u here are very large (e.g., va'u Weol has over two gelarang), and I told him so. He agreed and in fact said that he has found that there is a still larger genealogical unit (I must ask about this; maybe it is like the isi that Arndt denies, but that Staveren says is found in Ngada above the voi 685 there). On the way back to Weol I saw a buffalo with one of its rear legs hanging nearly off with a deep cut behind the knee. I was shocked and asked how it had happened. He said that the buffalo had broken into someone's garden and that the owner of the garden, who had become angry, had crippled the buffalo. He said that this is done frequently here. I can see how a feud could be started in this way.

½ [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

462 and goats.

There is no shame, however, if one has to do
[887] the work of the other sex. The old people
putter about, for example, the old women make
mats, and the old men carve spoons, etc.

426 If one borrows corn or rice, which is done
686 for the most part, interest is charged at the
rate of one hundred per cent annually. This is
redoubled each year, and if it is finally un-
paid, there may be a court case and the person
may have to pay a horse (the present price of
[435] a horse is fl. 200 and for a buffalo fl. 350).

Money is not borrowed. The reason they bor-
row rice and corn and why they do this from
kampong fellows is that many families are too
311 large. Land is now all divided. The kampong
511 is full. Therefore there is actual hunger in
November and December, when the crops are grow-
ing. Thus if the population continues to in-
crease, some will have to move. The reason
the Dalong folk repossessed one of the Radja's
gardens was that there was an actual shortage
of land. I didn't realize this trouble before.
There are actually poor people here because
the land is all occupied. Therefore, not even
new gardens are possible here. But no one
starves. I asked what the main worry was.
They said getting cloth. It is very hard to
get. Food is a worry only for some people.

465 There are no wage earners except for those
who do a bit of work in other people's gardens.
The present wage is fl. 1.00 a day. Before
even this was not done.

634 In regard to political life there were Bima,
632 dalu, gelarang, and kraeng (some kampongs), and
622 the tuan tanah fifty years ago. In 1940 there
624 were the Dutch, the radja (since 1929), the dalu,
gelarang tuan tanah, and kepala kampong. In
1950 there are the radja, the dalu, the gelarang,
the tuan tanah, and the kepala kampong.

Wa

789 that the Larantuka radja does have an aradjang, but this is not the word for it here. I must get the right word. There seem to be no out-
554 ward signs of status. The main thing seems
614 to be a general knowledge of everything in the kampong and also whether a person lives in a "big house" or not. The Lango'Bele' system is impressive.

Notes on Larantuka: The mandur in the
551 pasanggrahan is a Madurah who married a Catholic woman here. His name before was Ali, but now since he became A Catholic he is known as Andreas. His children have taken their mother's Larantuka name, Dosari, and their forenames are Dominicus, Paulus, and Maria. One who died was named Aloysius.

501 There was one prau owned in Leloba. It was owned by the guru. It was wrecked yesterday.

651 The tax here now is fl. 23.50 per adult man. In the prewar period it was fl. 5.00. The people have trouble paying it and always have had this difficulty.

656 In the prewar period if one did not obey
●687 the government one could be jailed easily. Since the war this government control has weakened. For example, in a recent land case the present kepala kampong would not sign a paper of the government, nor would the guru. The kepala kampong was jailed, but the guru tried to bail him out. The government refused to accept bail unless he signed. He asked if it would be possible to re-open the case later if he signed. They said yes, but then refused to re-open the case afterwards.

R Roworeke: On Christmas, we came back through
796 the mountains. On the way, especially in the
535 kampongs in the Lio mountains, we saw many small processions with drums, singing, and many people who were drunk. While dancing the people seem to use handkerchiefs most of the time. This is

614 ama chiefs. As for the marriage rules, many of
582 them are based on the old marriage relations
835 which were complicated by ritual stuff. He
684 talks a lot about how such and such cannot marry so and so because his group is an older or a younger brother of the latter. This could stand further investigation. Anyway, marriages are as follows:

Men of	Marry Women of
I-1a	IV, V-2
I-1b	II-2, III, (I-2) (note)
I-2	II-1, IV, V
I-3a	IV
I-3b	III-2, III-3a, III-3b
II-1	I-1a, III
II-2	I-3b, IV
III-1	I-3b, IV
III-2	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, V
III-3a	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2
III-3b	I-2, I-3a, IV, V
IV-1a	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-1b	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-1	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a

[583] [178] The notable case of a marriage inside a suku started three generations ago when a man of I-1b wanted to marry a woman of I-2 (Ama Kottang Belepe Lolong Lango' Kene' and Waktuka(ng), thus. This was heavily taboo, but the man wanted the woman badly and the men of Waktuka(ng) said that if he paid a terrific bride price he could have her. This was done, not without some fuss, and ever since it has been possible to do this without paying the terrific price because the ice
582 was broken. All know that it is a terrible
614 thing, however. I expressed horror and asked
835 whether these two groups weren't having bad trou-
684
688 bles because of the curse of incest. The guru

582
614
835
684
[688]

said yes, it had caused great misfortune. I told about the evils of breaking the pela and fam rules in Ambon, and he burst out with a speech about how much worse it is to commit an adat sin than it is to commit a religious sin. The latter hurts a man only when he faces God, and it may be washed away before he dies. But the former makes a man an outcast all his life, shunned and marked, and the curse afflicts his crops, children, and everything. This was a guru serani speaking!

The women run as follows (incidentally he says he knows of a case of the same sort of incest from Wailolong, which I will get tomorrow). (In the old days punishment for breaking marriage rules consisted of expulsion from the suku, ripping off of clothes, and even the death penalty.)

Women of	Marry Men of
I-1a	II-2, III-2, III-3a
I-1b	IV, V
I-2	III-2, III-3a, (I-1b) (note)
I-3a	III-2, III-3a, III-3b
I-3b	II-2, III-1
II-1	I-2, IV, V
II-2	I-1b, II-1
III-1	I-1b, II-1
III-2	I-1b, I-3b, II-1
III-3a	I-1b, I-3b, II-1, IV, V
III-3b	I-1b, I-3b, II-1
IV-1a	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
IV-1b	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
IV-2	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
V-1	I-2, III-2, III-3b
V-2	I-1a, I-2, III-2, III-3b

In the evening I tried to make some sense out of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

We

864 very sure about this. Nothing is a mystery.

178 There have been no changes in the last fifty
565 years in regard to social classes here, except
634 that the kraengs have lost their power, and
621 that Bima is no longer in. Also, the radja is
567 now superimposed. But the regular classes are the same, and even the kraeng still get a bit of respect, although this has suffered a marked decline. Note that the Radja is a Todo kraeng, and I can see that he tries to do the best he can for his enormous "family" by getting land for them, etc.

Cornelius lists in his notes:

tu'a kilo	household head
tu'a mbaru	house head
tu'a panga	lineage chief
tu'a tenu	va'u or kampong chief
tu'a beo	elders of the kampong, collectively
gelarang	who is also a tu'a tenu
dalu	district ruler
radja	new Manggarai ruler
ata leke	commoner
ata mendi	slaves who were bought or captured
ata lampang, ata sekontu, ata mangko' pitu	other slaves

The general term for "population" is ro'eng.

651 In the old days a tax was paid to Bima in
567 slaves (taki). It is remembered that three
661 men from Veol were taken off in this fashion,
178 but it is not known where they were taken. Others were taken as slaves because they didn't behave correctly toward the Bima dignitaries.
[689] Enslavement was evidently a great form of punishment here for any infringement in showing the proper respect to authority. Today there are no more "slaves"

We

565 291 177 554 dressed, e.g. the kapitan of Roworeke, he is not dominated by an "assistant." However, he dominates (cautiously as yet) the adat dressed mosa laki. This is interesting.

565 576 The Pongkor kraeng said that manners differ by class, and he may be right. However, I met a rough kraeng in Anam. And I think that he was from Todo too. Todo ones have a reputation of being more refined than those from Pongkor. All this probably does not mean very much.

[195] 576 178 Special words are used as part of the language of ceremonies and rites. However, this is merely a matter of occasion. In the old days real respect was shown for the Bima dignitaries, the kraengs, etc. When one approached a kampong where there was a kraeng, one had to dismount from one's horse and remove one's shoulder cloth down to the hips, where it was wound around, leaving the torso bare.

[689] If one did not show the proper respect formerly, a whole kampong might be made lampang. Thus, enslavement was the great mass punishment. Even today there is still a bit of feeling in regard to the rank of the kraeng, although it is nothing like what it was before.

554 621 614 There are grades of pride on the kampong level, and thus Veol feels a bit higher than its branch kampong Tjantjar. Also, Veol va'u feels a bit better than the incoming va'u Tjepang. But this is not a real formulization.

565 582 There are no approved marriages with mendi. This is still very bad. It is possible to marry with other kinds of "slaves" (e.g., lampang). There are a number of such cases now in Veol. Everyone, up to the radja, may marry everyone else except the mendi. There are plenty of such mixed marriages, and even the radja has a commoner for a wife. Here again one can see the ordinary quality of the radjas

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All
727 of them were sold or taken during the Japanese
436 time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese
563 time too, but new ones are being made by
326 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and families. They had been in the mountains making wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They use the natives' gold. Much silver is now mixed in with the gold. They both had complete
[142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large, and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they
611 use money and animals for the bride price, but
591 they may also work it off, although it is not
237 really a case of ambil anak because the children follow the father's suku anyway. The girl must stay with the parents until the bride price is paid. Also, residence remains matrilocal until the bride price is paid. Thus we have an illustration of this in the case of a Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several children, because the bride price has not yet been paid. The children belong to his suku, however. Thus there is bride service, matrilocal residence, but the descent remains patrilineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally, has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to get the assistant to say that they still had tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the
624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before
632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evidently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases
[691] are concerned only with land and marriage questions.

War

000 Radja's kampong.

721 There used to be much warfare with the Mohammedan coastal folk too. And war was waged with other districts and tribes, but this was rare, and was largely tied up with the higher politics of the radja. A pure border war, however, was one carried on with the district Lewotala.

186 621 484 Only a very few people locally have been in other places enough to have inferiority feelings about their own village. They have all seen the town of Larantuka, but this is not much and they get tired of it after a little while. Those who have, for example, seen Makassae, of whom there are very few, are less happy when they come back. This is a real difference. They tell a lot about the big town. Thus, the truth is that in all Flores the towns are so little and are so much like the kampongs (i.e. dull), that there is little contrast. Therefore, they see no advantage locally as over against the kampongs. Of the kampongs here all are about the same in wealth and land holdings. Lewohala and Watuwiti have a bit better land and perhaps more of it; thus, in general, one place is about as good as another.

721 178 578 691 693 Wars were waged over borders, women, and molesting children. Now warfare is outlawed, although they still carry it on in a modified way. For example, there is a dispute of this kind going on now between Leloba and Waibalun, although the chief says that they must not carry on a war. There have been repeated grievances; their patience is gone. A band goes out hot for revenge and although the chiefs in general try to keep the people from war they are unsuccessful. Most disputes are settled by legal procedures, with the kakang as the main judge and the kepala kampong, radja tuan, and kelake of the kampongs concerned making up the court.

693 614 For inter-suku cases, the court is made up

Wa

622 Rahong is just about the same as fifty years
624 ago, except for the kraeng kampongs which have gone out since about fifteen years ago. Also, there have been kepala kampongs since then. The organization runs as follows: Kampong: tuan tanah; kepala kampong; tuan panga; tuan mbaru. These form the kampong council. Some kampongs have the same man as tuan tanah and kepala kampong.

632 Gelarang: the gelarang (and they use the
614 title dangka for him, also) (one can't use "tenu" and "gelarang" at the same time; thus it is not "tu'a tenu gelarang"), and the kampongs below him are included. There is no council, and there are no scribes, secretaries, oppas, or anything else. The va'u is usually almost equivalent to the gelarang. But this is not always true. Thus va'u Veol covers both Ndung and Veol. And some branches of va'u Veol are in other areas, while, for example, a branch of Tjepang is in the Veol gelarang.

Dalu: dalu, dalu wakil, secretary, oppas, mandur, and the gelarang below. There is no council.

634 State: radja (the radja bitjara post is now empty since the former one died), secretary, oppas, mandur, and the office force. Again there is no council and no ministry. However, there is a Hakim Adat of Manggarai. The chairman used to be the radja bitjara, but now he is the radja's younger brother. The members, chosen by the radja, are four in number. At present they are Kraeng Dalu Ruteng, Gelarang Pau (the assistant's father), Gelarang Tenda, and a man of the Ruteng kraeng family.

692 Adat cases may be settled on the kampong, gelarang, or dalu level; or they may go up to the Hakim Adat.

648 The Dutch removed the death punishment,
681 double repayment in cases of theft, lampang and
634

R

624 in the Lio mountain kampongs is called the wiwi-
ria lama lewa, or, as van Suchtelen[1] says, "big
mouth long tongue". He is like a talking chief.

632 The kapitan and the kepala kampong (as well
622 as the mandur of the kapitan, who on second
624 thought may prove to be a kind of assistant
614 kapitan; and the oro kuni) are clearly adminis-
trative officers, and are not "adat chiefs."
The true adat chief is the mosa laki mere (as
well as the other three mosa laki). This in-
dicates that the kapitan and the kepala kampong,
territorial chiefs, are of a later date, and the
old chief was the tuan tanah or mosa laki mere.
Since the latter is also called laki pu'u, and
pu'u means suku, it looks as though before the
territorial organization, they had only localized
clans. Thus they have the dual division of
chiefs into the administration--territory and
into the adat--genealogical. Going on, I found
693 excellent substantiation of this in that a big
632 case, involving murder or big theft, etc., for
624 example the case in which the Dutch government
614 was interested (a law case, as it were) is judged
622 by the kapitan with the assistance of the four
kepala kampong chosen for him for that case. In
a small case, however, involving adat, judgment
is made only within the kampong (thus adat cases
involve the kampong, which comes before the clan,
I think). And the judges are the mosa laki mere,
acting as chairman, the giri tumba, the ndeto au,
and the sike sani. It looks as though the old
localized clans were ruled by this quadrivirate.
And, these four are completely hereditary. Thus
even in succession they have the genealogical
principle. It comes out clearly in these four
adat chiefs. I must find out from which suku
these officers come.

614 I asked about the present localization of the
suku, and they seemed to agree that the suku are
still largely settled in certain clusters. They

[1] [See p.90 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

R

764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I must find out how the funerals are run now. Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.
[797] The assistant has finished five grades of schooling in Ndona.

291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
178 men (old style) although this is changing fast, a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
[302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
286 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
531 looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the designs are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
124 I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan. Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they have a holiday whenever there is the slightest excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I must find out about later, is how the kepala kampong is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some re-
624 marks about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan and others are not. I must get this kepala kampong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

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614 which is the main one and the largest. In most cases this may also be the oldest one. This does not hold for Roworeke, where the main one is Odja, but the original one was the now nearly extinct Rewarangga. Anyway, they knew that Odja was the main one in Roworeke, Reandona the main one in Manunggo'o, and beyond this they did not know the situation in other kampongs. They said [829] that they would have to ask each kepala kampong. This shows how little they know about anything beyond their own village. Even the kapitan, who is head of the whole eighteen kampongs, did not know this.

624 The giri tumba of Rewarangga, who is head giri tumba of all the others, didn't even know the personal names of the other sixteen giri tumba.

693 If there is a small adat case, the Little Four sit for the judgment, but they tell the Big Four of the local kampong of the decision. Thus they have a kampong court for little cases and a gemeente council of the Big Four for bigger ones.

632 We got into a terrific muddle about how a new
624 kapitan is chosen. When an old one dies, all eighteen kepala kampong come together and also the Big Four and the mosa laki mere of the other sixteen kampongs. The giri tumba, ndeto au, and sike sani of the other sixteen kampongs may come, but evidently they have no voice in the matter. Thus the electoral college includes eighteen kepala kampongs, mosa laki mere Rewarangga, giri tumba Rewarangga (Odja), ndeto au Rewarangga, sike sani Rewarangga, and the mosa laki mere of the other sixteen kampongs (excepting Roworeke and Worowai, whose Little Four are also the Big Four). Thus in all there are thirty-eight members of the electoral college. The manager of the convention is the giri tumba Rewarangga, who was sitting there. His other title (wiwiria, etc.) means "big mouth long tongue." He goes around and sounds out the opinion of all the others and

000 We trols this atomism.

124 The next day we went to the kampong, stopping
212 at Mudakaputu, and Watuwiti, and other places on
115 the way. These all seemed less good than Wailolong. For example, Riangkamiü had only two suku; others had none or only one korke, etc. At Leloba, the guru had another guru with him, and said that we must use him as he was not so good at writing. Then I asked about whether or not it might not be a good idea to use an assistant who lives in Wailolong, but they said nobody there can write well because most of them have attended only three grades of schooling. Then we went to the district chief, the kakang, who was formerly in Boschwesen, and who is a man with good authority. He said he would order the Wailolong folk to help and would put at my disposal a lad from Wailolong. Also, he said he would order them to let us use one of the rumah pemuda, or boys' houses, in Wailolong. We talked at length about the situation and it seems that there are really no people in Wailolong who are able to write well.

773 We talked about the way the old stories are
178 dying out and the young people won't listen any
872 more. The guru Roy and a few old men only are the ones who know very much. The guru is the best, and he knows all of the ancestors back for nineteen generations. He also complained about how the schools do not have books about Indonesia and the local affairs, but rather about Europe, which the children cannot understand.

632 We had taken in the jeep a lot of kepala suku
622 and kepala kampong of Wailolong to the kakang
693 where they were to have a case hearing. It is
614 evidently a case concerned with marriage. The kepala suku are clearly old style fellows. Several
[30] of the old men had long hair and necklaces and one had a tattoo on his chest. The kakang gave a
614 speech ordering them to help us. Then we went to

622 kelake. Evidently the kepala kampong have been
624 superimposed on the other system.
614 The purely administrative chiefs are:

Kepala Kampong Kottang (he is the kepala kampong)
Kepala Kampong Kelen (IIb)
Kepala Kampong Hurint (IIIc)

The latter two have this as their only titled rank. If I am right that the kepala kampong is also the kepala kampong Kottang, then there are really sixteen officers, i.e., actual men in office, but the total number of offices is twenty-three. Some men have more than one office. When
[788] there are ceremonies, the praying (marang) is
[887] done, not by the man from suku Marang, but by the oldest man who is clever. Here it is a man
[756] named Bugis, from IIa. He is also the molang, or medicine man. Can it be that often the two go together? The guru, as noted above, says that even in Leloba, where they have a suku named Marang, this is not the praying suku at the rites. The chief of the Marang suku is merely a hander around of betel. In Vatter's time in Leloba the one who prayed was Laba, says the guru.

614 Note that an alternative term for Ama is Mela. Thus one can say, for example, either Ama Hurint or Mela Hurint.

693 Yesterday we met the chiefs of Wailolong.
624 They were at the kakang's office for a marriage
302 case. They were partly made up of short-haired Christians, but there were also pagan longhairs. I must get a photograph of all of them together with the information on who they are. Probably the administrative ones are the modern and the adat ones are the old pagans.

614 For the kepala suku they always have an old
887 man if possible. If no old man is available, however, they may have to take a younger one.

614 I must get on to the method of choosing the
622 & [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All
727 of them were sold or taken during the Japanese
436 time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese
563 time too, but new ones are being made by
326 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and families. They had been in the mountains making wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They use the natives' gold. Much silver is now mixed in with the gold. They both had complete
[142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large, and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they
611 use money and animals for the bride price, but
591 they may also work it off, although it is not
237 really a case of ambil anak because the children follow the father's suku anyway. The girl must stay with the parents until the bride price is paid. Also, residence remains matrilocal until the bride price is paid. Thus we have an illustration of this in the case of a Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several children, because the bride price has not yet been paid. The children belong to his suku, however. Thus there is bride service, matrilocal residence, but the descent remains patrilineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally, has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to get the assistant to say that they still had tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the
624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before
632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evidently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases
[691] are concerned only with land and marriage questions.

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693 632 624 [622] tions. Murder, theft, etc., come to the kepala kampong or kapitan. Such cases are not within the adat sphere. These officials do not interfere with each other's spheres.

632 624 622 The situation in regard to the offices is as follows: The Big Four of the gemeente who are also the Little Four of Roworeke (combined with Worowai) are respectively from Rewarangga, Odja, Rewarangga, and Rewarangga. All except the giri tumba are from Worowai, and here there is a rumah berhala. Only an Odja or a Rewarangga man (and he must be a resident of Roworeke) may be elected kapitan or kepala kampong of Roworeke. In each of the other kampongs there are families in which the Little Fours are hereditary posts. This position is inherited from father to eldest son.

[796] There are no set ritual functions associated with these offices, but the mosa laki mere of the Big Four (I think) must always be there for a big ceremony, and he must receive the lower jaws of the animals slaughtered. I note that an alternative term for the four mosa laki is tuan tanah.

771 796 Some of the people here are Catholics, and I asked if they still did the ritual and prayed when they held a big ceremony. He say yes, and that Catholicism makes no difference in this matter. He was firm in stating that there are Catholic things and adat things. They are separate. The two main feasts of the year are those held at planting and at harvest time, when the crops are brought in ritually to the kampong. At these feasts the mosa are the leaders and the big leader is the local mosa laki mere. There is animal slaughter, dancing, singing, and praying. They wear festive clothes. And there is also a big suku feast when the bone house of a suku is rebuilt. Thousands attend. Smaller private rites are held for such

796 241 574 527 [614] [341] 000

565 632 624 622 of Meler, the main kepala kampong of the Ndung complex, lives in Meler. The dalu came in about 1870. They were put in by Bima, and the tuan tanah said that they were of Bima origin. (Does this mean that no native chiefs were made dalu? Evidently.)

622 624 592 There is no native term for the kepala kampong. The tuan tanah is the tu'a tenu. In each house there is a house chief, the tu'a mbaru. The latter word means house. He is chosen by the men of the house.

623 592 693 The kampong council, which must be called together for each case, includes the tuan tanah, the kepala kampong, and the tu'a mbaru of their own houses. If the case involves adat, the tuan tanah is the chairman. An example of this would be a case concerned with land. If the case is concerned with administration, for example, with theft, the kepala kampong acts as chairman. In all cases, however, all of the members of the council are present.

614 624 The clans are divided into subclans called panga. Each of these has a chief, the tu'a panga. In Weol there are three panga and three tu'a panga. Two of these are also the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong. There are two panga and two tu'a panga in Ndung. The tuan tanah there is also tu'a panga of his panga and tu'a mbaru of his house.

614 173 I asked about the origin of the panga. The original ancestors, Vako Dangka and Ine Karas, had two sons: Lando Kakor and Naloholles. They married wives of another va'u and between them had seven sons (their daughters were forgotten, a reversal of the Ngada story, where the daughters of Djawa are remembered and the sons forgotten). Each of these became an ancestor of a panga, and in the course of time their descendants split into many more panga. New panga may be formed at any time, even now, as the old ones

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621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are still formed partly of suku or suku sections coming in and joining the old settlers from the negri lama.

443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series as in Celebes. These wheels run in different directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru, and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The traders follow the pasar week from market to market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kam-
583 pongs, although there is gift exchange in
562 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male" things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a woman gives in return "female" things (cloth, mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere, and said that many had drowned there recently. The water is deep, he said, and there lives a "head" of a human being. It is still living and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has seen it several times, in daylight. It moves around as though on short legs. It is just a human head, with hair. They don't know what it is or where it came from. However, the people are now scared to bathe here. The victims have been sucked under. He asked me my opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
[123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith, because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere. They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head alone").

622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
● 693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

R

622 the Bapa ketjil. I might never have found this
●693 out if I hadn't seen him dressed in adat cos-
624 tume coming into an adat meeting for a case
hearing. His younger brother is the admini-
[565] strative kepala kampong. (The kapitan says
[212] that if the kepala kampong did not come from
nobility the people would not follow him, and
so I can see that they choose a man of the
adat kepala kampong or ata nggaëh nua family
for the administrative kepala kampong and in
addition one who can read and write. Then
they can keep the old man in the adat post.)
Maybe there are cases of one man being both.
624 Thus in the kampong there are really five adat
622 officers: the ata nggaëh nua, the mosa laki
632 mere, the giri tumba, the ndeto au, and the
693 sikesani. The administrative ones are the
kepala kampong and the oro kuni. The same
pattern holds for the district. The kapitan
is the administrative man, and then the mosa
laki mere besar acts as adat chief. This
might be the same man, I suppose. Then they
have the other big mosa laki.

The adat case came up at noon, and coming
to it were the Big Four (here the Kampong Four
too), the kepala kampong, the ata nggaëh nua,
and the kapitan. The chairman and judge, the
mosa laki mere, as well as others (e.g., the
kapitan), could ask questions and keep things
in line. The kepala kampong must be present
too (evidently both kinds of kepala kampong).
This case was one concerned with marriage. I
must ask later what it was.

Kattenburg got some material on administra-
tion. Theoretically, the adat chiefs are
supposed to be used for administrative posts
by the government. But they are rarely so
used evidently, and this causes the dual sys-
tem: adat and administration. They may coin-
cide at any point. Generally, I think that

R Generally, I think that
632 the government has not put adat chiefs (for
622 example, ata nggaëh nua) into administrative
624 posts. This also holds for the mosa laki. I
●693 can think of the following possible reasons:
631 (1) adat chiefs are largely illiterate and cannot do administrative work therefore; (2) adat chiefs are largely pagan, and the mission, therefore, probably does not like them (indeed, one of the main ends of the mission is to do away with that devil, the tuan tanah; they usually say they want to do this because he stands in the way of progress and land reform, but this is a rationalization; it is like killing the Toradja death feasts because of immorality, when the real reason is that they constitute the main bulwark of pagan survival); (3) adat chiefs formerly and potentially even today are probably the centers of possible revolt against alien laws and government, and thus it is better not to let them have too much power. So they let them handle harmless adat cases. This is indirect rule on the adat level, taking all important functions away from them. Nevertheless, I note that the ad-
[565] ministrative appointees (who may be "elected" in a way) are always or nearly always of the adat chiefly families. Thus, here the kepala kampong is the younger brother of the ata nggaëh nua, and the kapitan is a noble of the adat lineage. They are literate and Christian (or Mohammedan) nobles of the old adat nobility.

Ngada and Nageh: The Ngada Y- or rather
231 U-topped upright, is used to run a buffalo rope
417 through. One end of the rope is attached to the neck of the buffalo and then passed through the U, and the other end is fastened to the stone post. Thus it is held taut when the buffalo is killed.

764 Ngada "resting places" along the road are
211 rectangular stone heap mounds, flat on top,

We

000 Radja's kampong.

721 There used to be much warfare with the Mohammedan coastal folk too. And war was waged with other districts and tribes, but this was rare, and was largely tied up with the higher politics of the radja. A pure border war, however, was one carried on with the district Lewotala.

186 621 484 Only a very few people locally have been in other places enough to have inferiority feelings about their own village. They have all seen the town of Larantuka, but this is not much and they get tired of it after a little while. Those who have, for example, seen Makassae, of whom there are very few, are less happy when they come back. This is a real difference. They tell a lot about the big town. Thus, the truth is that in all Flores the towns are so little and are so much like the kampongs (i.e. dull), that there is little contrast. Therefore, they see no advantage locally as over against the kampongs. Of the kampongs here all are about the same in wealth and land holdings. Lewohala and Watuwiti have a bit better land and perhaps more of it; thus, in general, one place is about as good as another.

721 178 578 691 693 Wars were waged over borders, women, and molesting children. Now warfare is outlawed, although they still carry it on in a modified way. For example, there is a dispute of this kind going on now between Leloba and Waibalun, although the chief says that they must not carry on a war. There have been repeated grievances; their patience is gone. A band goes out hot for revenge and although the chiefs in general try to keep the people from war they are unsuccessful. Most disputes are settled by legal procedures, with the kakang as the main judge and the kepala kampong, radja tuan, and kelake of the kampongs concerned making up the court.

693 614 For inter-suku cases, the court is made up

War

693 of the three kepala kampongs, the kepala suku,
614 and the kelake. For intra-suku cases, the court consists of the kepala suku and the kelake.

608 They have blood brotherhood bonds between
721 kampongs like the pela darah of Ambon. They call this umbadja or bela badja. Badja means pledged. The bond is formed by the chiefs of the kampongs cutting their fingers and drinking each other's blood mixed in a drink. They take only a little blood. This means that the two kampongs will not wage war against each other and that there will be no infringement of recognized boundaries. It means perhaps that they will help each other in war, but this is not necessary. It is a peace bond rather than a war alliance.

About every year the umbadja kampongs (there are none here as they are brothers anyway) have a get-together like the "bikin panas pela" in Ambon. The one kampong here which they know has a bela badja is Watuwiti, which has one with the district Lewotala.

773 The whole organization and everything else
796 here has a story about it, and these stories are endless. One could fill many books with the underlying legends about one kampong here. Every single rule, relationship, rank, etc., has its legendary rationalization. And ritual keeps the belief alive. Ritual is the acting out of past events which explains and justifies the present order. The ancestors are called upon to attend these rituals.

609 To be foreign in the local sense is a matter of great concern. Anyone they do not know is treated as a foreigner. This includes anyone from another kampong, and even though they may know another kampong person, if he enters they all ask him what he is after. The communities are really closed. Persons of another district are really alien. The word for stranger is

000 only technical changes have occurred here.

592 I noted that as we were walking out of Weol, and I asked the priest how many families there were per house, he asked a man and the fellow said there were five in one of the big round houses nearby. Another man rebuked him and said no, there were only three in it. The priest said this is because the government has the law that only three families may live in a house, for health reasons. However, the folk secretly manage to have more. The first man was giving the folk away.

541 I forgot to say that at the whip fights (main
697 tjatjih)[1] there was a band of extra gay fellows who did a lot of the sideline chanting and chorusing. They had red and white banners and at one time when we were taking photographs they came dancing en masse and singing across the field like a slow moving army. At 5 P.M. they raised the banners, singing lustily, and marched off. I asked who they were, and the Radja said that they were the prisoners of the jail, who had been given the day free, and that they were now marching back to jail!

463 The assistant says that all or nearly all
462 men in Weol are farmers. Some, but very few,
231 have specialist skills, but even those farm too. Not one woman has any other job than that of helping in the fields and making mats or weaving in her spare time. Nearly every man has a few to many horses, and some have other animals.

354 A bad feature of the old houses is the smoke from the fire which coats everything with soot and makes for additional darkness, but on the good side is the warmth which comes with the smoke.

769 <u>Theory on reading Coolhaas</u>:[2] The Ngada nadu
718 which is for the male ancestors is a small
342 replica of the conical houses of Manggarai. The
173 small bhaga houses of the female houses are

614 [1] [See pp. 91-92, cat. 116 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

634 632 197 not so long ago there were three radjas there: Until[1] Sikka, Kangaë and Nita, and there was trouble over putting Sikka in full power. This has never stopped. Arriens[2] agrees that the Dutch were a bit mad to chop things up this way. When he was new here the Assistant Resident sent him to Tana Ai to find out what the situation was. He found that the kapitan there had had a previous meeting with the kepalas warning them to say that everything was all right. Arriens pumped them and the whole thing came out. The Dutch, he said, met the radjas they liked and took their word to the effect that their areas were much larger than they actually were. (But why not try to make a better go of it later on, when they still were able to do as they pleased?) There is little excuse for the stupidity of the government. He has also [661] heard of the fantastic behavior in regard to the rulers here, many of whom are crazy and others are certainly cruel. I can imagine the dirty work which goes on among the radjas. This must end.

697 526 In regard to the "jail parade" in Ruteng, Arriens[2] said that in Kalabahi [on Alor], when it is Queen's Day, the regular event is a tug of war between teams of jail birds. They do this with a will, and after it each one gets a cake of soap.

R Roworeke: I started to work again here on 124 624 Thursday, January 11. It is depressing to be with these inferior informants again after working with the guru Roy, but the secretary is better now since the kapitan is not here. Today two of the four mandurs of Roworeke were present and also the kepala kampong of Wolofeo. His kampong is located at kilometer 17 and is one kilometer up hill from the road. However, he has a house in Roworeke too. When he is away, the mandur is his deputy.

[1] [i.e., in Tana Ai--Analyst]
[2] [i.e., Controleur at Ende--Analyst]

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361 hills and down to the coast. This caused much
[648] malaria and misery all over Indonesia. And after many years, the Dutch let them move up higher again, having stopped the spirit of revolt. (One can find this very expression in the reports.)

Five families from Wailolong have moved into Balela, a kampong inside the town of Larantuka (note that several Leloba families have moved there too). Balela is a little uphill, and perhaps this is the reason for the movement. I also think that it may have some relations with the "behind the mountain" area. Anyway, of these five families, only one has moved back to Wailolong. They simply do not move very much.

443 No one, but no one, has moved into the kam-
438 pong, except for women marrying in (and the
[166] two gurus). There are no toko or shops in Wailolong. They do not even have warong here. The women come from the beach area to sell and buy a few things (e.g., to buy arak, and to sell fish). These women come from such places as Waibalun, Larantuka, etc. But there is not much trade.

484 Everyone here has seen at least some other kampong, if only a nearby one. There are some old people who have never seen Larantuka town, or at least that is what he thinks.

167 Only two people that he knows have left Wailolong to work in some other place. One of them at least went to Borneo. As yet they have not returned.

●697 Roy said that all who have been to jail have
648 seen Larantuka town. This is one way to see the world. There is real bitterness here about the jail business, and I hear it cropping up
648 constantly. The Dutch really ruled here with an iron hand, especially Seegeler, they say, whose report I got from Twerda. He was the

527 We
782 Drums, etc. are set up.
231 (5) A new ordinary house. There is a small
[342] feast, and pigs are killed.

(6) If there is an epidemic, a big feast is
[731] held, like the tjutji kampong of Ambon. The
[783] mbako decides when it is needed. It is called
[756] kaba erba golo, which means "buffalo (kaba) makes young or renews (erba) the kampong (golo)." Thus the word for young seems to have the sense of making young or cleaning or renewing. There is a buffalo sacrificed, I suppose at the tjompang.

●[697] (7) When a man returns from jail. A buffalo is sacrificed.

[585] (8) A wedding. For such rites only pigs are sacrificed. Buffaloes which are killed at this time are for food only, not for ritual use.

[764] (9) Funerals. If such a rite is for an up-
[565] per, a buffalo is sacrificed; if a funeral is for a lower, only a pig is sacrificed.

(10) Birth. A bigger ceremony is held for
[844] a first child, and all the kampong folk attend. Later children are given smaller rites, and only the family attend. Pigs or fowls are sacrificed. Such ceremonies are held five to ten days after birth. There is no special touching the ground rite. However, at this time the baby's hair is cut and a name is given.

844 This led to a discussion of birth. In each
[756] kampong the mbako are also midwives, i.e., at least some of them. A male mbako may be a midwife, and Cornelius says that some are very clever at this. Evidently all mbako are medicine givers and sorcerers and soothsayers, etc., but not all of them are midwives.

843 There are no food taboos for pregnant women, but there are restrictions. If a pregnant woman goes out at night, she must carry a knife (like Ambon). An expectant father may not make bamboo water holders. Neither parent may work at the graves or go to funerals

R

614 are somewhat moved around, however, and are even scattered, so that one may find parts of a suku in entirely different areas. I must check on this.

624 As for the four adat chiefs, aside from the mosa laki mere, who sits in the center when judging, the giri tumba (whose name means "spear running around") stands or sits to the right of the mosa laki mere. The ndeto au, who is an [791] expert on making adat stuff which I judge to be ordeal material or magical divining, sits or stands to the left of the mosa laki mere. The sike sani acts as a watchman or policeman. I must get the full account of the functions of these men.

701 Then I asked if they had had war leaders formerly and they said yes. They are called "brave men" or atambani (ata-m-bani or orang brani). They said that they were fierce and feared.

793 Then I asked about the priests, and they said
789 that they still have plenty of them. They are called bisa mari. I got the usual story of how
171 they prove their powers of second sight, and it sounded just like the Ambonese talking about guna-guna. These priests are not hereditary, and never were, but the sons usually learn their lore from their fathers.

648 There is much talk here about war with the
175 Dutch and I am told that there were uprisings all over Flores in the year 1907. I was also told of the stern methods of suppression used in those times and how afterwards there was wholesale jailing of the Florenese. They seem to have lost their nerve then and today they no longer rebel.

773 I asked about the old myths concerned with
769 ancestors. The Kapitan Gunung Rodja, who is descended from Djari Djawa, the Madjapahit man who came here on a whale, told a different version

Wa

000 up together again.

Some of the suku are large, some are small,
614 and some have died out. They have the same
171 idea in this regard as I noted on Ambon: that
789 a group which dies out may well have disappeared because of a wrong committed in the old days. It is as though there were a curse on them. Roy mentioned a case of an ama (I think) which did a lot of killing. Now it is extinct. Another group used too much magic, and it too died out. (Magic keeps cropping up. They have taken on my term kekuatan adjaib with a vengeance. I often wonder if they are kidding
[123] me, seeing that I like the pagan stuff.)

Roy says that the roles of the sexes has
562 not changed at all. However, when there was
178 much warfare formerly, the women were important
708 in helping the men by bringing in supplies, encouraging them, and in making magic against the enemy behind the lines. (Supply, psychological warfare, morale division, and "research.")

One firm rule which is changing today, however,
178 is that in the old days the women never did work
462 in the field, except for helping in planting and
241 in the harvest. This is still so in a large degree, and it is true enough that the women are seen around the kampong all day while the men are off in the fields. However, nowadays more women go out and help with agricultural work. This is a slow trend. In the old days men would be ashamed to have women doing agricultural work. This was not their role (and there is a very sharp sex division of labor here).

Indeed, women have no work, properly speaking, except house work. They do very little agricultural work, even today. The planting stuff they do is clearly ritually linked, at least in part, and the harvest is evidently always an exception.

562 Roy says that the women have equal status,

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721 kor, e.g., Ruteng and Tjibal. But Rahong never
614 resisted Todo and Pongkor. The Dutch fought
578 here (near the pemali grove along the road).
The panglima prang who led this fight is still
living.

Va'u Veol had no traditional enemy, but might join in and help on one side or the other in a war.

There were many wars between the dalu that these kampongs entered. In other regions there were plenty of wars between va'u ("non-dalu wars") but there was not much of this here. These were caused because of borders, molesting fellows, etc. Dalu wars were over borders mainly, but might be for other reasons. The only big wars here were between the dalu. And each kampong had to send just about all of its adult men to fight in these dalu wars.

411 The weapons used consisted of spears, long knives, and shields. They did not use the bow until a few came in very recently. They had no blowguns, but recently a few have come in for hunting birds, although they use no poison darts. Shields were round or rectangular, always of rattan. Helmets were also made of
[714] rattan. Their war clothes were fancy. Feathers were placed on the helmets.

There was no head-hunting, but, for revenge,
266 they drank a little blood. However, there was
721 no war cannibalism. (Note the many things which are lacking in Manggarai which are usually found elsewhere in Indonesia.)

Still, even now from time to time there comes
721 a rumor that men are coming who will chop off their heads. These people are rumored to be coming from outside. It looks like the left-overs of a memory of an old head-hunting experience, perhaps felt from the outside.

[608] There are no traditional alliances between
721 clans or kampongs of the pela sort. But there
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778 I asked if there were no rumah pemali here. They then called it rumah berhala and said that there was none in either Watu Roga or Roworeke. They said there is one at kilometer 17, two kilometers up on a hill. It is the rumah berhala of Wolofea. They said that in it are many pictures painted by the ancestors and that it is big. The people who care for it live nearby. I would like to see this and may have the time to do so.

142 On this tour we saw plenty of good looking folk, especially the proto-Malay female type. Some were handsome. Many were bare to the waist. 736 Many were children. The kapitan said there are many orphans here, perhaps ten per cent of the children, because so many die. They are taken care of by others.

●721 They said there used to be lots of wars here.

342 Then we went back to the kapitan's house and thence took the secretary along the road to Ende, and along this road are Aibou and Aiutu. The latter is a magnificent place with high houses. They said that this is because the Japanese did not level them in this place. This is the best 634 house area. The secretary went to his section, 621 Wolomere, on the Watu Roga side of the road. 578 Just beside the kapitan's house is an upright stone. It is said to be the boundary marker between Watu Roga and Roworeke. However, it is in from the road on the Roworeke side. Evidently, from his statement, although the road is the boundary of Lio and Ende states, Watu Roga has a slice on the Roworeke side of the road in Ende territory. This shows again the senselessness of putting any of Watu Roga in Lio. He said that there were many disputes, and when he ascended to the kapitan post he would put a marker up and then put his house half in Watu Roga territory and half in Roworeke. Thus he is "neutral." This again [181] seemed to show up rivalry and the disputatious nature of these people.

797 stead they nearly always use the term Orang Katolik or Orang Serani. The usual pattern seems to be recurring, the Protestants not being accepted as of the same religion in any way.
797 The mission headquarters has a large building
346 for priests (there are always three here, but
874 others come to rest and get supplies), several
793 workshops (where boys who are dormitoried on the grounds learn woodworking, machine work, etc.), a lower and a following school of five grades with one thousand pupils in which boys and girls are kept separate (boys and girls from other islands sleep in dormitories), a household school, a laundry, a library, etc. It is really a great plant. There are four brothers of a "working" type here, who run the workshops and handle the technical education, including one Pole who was interned during the war. He speaks
[792] Dutch with an accent. There are many nuns here, and they also help in the small government hospital. Evidently all or nearly all the schools in this area are "government," but they are really run by the mission. I haven't found out exactly how the system works yet. The Mission is ingenious. There is an old tractor which is used for lathe power, an old Japanese machine used for electricity, etc. They have a very large coffee plantation on the road to Maumeri and it looks good.

797 It is remarkable that such a great number of priests and nuns are here in this miserable spot, which can never be any good. Maybe they regard it as a sure foothold in a Mohammedan area, a foothold which may later be expanded.

244 There are practically no vegetables except
262 tubers here, and fruit is rare. So is all other food.

582 The suku marriage custom is evidently still
614 in force, and I will work on it in detail.

578 It is notable that there are so many border
721

578 wars. There is no more head-hunting (but the
721 priest in the mission thinks it still goes on secretly, especially for the main post of a new korke).

53 The arts here are poor in all ways.

583 The bride price must be paid, but ambil anak
611 can occur. In the latter case a daughter or
237 daughters are given to the family in place of the
[556] price. This is especially true for the poor. Elephant tusks are needed for things such as the bride price, but this is evidently mainly for the uppers. And Krol said that nowadays, when the tusks have become rare, they often merely make the transfer in their heads, talking all night, and never actually transferring the real tusks from one family to another. It is a kind of clearing-house procedure. The tusks may be "transferred" up to twenty times in their heads, and they balance out in the end. Thus there is no real cost. It is a matter of delayed payment and really works out to a system of woman exchange between families. The tusk transfer is fictional. Thus A will "pay" tusks to B for a girl, and B will "pay" these to C for a girl, and C will "pay" them to A for a girl, and so on. The tusks, however, may even be non-existent in a particular case, and since they balance out in the end, no one really pays.

764 I was told that they used to put the bodies of
766 the war dead (I think) in trees before burial. Newborn children were buried in the kampong in front of the house. Cemeteries here were evidently placed outside the kampong.

124 We will return to Leloba tomorrow and try to
621 get the assistant matter straightened out. It
578 is notable that the guru said he is more comfortable working in an outside kampong. If the kakang gives the order the people must cooperate. This shows that the kampongs here are fiercely separatistic and only the upper government controls this atomism.

782 suku, does the praying, as the Kottang, Kelen,
788 and Hurint do their jobs. The guru has seen old
614 men of all suku do the praying, but has never
happened to see a Marang doing it. This is conclusive. He agrees that perhaps some relation exists between the term and the function and the suku, but he doubts it.

721 I read how Vatter,[1] shortly after he left
682 Leloba, heard that there was a war between Leloba and Waibalun. And right now while we are here, after nearly twenty years, there is a war between Leloba and Waibalun. They ask whether aliens here bring the wars. At present there are several Leloba men in jail because they have killed a Waibalun man (just the other day).

I read the passage in Vatter which tells that the guru's father, when he was kepala kampong, killed (I think) fourteen suwanggi in one day. The guru said that this was true and that nowadays even though there are still suwanggi the government will not allow them to be killed. The kepala kampong said that it happens once in a while that a man, plagued by the wickedness of a suwanggi, kills someone and is then sent to jail.

Then we started to work on the social organi-
614 zation of Wailolong. What is happening is that
621 I am getting material on the two kampongs and maybe that is the way to present it, not explicitly, but with emphasis on Wailolong. There
[184] are noticeable contrasts with the one hundred per cent Christian community.

Ama Datong, Leworita, Ama Hurint, and Lewato,
[788] and Lewodoreng are the suku. The first plays the part of Kottang in ceremonies. Kottang is not found here. Leworita plays the part of Kelen, which is not here. Hurint is O.K. The Datong are the original settlers here.

I. Ama Datong

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Wa

614 giving the first fruits to the masters; (c) owing
567 certain duties to the masters; (d) respect shown
423 to the masters; and (e) not being in a good
582 place at feasts. They may intermarry, however, and the bride price for them is the same, etc. He said that even in the beginning they intermarried; in fact as soon as they got into the area they integrated into the marriage system. So strong is the need for these marriage rules that even slaves must be put into the system.

The Ama Rere is a peculiar case too. They
[727] are descendants of war captives brought back from the Maumeri area eighteen generations ago. They too have no ritual standing, as can be seen above in their lack of chance to do any of the duties of the Datong suku. They do not have their own land either. They have to work for
[796] Ia and Ib. That is, they have no ritual standing, no land, and they must do certain duties. In the marriage system, however, they are equal.

614 Also peculiar in the Wailolong setup is the
554 Ama Hurint. They do not have a full position
423 in the kampong, because their ancestors came in from Leloba. They have no land of their own in Wailolong. Each year they receive land for their use during the next year.

721 Then we got onto the schedule and learned a number of incidental things. For instance, right now the Leloba folk are scared to walk along the road near Waibalun because there is a state of war. Thus this is a real war and not play, and there is real danger of death. The "big houses,"
778 i.e., the houses of the radja tuan and the kelake,
789 have holy stones before them. It is not proper
171 to call them nubanara but rather saoniwa(ng). The nubanara proper are the holy stones of the kampong in front of the korke. The saoniwa(ng) hold the magical power of the radja tuan and the kelake. The power of these stones invigorates the respective chiefs, and this is why the folk

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778 must give them respect and why the folk are scared
789 not to obey them. (Thus it is like the aradjang
171 in South Celebes.)

789 The guru really got going on magic power. He
721 said that they call on magic power especially
778 when they are going to war (and right now too).
769 If, for example, Wailolong were going to war tomorrow with Riang Kamië as they did only some fifteen years ago, the respective radja tuan, kelake, and maybe even the molang would get to work the night before doing the magic stuff. Among the other things they would call on the ancestors for magic power and also go through the betel rubbing on face, bodies, etc. They would also kill animals and use gin, because blood and alcohol have power. Then, on the next morning, they would be full of magical power and would go to war. All the men would come to the "big houses" to be "treated."

778 These "big houses" of the suku and ama also
614 have sacred objects, including tusks, plates,
237 etc.

422 These tusks, all of them, are ama property.
583 If any member gains possession of one, he places it in the big house of his ama. Any man in need of some tusks for a bride price may take them. If the tusks of the ama are exhausted, he may draw on the tusks of the suku. Thus Kassi, who Vatter said had no tusks of his own, could not use any tusks because his ama no longer had any. He happened to be a member of the Hurint suku, and the guru, the kepala suku, gave him some finally from the suku store and thus he was able to get married.

583 The minimum price for any girl is five units
237 of tusks (I think this is a matter of length, that is, the small and large are reckoned up). One may pay more without limitation. It is not a matter of beauty.

584 Child betrothal is common here, but this is
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We. The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof,
are easier to keep clean and are better in
general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the
kampong, and even fewer move out of or into
the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration
from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas
beyond Larantuka.

The kakang has the only telephone here.
20 There is no telegraph. There is no mail ser-
vice. There is no postman. The priest has a
battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië.
Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not
Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to
change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few
people have much knowledge about the world.
This is really the lowest place I have been in
yet. Most of the people are strongly attached
to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is
very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong
is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they
had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at
war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an
enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

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526 the heavy rain it started at two because it was
being played for a prize. One team was called
ATOM (Anak Tanah Orang Manggarai), and the
other was Pasir, from Reo. The latter team won.
526 Then the police played a team of radja kedua.
292 But the adat game in the other place (football
535 players, unlike barefoot players in Badjawa,
541 had real football shoes) was amazing. The men
721 wore horned head decorations, some of them
with plumes, and fancy coverings with plumes on
their bodies, as well as a kind of tail of
plumes stuck in the rear. They looked like
[171] Timorese warriors. This is the true ceremonial
dress of Manggarai, and they said they use them
in all kampongs for ceremonies. They had bells
on the rear which jingled as they danced with a
jigging step. It looked and sounded just like
American Indians at a powwow, except that the
dress was different. In addition, they yelled
from time to time. But the main point of the
[411] game is to try to strike the eye of the opponent
with a buffalo thong whip. The defender carries
a round buffalo hide shield and a curious bow-
shaped parrier which is quite long and looks
like a bunch of rattans tied together. The
whole thing gave the appearance of a war dance,
and perhaps it was.

I met the Radja and he said that they used
such costumes in war formerly. They also used
shields and even the parriers (it is not clear
[533] whether they also used the whips). The songs
too were especially like a cheering section
which kept up a chant from time to time answer-
ing the yells of the fighters, in chorus. The
fighting seemed formalized, and they danced
around jingling and kept this up until they were
ready to close in. Then even the approach was
formalized. As soon as a blow was made the at-
tacker ran away, as though he had taken a coup.
It looks to me like ritualized mock warfare with
whips.
[i.e., Children of the Land of the Manggarai Analyst]

We

721 whips. Later the mandur of the pasanggrahan,
555 a Manggarai man from kampong Ruteng, said that girls especially like a man who has knocked out another's eye with a whip.! It looks like a head-hunting pattern, but so far I have gotten no response on the subject of head-hunting, and the priests say it did not exist here even in former times. I must check on this.

[126] We took photographs, and one of them was of
634 the Radja. He was a bit drunk, and said that
273 the dancers were hot inside too. He made what
537 seemed to me to be an unnecessary speech to
609 the men around him to the effect that we were Americans and not Dutch and as to why we were here. Later he said he was busy as this was the day of the kampong folk. He said he would see us later so that if we needed any help we could call on him, and he could also warn us of possible dangers. The latter reference was vague, and I can't see the point. He called a lad who came with a bottle of brandy and we had drinks in front of a great crowd. He wore a songko, which is strange for a Christian radja. Evidently, from what we hear, the Radja here has been in for only a short time, and this one is both young and new, as his father died recently (maybe not his father?)

614 Then we went back to the pasanggrahan and
582 talked with the mandur who said that in the Ruteng kampong there is still plenty of the old culture. He said it is possible to marry inside the va'u (this is the correct spelling) or outside. He said marriages usually occur outside. He said something about how if one partner was from the older sibling branch of the va'u and the other from the younger sibling branch, they may marry (could it be that here we have a subclan?) The assistant says they have panga inside the va'u, and he gave his own as the first, which I think means the older branch. Thus

! [i.e., during the ritualized mock warfare games; see p.92, c.st.116 --Analyst]

574 He furnished us with fair food, rice and chicken, and coffee, and then fixed up the beds without mosquito nets in one room. The son of
872 the mandur of the pasanggrahan of Badjawa was with us, on his way to school in Ende, and he had a little packet of clothes, a canteen and a ukulele. The latter was in sad condition.
484 He slept on the floor on a mat. The next morning we just about made it across the river with our goods lifted by the men in order to lighten the jeep. This was a hard experience, and we decided to make the western run only once
132 more, at the end. This rainy season is too hard here and it is dangerous because there is always a risk of delay from floods or landslides. Ende seemed luxurious after this run to the west.

The assistant was in Ende for a tax meeting
124 of kapitan, and after noon I took him and the kapitan and the latter's servant to Roworeke. They had to work on taxation in the afternoon, so I decided to start in tomorrow morning. Roworeke, as usual, is always troublesome. The jeep was overcrowded with many riders. I took them out, and came back with a load.

Incidental notes on Flores: We saw the use
482 of a tumpline in Sikka. This is true also for Nageh and Ngada. They use this for carrying loads especially in Sikka and also for betel ingredients in Ngada. They use small plaited bags.

Girls in Ngada and Nageh have half-shaved
302 tonsures. This is not true of all, but certainly of many of the girls. There are variations in style, including topknots. I note the latter on boys too.

721 A Ngada man denied head-hunting at any time
346 and said that there is no head under the new
231 ndaru, but rather a red dog, a pig, and a cock, all buried alive. But ENI says that there was
[554] head-hunting and that Ngada heroes had goatskin bands under their knees formerly.

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829 assistant said that he just did it, and that it was a revelation to him. They simply do not think in such diagrammatic terms.

769 186 The ancestor cult is strong here and there are many stories about it, but it is not used to glorify the place. In fact, there is no real pride as such. They are simply satisfied as they know nothing else. There is no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village.

178 There has been very little change here in regard to the expanding horizons of social and economic contact.

721 578 178 The old wars and head-hunting continued until recently. Wars seem to have been caused mostly over border disputes, so far as they can remember. Heads were taken as a sign of victory. But I got very little regarding a real head-hunting cult. They said that the heads were placed on the borders, evidently on the borders over which the war had been fought. [789] [266] They said voluntarily that they ate the hearts of enemies in order to increase their magic power. They are quite clear and vivid about this. The hearts were removed through an incision in the back under the shoulder blade. The main enemies were Nggobe and Rodja, but there is no hostility now. More seldom, war was waged against the Lio folk. Spears and [411] guns were used, and formerly bows. Bows were used especially by the Nggobe folk. Circular shields were made of buffalo hide and wood. There were alliances of mutual aid too. For example, Rewarangga (Worowai) and Odja (Roworeke) were in such an arrangement. Also, they [634] went to war for the Ende radja who paid wages for this.

721 634 The radja bitjara (a post no longer present in Ende; he was a kind of minister of foreign relations) (and he was able to talk all lan-

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721 guages and thus carry on negotiations) would
[634] request soldiers. Such wars were usually
against the coastal folk on the north, that
is, Lio and Ende there. In the old days, just
721 about every outside kampong was considered
484 dangerous and it was seldom that a trip was
578 made there unless a bond of friendship existed
178 between one's kampong and the area visited.
[608] Now all of these kampongs are friendly. Still
I note that they don't like to sleep all night
outside the kampong. This is especially true
of the old folks.

829 Note on ideas concerning the "place" of the
local kampong in the world: In just about
every kampong, when I ask about the ranking of
world countries in population, they do not
know what to say (although a young boy knew
that China was the largest), but at once the
assistant and others get paper and copy down
the exact ranking from me with figures. They
evidently want to spring the question on other
people and stick them. It does show a definite
curiosity about these things.

608 The people here have a sort of pela bond
574 between kampongs, or at least they did at one
578 time in the past. They do not drink the blood
178 of each other as in Ambon, but they hold a
feast and drink the blood and eat the hearts of
the animals killed. And they eat together.
They pledge that they will not war against each
other and that they will show a certain degree
of hospitality to each other. Thus Roworeke
has such a bond with Waturoga, Waturoga with
Ndona, etc. This was all in the past, and I
didn't find out if there are any survivals.
I think there are, because the guru from Ndona
said that it is easy for him to live in Watu-
roga as his kampong had a bond with it. In
721 addition, he married in.

648 War was tabooed by the Dutch in 1908, and
656 since then there have been no wars.

Wa
621 call the people from the Blakang Gunung region
173 "blake").

Lewoneda is now mixed, as people came in later from Sina Djawa. Riang Kanali is a branch of Lewohala. Riang Kamië is very mixed. It includes people of the original (that is, Lenurat descended suku) and others. However, it was evidently founded by people from Kroko Putang, the island which disappeared, and whose refugees are all over Larantuka. For example, this is true of the radja kedua here. These folk are called Tenemau (meaning "sailed here in a prau"). Riang Kamië is the largest of all the kampongs. Formerly there was plenty of war between it and Leloba.

578 Lewowitin is the term for a traditional
●721 enemy kampong. Formerly heads were exchanged
346 for the korke. These heads were not buried but hung in the korke (like animal jaws today? I also thought as I saw a pig killed, how easy it would be to imagine a human sacrifice instead).

614 In Riang Kamië there are many suku. The as-
621 sistant cannot list all of them, but he remembers
173 Kottang, Marang, Molang 1, Molang 2, Belowen,
829 Lowalia, Lolamaki, Keleng, etc. There is no Hurint.

He says there are four kinds of people here, according to their origin:

1. Padji. They were here in plenty before, but they were all driven out by the Lenurat people, who are here called the Ili Djadi (Ili means emerged), the second group. The Padji were driven to Tandjung Bunda where they are still numerous, and also to the islands, for example to Adonara. They were evidently the aborigines, but he says there was no physical difference, even in the legends.

2. Demon or Ili Djadi. They drove the Padji out after emerging from the mountains, or rather after their father's emergence. The Demon or

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831 goat; and buffalo?). During other months they
614 may eat such food. This figures out to be
241 roughly about one half of the year. Some of
786 the ama have no nu'a luka, for example, Ama
784 Rere. Indeed, Roy says they must not be too strict about this system because there are plenty of holes in the ideal scheme. As we
115 were finishing up the work he got a note tell-
124 ing him to meet the Radja at the kakang's house for a conference. Evidently he is becoming a big man here. We are perhaps partly responsible.

He is making a map, and his daughter, who goes to the nun's school in Larantuka, is doing the drawing.

The next morning, Sunday, we went back, and
632 arrived while church services were being held.
796 They expected the Radja to visit today, so they had removed a section of the fence to let his car in. He never showed up, which was a disappointment to them, as they were all waiting
[621] around. The name of the section of Wailolong where we saw the rite yesterday is Apukule(ng).

We asked about the bonds of friendship and
578 enemy relations here. It is clear that seven
72) of the kampongs are always friendly, and are never at war with one another. The eighth, Riang Kamië, has been the traditional enemy of each of them in turn. They are all descendants of Lenurat, whereas the folk of Rian Kamië are descended mainly from Kroko Putang folk, mixed in with some Sina Djawa. Most enmity against Riang Kamië has been, as usual, by kampongs bordering Riang Kamië. Always, border wars are the most frequent here. Thus, Leloba, Wailolong, and Lewohala are involved. The traditional enemy kampong is Lewowitin. The others are brothers, just as in fact or legend their founders were.

The main causes of wars were, in order:

Wae

578 land disputes, head-hunting, and women. Or
●721 perhaps the latter two should be reversed. Another cause was molesting a child if done by a neighboring kampong. There were also radja wars, in which the people served, but this was involved in high politics. Finally, there were also the early wars against the aborigines, the Padji folk.

721 The reasons for head-hunting were linked
346 with the new korke (this is still a reason for
796 the largest feast, when all kampongs come to-
782 gether. Nowadays, the feast for the new church takes over this function). When a new korke is built, if the six posts do not fit into the rafter posts, it is a sign that the posts are not happy because they are in need of food, so they are pledged food. Formerly the people then went out and got a head and hung it in the korke. Then everything was all right. Note that nowadays at such rites they give food to the posts. For example, yesterday they smeared rice on the four barn posts. The korke must have six posts.

346 The korke was the center of the war cult and
769 the ghost cult (ancestor cult). The barns were
343 the center of the agricultural cult. The little
241 kebang (barn) of the suku and the ama is called sebua.!

582 Relations between villages are kept up by
621 marriages. In fact, they are almost the sole
602 reason for such relations. This shows that genealogical relationship is nearly everything here. It shows also why descent is the basis for the whole organization of power, etc., and why marriage rules are so complex and strongly held to. There have even been marriage relations with Riang Kamiĕ, although they have not been too pronounced.

476 Another reason for relations with other com-
582 munities is work. That is, there is mutual aid
602
621

! [See cat. 116, p. 202 -- Analyst]

Wa

000 Radja's kampong.

721 There used to be much warfare with the Mohammedan coastal folk too. And war was waged with other districts and tribes, but this was rare, and was largely tied up with the higher politics of the radja. A pure border war, however, was one carried on with the district Lewotala.

186 621 484 Only a very few people locally have been in other places enough to have inferiority feelings about their own village. They have all seen the town of Larantuka, but this is not much and they get tired of it after a little while. Those who have, for example, seen Makassae, of whom there are very few, are less happy when they come back. This is a real difference. They tell a lot about the big town. Thus, the truth is that in all Flores the towns are so little and are so much like the kampongs (i.e. dull), that there is little contrast. Therefore, they see no advantage locally as over against the kampongs. Of the kampongs here all are about the same in wealth and land holdings. Lewohala and Watuwiti have a bit better land and perhaps more of it; thus, in general, one place is about as good as another.

721 178 578 691 693 Wars were waged over borders, women, and molesting children. Now warfare is outlawed, although they still carry it on in a modified way. For example, there is a dispute of this kind going on now between Leloba and Waibalun, although the chief says that they must not carry on a war. There have been repeated grievances; their patience is gone. A band goes out hot for revenge and although the chiefs in general try to keep the people from war they are unsuccessful. Most disputes are settled by legal procedures, with the kakang as the main judge and the kepala kampong, radja tuan, and kelake of the kampongs concerned making up the court.

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614 For inter-suku cases, the court is made up

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693 of the three kepala kampongs, the kepala suku,
614 and the kelake. For intra-suku cases, the court consists of the kepala suku and the kelake.

608 They have blood brotherhood bonds between
●721 kampongs like the pela darah of Ambon. They call this umbadja or bela badja. Badja means pledged. The bond is formed by the chiefs of the kampongs cutting their fingers and drinking each other's blood mixed in a drink. They take only a little blood. This means that the two kampongs will not wage war against each other and that there will be no infringement of recognized boundaries. It means perhaps that they will help each other in war, but this is not necessary. It is a peace bond rather than a war alliance.

About every year the umbadja kampongs (there are none here as they are brothers anyway) have a get-together like the "bikin panas pela" in Ambon. The one kampong here which they know has a bela badja is Watuwiti, which has one with the district Lewotala.

773 The whole organization and everything else
796 here has a story about it, and these stories are endless. One could fill many books with the underlying legends about one kampong here. Every single rule, relationship, rank, etc., has its legendary rationalization. And ritual keeps the belief alive. Ritual is the acting out of past events which explains and justifies the present order. The ancestors are called upon to attend these rituals.

609 To be foreign in the local sense is a matter of great concern. Anyone they do not know is treated as a foreigner. This includes anyone from another kampong, and even though they may know another kampong person, if he enters they all ask him what he is after. The communities are really closed. Persons of another district are really alien. The word for stranger is

Wo.
584 comes pregnant.) This sexual activity is about
836 the same as marriage anyway, as it leads finally to marriage. And anyway, there is no
584 adat rite of marriage. What happened in the
836 old days and what still goes on among the
178 pagans is simply that one day, when everything
178 is all right, the girl is brought to the boy's house, and the couple simply moves in. There is no ceremony.

Nowadays, with Catholicism, and with prearranged marriages, they have a church rite before they sleep together. But the other type of marriage goes on, and in this case they just confess and get married after having slept together. This is a pretty case. And even
595 prettier is the case of polygyny. In the old
178 days this was more frequent, but even now there
183 are Christians who have more than one wife. In this case the first one is married in church, but the second can have no church rites. (As he says, she has no sacramen.)

They are very prudish about molesting girls
684 (ganggu). If, for example, a boy squeezes the
832 breast of a girl, and even if she likes it and
724 says nothing, her father and brothers, if they
128 hear about it, go to his house and kill his
627 animals and break up his tusks. They get directly at his property (and that of his ama or suku too) thus, and so it hurts. He has molested their property, and they get back at him in the same way. This might lead to war, and often did in the old days. Note that he mentions as the second most frequent cause of war that of molesting women.

He gave a fine case of trouble between kam-
832 pongs resulting from such a case. In his youth
684 three girls from Leloba were molested by boys
628 from another kampong. The girls were getting water. The father and brothers of the girls became angry and smashed up the belongings of

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684 out, one or both could be killed. (He said that usually one escaped.) (I didn't ask about widows, but must do so.)

659 Note: Formerly, no vital statistics were kept here. Only since the war have they bothered to keep a record of births, and deaths. They still do not record marriages.

842 The belief here is that the more children one has the better it is for him. A man feels big
534 if his family is large. It is fine to have
556 twenty children. They have no idea at all of
857 limitation, or that it might even be conceivable. If a man has no children it is cause for terrific shame. This applies even if he has only a few. They like boys and girls, and perhaps boys even a bit more than girls. Girls bring in tusks, but this is not all gain, because the family must pay a return gift. The boys, however, work in the fields and thus bring in a certain income. In addition, if there are lots of boys and thus a large family income, the family can buy tusks.

Thus the girls get tusks, weave, and cook; but the boys work and bring to the family an income and keep the group name going (and in the old days were probably good for warfare).

181 The word hasil is very important here. It means product, and this is the center of their life. Everything is judged in terms of hasil, and even religious and ritual leaders are judged by their hasil. If they produce, they are all right. If they do not, something is wrong. And these profits, or income, or produce, include food, children, tusks, magic, etc. This is a wide concept. They want lots of hasil, and of all kinds.

• 721 I asked about war in the old days and how
789 any of the kampongs could fight the traditional enemy Riang Kamiè when it was always so much bigger. The kepala kampong looked significantly

721 at me and raised his brows, saying, "Ah, but
789 you are forgetting the kekuatan adjaib. It was not a matter of men alone." I am accepted as one who can appreciate the magical things. In this case he was pointing to "those intangible factors which mean so much in warfare."

842 There are no limitations on the number of children in a family. There is not even a conflict here with the church. He did say, however, that they know or think they know a medicine (at least he has heard that some women know about this) which might limit the number of children a woman could have (or did I say this?). Anyway, it is unthinkable.

[614] The bigger the family the better it is. A big family, ama or suku makes its members cocky.
[554] As Roy says, he is a member of Hurint, the biggest sib here, and he would like to see the so and so who would try anything on him. He would have to settle with the group. Thus numbers mean strength all along the line.

162 The average size of the family here is about
178 eight individuals. Formerly, about fifty per cent of the children did not grow up. Now they
165 nearly all live (I doubt this, but evidently
758 the change has been so dramatic with the introduction of modern medicine and cleanliness that it seems this way). I asked why, and they at once said new medicines and cleanliness.

355 Women do most of the upbringing. The father,
368 for example, just looks on once in awhile. The
178 mother is the crux, as well as other women. Later on, boys learn to work from their father and girls learn their tasks from their mother. The only change in all this is the school and church, especially of course the former.

581 There has been no significant change in the
178] concept of a "suitable man or wife." So little has the pressure for mere existence lessened that appearance and looks are minor. First of

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648 controleur around 1931, when the radja also was an unfit person.

167 I was surprised when he said that just about all the young men here would like to leave and see the world. But they have almost no chance. If they did have such an opportunity, there would be a great exodus here.

721 152 The only great fear in the old days was warfare, and this is an intermittent danger today also. Thus, Leloba was at war with Waibalun last month, and it is feared even to walk near there. He admits that there was some fear of bad spirits formerly, but this was relatively not so bad. Still, my guess is that there are few people who are brave enough to go and sleep in other places.

20 The kakang has a telephone in his office. The only telegraph here is in Larantuka. There is no postal service. Letters must be gotten at the Larantuka Post Office. There is no radio here, and hardly anyone has ever heard one.

The mandur of the kakang transmits important orders from the administration. Rumor is very important as a means of communication, but there is practically no other means here.

The few who receive or read the mission newspaper are asked about what is in the paper. Bulletins are never posted. They see them only in Larantuka town.

443 438 There are a few women who come here to buy and sell some items. The small market at Okka crossroad on the beach is held once a week, on Tuesday, in the afternoon and until Wednesday. There used to be another market on the beach at Delang.

However, there is no market system here. Roy says they simply have too little surplus to sell, and nearly nothing to buy with. In Adonara, which is richer, there is a regular pasar ring system.

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585 come mainly in the "free months" after harvest,
[221] that is, July, August, September. (Note here
796 that the tuno wudjo fasting period comes in,
261 which he said lasts for about six[1] months. It just jibes with the quiet time.)

Head-hunting was done formerly for a feast
721 for a new korke (they can't do it for the new
346 church; too bad!). I have already mentioned
178 how they would give the new posts of a korke
782 some food if the posts did not fit into the rafter holes. This showed that they were hungry. Formerly the food given was human heads. They were hung in the korke. (I suspect there was more of this than Roy[2] says, but he is honest, and perhaps this simply was not done during his time.)

[241] I asked about the blood and the heads needed for making the land fertile and the crops plentiful, etc. He was very vague about this, and my guess is that it is not native in this area. Still, I note the tuno wudjo myth. But this may indeed be a Lio importation. Anyway, they know the connection between blood, human sacrifice, and "fat land." There must be a link here.

226 He says there is no cannibalism here. He
727 says Seegeler[3] was wrong to suspect that they ate parts of the human beings killed in human sacrifice. In fact, he says they didn't even have the human sacrifice. But then he hedged a bit when I reminded him how the Keweluk had forbidden the killing of the Padji women. Then he corrected my previous version of this tale and said that when they had these wars, they didn't, as I thought, kill half the defeated at once and bring the other half back to the kampong and there kill them. He said that actually what they did was to kill only one person and bring the head back. Thus, in the Padji case, they killed one woman and brought her head back. It

1 [i.e., January-June; see category 116, p. 276, #2 --Analyst]
2 [the assistant] 3 [a former Controleur --Analyst]

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621 are established or where the people have mar-
614 riage relations. The dalu area is quite
602 secondary, as it is not genealogical. There are, e.g., three Veol kampongs in the dalu Tjibal, and these are closer than the other non-Veol kampongs nearer in distance or others in the same dalu but of a different va'u. Even though a family has lived for a long time in another kampong and has few close acquaintances any more in the old kampong, the bond is still closer than with the neighbors in the kampong
[571] of residence. This shows that residence is less important here than blood. Still, as propinquity makes for marriages, there is a tendency for a family to establish new marriage relations in the place of residence. Thus it is either the consanguineal or the affinal group that counts, in order.

There are no relations at all with other tribes or places.

[648] The Dutch stopped the wars. They say that
721 if there were no police now they would have wars
614 again soon.
578 When a war comes all the va'u kampongs help. They could also call on the vina-rona families, i.e., the affinal relatives. These might refuse, however.

Once there was a war between two places (and usually wars were thus along va'u lines, except for the dalu wars), and everlasting enmity remained between these two places. Thus the wars were va'u against va'u and dalu against dalu, not kampong against kampong, although they might start that way. And in this area, most of the wars were dalu wars. Some wars were dalu or even a va'u against Bima, and there might be quite an alliance against Bima. Once in awhile Bima lost. On the border there were many wars against Ngada.

Some dalu here fought against Todo and Pong-

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721 kor, e.g., Ruteng and Tjibal. But Rahong never
614 resisted Todo and Pongkor. The Dutch fought
578 here (near the pemali grove along the road).
The panglima prang who led this fight is still
living.

Va'u Veol had no traditional enemy, but might join in and help on one side or the other in a war.

There were many wars between the dalu that these kampongs entered. In other regions there were plenty of wars between va'u ("non-dalu wars") but there was not much of this here. These were caused because of borders, molesting fellows, etc. Dalu wars were over borders mainly, but might be for other reasons. The only big wars here were between the dalu. And each kampong had to send just about all of its adult men to fight in these dalu wars.

411 The weapons used consisted of spears, long knives, and shields. They did not use the bow until a few came in very recently. They had no blowguns, but recently a few have come in for hunting birds, although they use no poison darts. Shields were round or rectangular, always of rattan. Helmets were also made of
[714] rattan. Their war clothes were fancy. Feathers were placed on the helmets.

There was no head-hunting, but, for revenge,
266 they drank a little blood. However, there was
721 no war cannibalism. (Note the many things which are lacking in Manggarai which are usually found elsewhere in Indonesia.)

Still, even now from time to time there comes
721 a rumor that men are coming who will chop off their heads. These people are rumored to be coming from outside. It looks like the leftovers of a memory of an old head-hunting experience, perhaps felt from the outside.

[608] There are no traditional alliances between
721 clans or kampongs of the pela sort. But there
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721 578 614 were traditional enmities to some extent between dalu. For example, Ruteng was against Tjibal. Rahong usually helped Ruteng. Tjibal had allies too.

When there was a Todo war against Pongkor, the dalu here often entered, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other.

There are plenty of stories about the old wars. Thus there is the Prang Kuvu (that was against the Dutch near here); Prang Lait (against Bima, at a place near here); Prang Vake (Pongkor against Todo, and the dalus here entered), etc.

621 614 602 [423] There are definite borders here, and the people are quite sensitive about them. These exist between the dalu, gelarang, and kampongs. They are marked by stones, mountains, rivers, etc.

In every gelarang there is a central kampong, for example, Veol and branches. Only one va'u per gelarang is the original va'u. There can't be two. Each dalu has kampongs under direct dalu rule. Some dalu (e.g., Rahong) had kampongs directly under Todo or Pongkor. Aside from the va'u relations, the vina-rona (mother's brother's daughter or affinal) relationship is important. In this mutual help is expected. Thus the pattern of one's own clan and the clan of affinity (and, I suppose, by extension this, could work out to a circle of the Wouden type)[1] is found here.

614 582 However, I get nowhere with the regular marriage class system here. Nevertheless, the old tuan tanah said that there was a preferred clan, Mungges. It does not show in the record of the marriages, however. He will get the clans of the women for me.

756 789 Note: he misunderstood the "magic" here, and says that the mbako could and can make a drink or amulet, etc., to make a man strong, and such is used in war.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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538 but many are still remembered. I get the idea that the decline here is not so great as in many other areas.

484 There is practically no desire here yet to go to places which are "happier."

721 There was no head-hunting here at any time,
266 nor was there any cannibalism, although they did drink blood for revenge pleasure in war. There was no human sacrifice and no torture.
681 The death punishment was given for murder, a slave having sex relations with a kraeng woman, primary incest (but more distant incest was punished by a purifying rite only). The way the death punishment was carried out here and in Pongkor was to throw the victim down into a river from a high point.

411 Note: To kill a beast the people here use
231 a spear or a long knife. It is nearly always the latter.

778 The tjompang tree may be only either waringin
824 or dadap.

515 I see plenty of lice-plucking here. The pretty wife of the head guru I saw plucking the head of another woman. And I see this all over. And here, judging by the smell, they seldom bathe. I see no bathing places. Toilets are evidently holes in the ground enclosed by a screen. I don't remember seeing lice-plucking in Makassar or Buginese areas, but perhaps they do it too. I also do not remember seeing it in Ambon. The Toradja certainly do it. Note that the Endenese and people in Larantuka bathe. The Toradja don't. I think it is probably mountain people (especially the dirty Ngada) who do not bathe and also who have more lice. In this regard, note the Manggarai Ngada, Toradja, and Batak. The Minangkabau, although living in the mountains, bathe (a sign of former coastal life?).

124 Thus ended the Manggarai work, and the as-

2: Wilken--39 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia

Ambon OH4
Tanimbar OF19
Gorontalo OG4

Arfak OJ7
Flores OF9
Alor OF5
Igorot OA20

[22 cont.]

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Papoewa's van de Geelvinksbaai [The Papuans of Geelvink Bay], p. 78. Sal. Müller, op. cit., p. 108. Natuurk. Tijdschrift v. Ned. Ind., XXXVII, p. 186-187. A.B. Meyer, Ausland 1882, p. 11, note.

among other tribes of that island (2). It has been said that the

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2. See Haddon, "the Tuguri Head-Hunters," Int. Archiv für Ethnographie, Vol. IV, 240 pp.

Langa, the Rokka [Roka], and the Wogo, inhabitants of the interior of Flores, are also cannibals. They not only eat their enemies, but kill and devour their relatives when they are old and sickly. This has been denied, however (3). The mountain

3. De Hollander, Handleiding, Vol. II, p. 721. Tijdschrift v. Ned. Ind., 9th year, Vol. IV, p. 147.

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tribes of the neighboring Solor Islands cut out the hearts of those who have fallen in battle, roast them over the fire, and divide them among the victors (4). Whether or not they are eaten

4. Tijdschrift v. Ind. Taal- L. en Vk., Vol. XX, p. 391, see koppenjacht [headhunting] in the index.

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has not been reported. The custom of eating human flesh was likewise practiced on the Tanimbar and Timorlaut Islands (5),

5. Riedel, de kroes en sluikharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua [The curly-haired and straight-haired races between Celebes and Papua], p. [no number given].

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632 most extinct, with only about twenty members.
614 The kapitan is elected by the orang besar of the eighteen kampongs in the kapitanschap.
634 The Radja of Ende is also elected, in this case by the orang besar of the whole state. This means that he is elected evidently by the kapitan. I must inquire further about this matter.

632 The present kapitan is a nephew of the former
578 kapitan. He was chosen because the son of the former kapitan was not satisfactory. I noted that as I asked about this there seemed to be some embarrassment and I wonder if perhaps there was not a little fuss attached to the selection of a new kapitan even in the past. This seems to bear out the evidence for a feud pattern of which I see so much at first glance in Flores. Anyway, both the radja and the kapitan are elected with a tendency to heredity in the male line. They are elected by the officers of the sections of their domain. It is similar to the electors of Goa.

583 They say that the bride price is necessary
614 for marriage, and that the price is really high.
476 They say that some people go bankrupt in order
237 to pay the bride price. Nevertheless, everyone in the suku helps the man pay his bride price and in turn all helpers are later helped. This bride price is a clan affair. Formerly the price had to
[436] be paid in elephant tusks and in gold pieces called wea. Now most of the tusks are gone be-
[727] cause they have been sold or stolen (during the Japanese time). There are still quite a few of the gold pieces left, however. There were hundreds of thousands of tusks in Flores before. Sikka used only very long ones, but in this area they evidently used both long and short tusks. They are remarkable and I must learn more about them.

614 Marriage is exogamous as far as suku are con-
582 cerned and residence is patrilocal. They did
[591]

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614 giving the first fruits to the masters; (c) owing
567 certain duties to the masters; (d) respect shown
423 to the masters; and (e) not being in a good
582 place at feasts. They may intermarry, however, and the bride price for them is the same, etc. He said that even in the beginning they intermarried; in fact as soon as they got into the area they integrated into the marriage system. So strong is the need for these marriage rules that even slaves must be put into the system.

The Ama Rere is a peculiar case too. They
[727] are descendants of war captives brought back from the Maumeri area eighteen generations ago. They too have no ritual standing, as can be seen above in their lack of chance to do any of the duties of the Datong suku. They do not have their own land either. They have to work for
[796] Ia and Ib. That is, they have no ritual standing, no land, and they must do certain duties. In the marriage system, however, they are equal.

614 Also peculiar in the Wailolong setup is the
554 Ama Hurint. They do not have a full position
423 in the kampong, because their ancestors came in from Leloba. They have no land of their own in Wailolong. Each year they receive land for their use during the next year.

721 Then we got onto the schedule and learned a number of incidental things. For instance, right now the Leloba folk are scared to walk along the road near Waibalun because there is a state of war. Thus this is a real war and not play, and there is real danger of death. The "big houses,"
778 i.e., the houses of the radja tuan and the kelake,
789 have holy stones before them. It is not proper
171 to call them nubanara but rather saoniwa(ng). The nubanara proper are the holy stones of the kampong in front of the korke. The saoniwa(ng) hold the magical power of the radja tuan and the kelake. The power of these stones invigorates the respective chiefs, and this is why the folk

We. The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof,
are easier to keep clean and are better in
general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the
kampong, and even fewer move out of or into
the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration
from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas
beyond Larantuka.

20 The kakang has the only telephone here.
There is no telegraph. There is no mail ser-
vice. There is no postman. The priest has a
battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië.
Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not
Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to
change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few
people have much knowledge about the world.
This is really the lowest place I have been in
yet. Most of the people are strongly attached
to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is
very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong
is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they
had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at
war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an
enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All
727 of them were sold or taken during the Japanese
436 time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese
563 time too, but new ones are being made by
326 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and families. They had been in the mountains making wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They use the natives' gold. Much silver is now mixed in with the gold. They both had complete
[142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large, and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they
611 use money and animals for the bride price, but
591 they may also work it off, although it is not
237 really a case of ambil anak because the children follow the father's suku anyway. The girl must stay with the parents until the bride price is paid. Also, residence remains matrilocal until the bride price is paid. Thus we have an illustration of this in the case of a Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several children, because the bride price has not yet been paid. The children belong to his suku, however. Thus there is bride service, matrilocal residence, but the descent remains patrilineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally, has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to get the assistant to say that they still had tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the
624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before
632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evidently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases
[691] are concerned only with land and marriage questions.

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000 be, the assistant says. Some cotton fluff is
438 sold in the pasar. Thread, however, is not
283 usually bought any more. It is rare and expensive. Thus the wheels and even the hand spindles are busy everywhere.

443 In addition to the market places mentioned before, there is another market in the cycle here. It occurs on the seventh day left out in the arrangement described before (or rather, on the sixth, as there is no market on Sunday), and this is on Thursday, I think. It is at Magekoba, on the way back from Wolowaru, and in the hills above kilometer 33.

[178] The whole market business is new, starting during the last war only. Formerly they did not have a single pasar.

436 Before the Dutch came there was no money
177 except the Portuguese dinar, which was in gold
[301] of various denominations. The assistant has heard of most of these only, as all of them have long since been melted down for ornaments. He remembers that the one like a silver rupiah was worth about fl. 12.50, and the ringgit sized one was worth fl. 25.00. There were also bigger coins and others which were smaller. There were also lead Portuguese coins, with holes in them like a gobang [a two and a half sen piece]. These too have disappeared because they were melted down to mix with gold to make an alloy.

436 I note that these people stare and stare at
● 727 my watch and watch band, and probably this is one thing (gold) which they might steal, as it is irresistible. I note that the women still
[301] have gold decorations. Thus the assistant's wife has a pretty good bracelet. There were big troubles when the NICA came in and the people had only Japanese money. Thousands of rupiah were lost in those times. There are just about no more silver coins here. Occa-

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436 sionally one sees a ten sen ketip.[1] The Japa-
●727 nese took everything. They also probably
melted down a lot of the coins. There is very
437 little barter here as they have so little
merchandise as real surplus. If they need
food badly, they may sell cloth in the moun-
tains for some form of food.

No one has a car. No one has ever owned a
493 car here. And no one can drive. Buses are
[435] very little used. The fare to Ende is fl. 0.50.

The owner of all the land is the mosa laki
429 mere of the kampong. He is thus the tuan
614 tanah. Each family has its own house and gar-
622 den land which is inherited. The parcels are
in family units. Land is not sold, bought,
or rented. There is also suku land, usually
too far off in the hills (where the kampong
lama of the suku is) to work. Thus the Odja
suku has some in Rabu, but they never use it.
The suku land in the kampong is under the giri
tumba. Evidently there are no kepala suku,
and thus no real suku property organization.
This is because the mosa laki mere was formerly
the kepala suku when the suku were localized.
In the kampong, most of the suku land is that
of Rewarangga, and indeed if one looks back
far enough, all of the land in Roworeke belonged
to Rewarangga suku. Note that the mosa laki
mere is of Rewarangga. The Odja folk were
given land for coming in and, for example,
helping the Rewarangga in warfare. Thus it is
possible, and evidently indeed usual, for in-
coming suku to get pieces of land from the
mosa laki mere who is land master of the ori-
ginal suku.

There is also undivided kampong land, and
[609] this may be developed by anyone with the con-
sent of the mosa laki mere. Even outsiders
may do this, for example, the people from Ende,
who live in the kampong.

[1] [i.e., small silver coin --Analyst]

Wa

585 come mainly in the "free months" after harvest,
[221] that is, July, August, September. (Note here
796 that the tuno wudjo fasting period comes in,
261 which he said lasts for about six months. It just jibes with the quiet time.)[1]

Head-hunting was done formerly for a feast
721 for a new korke (they can't do it for the new
346 church; too bad!). I have already mentioned
178 how they would give the new posts of a korke
782 some food if the posts did not fit into the rafter holes. This showed that they were hungry. Formerly the food given was human heads. They were hung in the korke. (I suspect there was more of this than Roy[2] says, but he is honest, and perhaps this simply was not done during his time.)

[241] I asked about the blood and the heads needed for making the land fertile and the crops plentiful, etc. He was very vague about this, and my guess is that it is not native in this area. Still, I note the tuno wudjo myth. But this may indeed be a Lio importation. Anyway, they know the connection between blood, human sacrifice, and "fat land." There must be a link here.

226 He says there is no cannibalism here. He
● 727 says Seegeler[3] was wrong to suspect that they ate parts of the human beings killed in human sacrifice. In fact, he says they didn't even have the human sacrifice. But then he hedged a bit when I reminded him how the Keweluk had forbidden the killing of the Padji women. Then he corrected my previous version of this tale and said that when they had these wars, they didn't, as I thought, kill half the defeated at once and bring the other half back to the kampong and there kill them. He said that actually what they did was to kill only one person and bring the head back. Thus, in the Padji case, they killed one woman and brought her head back. It

[1] [i.e., January-June; see category 116, p. 276, #2 --Analyst]
[2] [the assistant] [3] [a former Controleur --Analyst]

Wae

727 was then that Keweluk said it was taboo to kill
266 (to kill women only evidently?). Maybe Vatter[1] has a version? Anyway, he did admit that when an enemy was captured in war, although they didn't kill him in the korke (he was a bit shocked at the idea), they would kill him outside the kampong. His father did this, which was quite decent after all!

754 He insists that there was no cannibalism at
[266] all, except that formerly (and even today?) the suwanggi did it. They were and are evidently the devils here. They do the things that other people wouldn't. I wonder if perhaps they are the scapegoats for past practices. That is, they say that their ancestors never did such things, only the suwanggi did them. But, note that there were plenty of suwanggi. Roy's father had to kill fourteen in one day in Leloba alone! There is something fishy here. Either he won't tell everything, or else he has forgotten, or else I am really wrong to suspect him.

681 The death punishment was given only to suwang-
684 gi (again the devils). It was also given in cases of adultery if the offenders were caught red handed.

Thus my work in Leloba--Wailolong ended. Roy
115 is a fine old fellow. His only requests were to
124 ride with me if I happened to be going the "same" way," and to take his relatives and family along. He also wanted some photographs, and I will send him a photograph of me. And a copy of my book. I will also send him some medicine for asthma. How different he is from the begging and crafty Endenese.

Roy probably won't live much longer. He is a dramatic figure.

He, more than anyone else, probably, killed off paganism here. But he retains the tolerance and respect for his ancestors, and a knowledge of and pride in the legends and old things.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

527 We
782 Drums, etc. are set up.
231 (5) A new ordinary house. There is a small
[342] feast, and pigs are killed.

(6) If there is an epidemic, a big feast is
[731] held, like the tjutji kampong of Ambon. The
[783] mbako decides when it is needed. It is called
[756] kaba erba golo, which means "buffalo (kaba) makes young or renews (erba) the kampong (golo)." Thus the word for young seems to have the sense of making young or cleaning or renewing. There is a buffalo sacrificed, I suppose at the tjompang.

[697] (7) When a man returns from jail. A buffalo is sacrificed.

[585] (8) A wedding. For such rites only pigs are sacrificed. Buffaloes which are killed at this time are for food only, not for ritual use.

[764] (9) Funerals. If such a rite is for an up-
[565] per, a buffalo is sacrificed; if a funeral is for a lower, only a pig is sacrificed.

(10) Birth. A bigger ceremony is held for
[844] a first child, and all the kampong folk attend. Later children are given smaller rites, and only the family attend. Pigs or fowls are sacrificed. Such ceremonies are held five to ten days after birth. There is no special touching the ground rite. However, at this time the baby's hair is cut and a name is given.

844 This led to a discussion of birth. In each
[756] kampong the mbako are also midwives, i.e., at least some of them. A male mbako may be a midwife, and Cornelius says that some are very clever at this. Evidently all mbako are medicine givers and sorcerers and soothsayers, etc., but not all of them are midwives.

843 There are no food taboos for pregnant women, but there are restrictions. If a pregnant woman goes out at night, she must carry a knife (like Ambon). An expectant father may not make bamboo water holders. Neither parent may work at the graves or go to funerals

R

778 I asked if there were no rumah pemali here. They then called it rumah berhala and said that there was none in either Watu Roga or Roworeke. They said there is one at kilometer 17, two kilometers up on a hill. It is the rumah berhala of Wolofea. They said that in it are many pictures painted by the ancestors and that it is big. The people who care for it live nearby. I would like to see this and may have the time to do so.

142 On this tour we saw plenty of good looking folk, especially the proto-Malay female type. Some were handsome. Many were bare to the waist. ●736 Many were children. The kapitan said there are many orphans here, perhaps ten per cent of the children, because so many die. They are taken care of by others.

721 They said there used to be lots of wars here.

342 Then we went back to the kapitan's house and thence took the secretary along the road to Ende, and along this road are Aibou and Aiutu. The latter is a magnificent place with high houses. They said that this is because the Japanese did not level them in this place. This is the best 634 house area. The secretary went to his section, 621 Wolomere, on the Watu Roga side of the road. 578 Just beside the kapitan's house is an upright stone. It is said to be the boundary marker between Watu Roga and Roworeke. However, it is in from the road on the Roworeke side. Evidently, from his statement, although the road is the boundary of Lio and Ende states, Watu Roga has a slice on the Roworeke side of the road in Ende territory. This shows again the senselessness of putting any of Watu Roga in Lio. He said that there were many disputes, and when he ascended to the kapitan post he would put a marker up and then put his house half in Watu Roga territory and half in Roworeke. Thus he is "neutral." This again [181] seemed to show up rivalry and the disputatious nature of these people.

We

622 624 614 796 574 231

Ama Hurint	Head:	Man called from Ia or Ib.
	Feet:	Man called from IIa or IIb.
	Cut:	Man from Hurint, except Nipatale.
Lewato	Head:	Man from IVa.
	Feet:	Man from IVb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.
Lewodoreng	Head:	Man from Va.
	Feet:	Man from Vb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

If a kampong feast is held for all of the people, the setup is as follows:

Head:	Man from Ama Radja (Ia).
Feet:	Man from Subamaki(ng) (IIa).
Cut:	Man from III, except Nipatale.

614 567 423 582 [796] [753]

The Nipatale groups--in Wailolong they are IIIa2 and IVa2; in Leloba IV-1b--are former slaves, bought respectively by the Ama Hadumbole(ng) Waru'i(ng), and Lewamaki(ng) amas. They have no ritual standing and they may never hold or cut. They just look on. Also, they have no land of their own, but use the land of their masters (i.e., the ama who bought their ancestors). They must give the first fruits of their gardens to these masters, and if they do not they get sick. He says that they were bought from Adonara not long ago, perhaps about four generations. They are not really free yet. They must obey the orders of their masters. In ordinary life, however, this is a matter of adat and respect (hormat), and they are not ashamed. It is really a matter of (a) owning no land of their own; (b)

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443 basis. They obtain products by purchase in the backland and sell them in Ende. They also sell gewgaws which they bring along with them.

186 829 Interest in local, foreign or international news is at a very low level. They insist that nearly everyone here knows just about nothing in regard to anything outside of the kampong. They are even ignorant of Rewarangga.

614 621 They said that originally each kampong consisted of only one suku. Then others moved in. Thus, at one time Wawatonda was the kampong of suku Rewarangga. Then they came down to Worowai. Here today there is a rumah berhala, [764] but it is a mere bone-grave hut, like Odja in Roworeke.

Rabu is now in three kampongs. It was one at some former time. It is ten kilometers from here. This is the place where the original kampong of the Odja suku was located. But they have now lost contact, and indeed, so complete was the move to Roworeke that probably no Odja folk are left in Rabu today.

124 829 The kapitan said an interesting thing when I was pressing him to give information in this regard. He said that only since I came here had he learned very much about the culture and the past of Rewarangga.

778 614 346 764 These rumah berhala, with images and a real house, or merely with the grave-bone shrines, are suku shrines. There are four real rumah berhala houses in Rewarangga. These are as large as a real old style high roofed house, [753] and in them there are images (ana deo) and per- [782] haps bone bundles too. These run as follows: (and anyone who visits them and looks into them must leave an offering, for example, money or cigarettes, etc.; otherwise he may get sick):

1. Volofeo has a real house and in it there are four ana deo, wooden images. There are no bones. This house was used by all four suku

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346 here, and perhaps each ana deo is of one of
614 the suku. They are uncertain about this, but
778 thought that this was perhaps right. They
764 did know that the house was used by all four suku. It is a kind of cooperative venture in the ancestor cult. They got together and built it. It is at kilometer 17, one kilometer's walk up.

2. Bu'ube'i, the most remote of the Rewarangga kampongs, is at kilometer 17 plus a ten kilometer walk. There is a real house there, but the kapitan does not know if there are any bones. They do not know what suku it belongs to. He was there, but was afraid to
[753] look inside. They fear illness. I asked why
[782] he didn't give a gift and thus insure his safety. He said it would be no use to take
[152] the chance. Thus he is a Catholic and thus he fears both outside magic and ancestral ghosts at the same time. It does have an ana deo.

3. Ratebedi has an ana deo, and bones too. The suku is unknown. This is at kilometer 13 plus a four kilometer walk.

4. Vavoëü has an ana deo, but with no bones. The suku is unknown. It is at kilometer 13 plus a one kilometer walk.

All others have either nothing or merely a grave-bones shrine.

5. Worowai has a shrine of the suku Rewarangga.

6. Roworeke has a shrine of the suku Odja. It is in a section of Roworeke Asal.

7. Worowaku does not even have a shrine.

8. Arereke has a shrine of suku Urureva.

9. Pu'uperi has a shrine of suku Rea (a different suku from Reandona).

10. Information is lacking for Kekawi'i.

11. Koavena has a shrine of the Gusa suku.

12. Kekamberu does not even have a shrine.

13. Nioreko has a shrine, but the suku is

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784 dants of suku". (Evidently related to the
262 adat kepala kampong, the ata ngguäh nua ["man
614 suku descendants kampong."]) I must ask what
562 the suku membership variation in adat kepala kampong are; here he is an Odja. These taboos apply not to men nor to children of the suku but to women who marry into the suku only. This is very unusual, in ethnography. In the Odja suku these apply to the tomato, dog, eggs, and four other kinds of food. The males of Odja and the children may eat everything, but the wives may not. Thus if a Wanda woman marries into Odja, these are her taboos. If she eats
●[753] any of these, she gets terrible sores, and they always point to their arms, just as the Ambonese say that sores on their arms are caused by the same thing. The Wanda taboos are the tomato, eggs, a kind of maize (djagung Solor), and ripe coconut.

784 (2) Family or household taboos. These are
262 called pire sa'o teenda (sa'o teenda means
753 family). These are set by the father (and by
592 the mother too?) on all the members of the
614 household, including the man, wife and children. Thus the assistant had bad sores two years ago and asked the dukun why. The latter diagnosed the cause as buffalo meat (the horns stuck through the skin). Whereupon Migo declared that buffalo meat was taboo to himself, wife, and children. Such a taboo stays in the direct line (thus a kind of lineage totem) until some head of a line decided it is needed no longer, and then a feast is given together with an animal sacrifice to lift the taboo. Thus Migo
[773] has started a taboo, and perhaps fifty years hence, unless it is lifted, they will have a story in his family about the origin of the taboo. The suku taboos have more ancient legends to explain their origins. These taboos of household restrictions are thus a kind of assumed taboo.

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614 assumed taboo.
784 (3) Personal totem taboos. These apply to
262 individuals only, not to a wife or husband or
●753 child or anyone else. This is a kind of "allergy." These are pire se'imu (the latter term means "individual"). Thus the kapitan's wife got sores and decided (dukun consulted?) that it was because she had eaten buffalo meat. Now she eats none. If she wishes to lift her taboo, she must give a feast with animal sacrifice. The kapitan and his child may eat buffalo.

614 The kapitan's wife thus has the taboos of
784 the kapitan's suku and her own personal one
583 too. She was also of Odja, but until she mar-
562 ried did not have the Odja taboos. Migo's wife has Odja suku taboos (she was from the suku Wanda) and also Migo's household taboo. The kapitan has no taboos, but Migo has his household taboo. It is notable that if a man
[591] pays no bride price and lives matrilocally, his wife does not take on his suku's taboos, but assumes the taboos of the women who marry into her own sib. That is, she is a married woman, and thus must follow suku taboos. But since the bride price has not yet been paid she is not a member of her husband's suku, and so she merely takes on her own suku's taboos as though she were a woman married into her own suku. When the bride price is finally paid, she takes on her husband's suku's taboos, and of course they move into his house. Thus one can say that the totem of the suku hits women only, but only women married into the suku, not women of the suku. Lineage taboos are coming in all the time, and they apply to all household members and may pass on down from generation to generation. Personal taboos are for individuals only. This is queer, and I am sure that I have not yet got the whole story.

We. Today there are more meetings and greater
208 effort to get the opinions of the people. This
634 is especially so since this Radja came in about
178 eleven years ago. Formerly, the radja merely
663 ordered things to be done and paid no heed to
648 the local requirements, etc. Also, the radja gets around to more areas now. (We noted that the Radja is making a good-will tour, and probably all of them are scared of another Java.) He said that there is a much closer arrangement between the radja and the people now. Formerly the Dutch and the radjas worked together very closely, and anyone who spoke up was simply jailed. I can see this is as in Ende, and the Dutch here until the end used the jail as the solution for everything. They wouldn't listen to anything else. If the radja and Dutch work together the result is tyranny, and it is real here.

There is more justice here now, they say. They say this began about eleven years ago with the present Radja. But this may be out of respect, and they admit that the real change has taken place here since the war. The war really liberated Indonesia. There is no more use of brute force. People can speak up now.

789 We had a long talk about magical power. They
769 say that the power of the chiefs, from the radja
622 to the adat kepala kampong to the kepala suku to
[153] the kelake, is all a matter of fear of ancestral punishment. If they do not obey, they
[152] become sick and have misfortunes. The magical power comes mainly from the ancestral spirits, but it is funneled through the magic stones of authority too. The curse power of an adat chief is very great. The power of the purely administrative chiefs, for example, the kepala kampong, who does not deal with adat, and the kalang, is that of the police, etc. This is actually not so because all of the chiefs are of the proper succession. If they ever tried to put one in

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243 he came back, he at once made a sawah, and the
177 others saw that it was good. Now, everyone
788 plants at least one sawah. Formerly there were no sawah. This is an excellent case of acculturation via the hadj.

412 Formerly the people here did not use hoes
177 or shovels. These came in at the time of the Dutch entry. Before that they had an iron tipped digging stick only. There are no carts.
493 They thought about my proposal for a group to buy one as an investment for hiring. Perhaps there is too little money even to pay for a bicycle here.

352 There are no tables, chairs, or lamps, ex-
354 cept in rare houses like the kapitan's. The
178 only new thing is the kerosene wick, not the lamp. It is called pelita.

342 The house type has changed here from a
178 larger to a smaller structure, and many of the old style roofs are still to be seen.

291 Women now use bought cloth to make thin
178 kebaya. Formerly they made blouses of homespun, but these are all gone. Men and women still wear homespun sarongs. Men wear this alone and are usually bare above the waist. If a man wears a selendang, he is a big man. If he wears a shirt, this is really very slick attire. There were no shoes here at all before, and few now.

301 Men and women wore earrings before, the men
●753 ones of gold (look like silver) which the pagans still wear, and the women ones of a different
[304] style. The assistant's ears are pierced, but this is no longer done to the boys, only to the girls. Beads are worn by men and women on festive occasions. These are great ceremonial objects and are worn by the people who are proud of them. If one is not entitled to them, he will become sick if he wears a string of beads.

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778 The negri lama of the suku Odja is about one-
753 half kilometer outside Ratebedi in the distant
hills. No one lives there now, but there are
stones, etc. (I think he said images too.)
The Ratebedi folk give offerings there. This
was the kampong of the great ancestor Odja
Djata (the father of Odja was Djata). There
are many such old places which are dangerous,
for example, the assistant went to one such
place near Pamudjera, and he got sick at once.

[764] There is always talk of danger in fooling
around with old places and old rules. Thus,
not long ago two men of Watu Roga set a stone
boundary marker in the earth, but this is taboo.
In three days one was dead and in three months
the other died.

If I could get all of the information about
174 each kampong and suku I could rebuild the whole
history of migrations, etc. And although most
of the people have lost these stories, there
are a good number of old men in Volofea and
Bu'ube'i who could tell everything.

The assistant says he will try to get infor-
115 mation on all these things as he does his "con-
trol" work in his job as secretary of the
gemeente. He asks for a good notebook and a
briefcase to do this work! I don't trust him,
that's all. He plots, and the story is that
when I come back years from now he will have
all the facts. Thus he put together my inter-
est in these things, my statement that I might
return to do more work here, and out of hopes
to get a notebook and case fabricated his plan.

The land is family-owned (maybe lineage-
423 owned is a better way of phrasing it). The
614 eldest son is the manager of the family land.
592 Others work on it. If there are no sons, the
428 eldest daughter runs it, or maybe the deceased
father's brother. The father may split up his
estate among his sons, or give each one of his

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581 behavior. Looks are a mere by-matter. The same holds for women. They like good workers for husbands (men must keep at the gardens); and as far as I could see, that is about all. I wonder if men should be decent (I doubt that looks are thought of much if at all), as long as they work. These people are way beneath any aesthetic stuff in love (but it may be there in its own way!).

836 [848] They insist that there is not one case of a bastard in their memory. However, yesterday I got the impression that boys have a chance with, for example, widows sometimes. But evidently the girls just stay virgin. They hammer on this; it is and always was a one hundred per cent rule, and that a girl would try to fool on this is considered a terrific thought.

177 797 595 587 582 In the family the Catholics have tried to stop: (1) polygny (but this goes on), (2) levirate and sororate (but this goes on), (3) mother's brother's daughter marriage (they do this with more distant relatives in order to keep up the form). This is interesting.

789 753 [565] In regard to the nobility, I can get no reaction on ideas of magic power, and they say that even the Radja of Ende does not have any. They say that he is new anyway. He is just a big man from the Djari Djawa suku (but the radja must come from this, but I got the idea that Nggobe might get in too). I asked if maybe the mosa laki had any, and they said no. If they do not obey they just become angry, and it is better to stay on their good side as they control the land and they are the big men anyway. There is no magic punishment. Thus they are different even from Larantuka. The only things which have magic power are taboo places, for example, the rumah pemali, the grave-bone shrines, and the old ancestor places. Breaking such taboos can cause illness, and the

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789 unfulfillment of ancestral duties can cause ill-
•753 ness too (note the illness fear theme; this is just right for these folk who are ill a good deal of the time). But there is no real kekuatan adjaib here.

567 There were many slaves here before, and this
582 applies even to twenty years ago (this is probably a bit too late, I think). The regular
178 thing was for the father of a girl to include
565 in the return gift at marriage, two slaves
[583] (like the "and two persons" still used in the formula for the bride price among the Buginese). There are slaves in the kampong now, but he thinks that only about two to three per cent of the population are so categorized. They are, and were, taken into the suku, but formerly there was little intermarriage with them, and then it was only between a higher man and
[684] a slave girl. If the reverse took place, the death punishment could be meted out. The marriage taboo is still in, but it is lessening, and even a boy of slave descent (if he is an excellent man and a good worker) may marry a higher girl. However, they are well known, and in general are still to be classed underneath. For example, they have to do certain duties (the guru said they are like "servants"; he used the Dutch word "jongens"). They live in houses with regular people, or perhaps in their own houses. Everyone knows who they are, but no mention is made of this because they reportedly get furious. This is a thing worth investigating further: exactly what are the duties, and exactly how are they thought of and what do they think of themselves, etc.? (Remember that in the United States no one really thinks of taunting Negroes with an open charge of being descended from slaves.)

565 There are few possibilities for class mo-
555 bility. There are some meager beginnings at

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875 reason for this is that Mohammedans are not
797 educated enough to have many teachers yet. Thus, the mission has given Catholicism a big head start, as is the case in Ambon.

771 There are only about ten Mohammedans in Ro-
797 woreke. They had a mosque at kilometer five formerly, but it is gone now. The maximum number of converts in the kampong, to Mohammedanism, per year is from one to two. There is a chapel here, and the priest comes once a month to hear confessions, hold mass, etc. Otherwise, the people here go to Ndona for mass (I see them on Sunday walking; rain means nothing to these people). I get the impression that many people do not go to mass. For example, every Sunday I have been there, the kapitan and the assistant and many others do not go to church so far as I can see. And I don't see many women who look as though they had gone. I should have asked about this.

778 There are two ancestor grave-bone shrines, i.e., one in Roworeke and one in Watu Roga. There are also plenty of stones and the usual graves. There has never been a real rumah berhala here. But Manunggo'o had one.

527 The principal feast time is at planting. The tuan tanah (mosa laki mere) must be there at that time. There is no illness exorcism
[755] feast held any more. Thanksgiving feasts for good crops are held privately, not communally. There is a great feast for rebuilding the grave-bone shrine.

788 There is plenty of private pagan rituals, for example, to ward off illness, to make offerings to trees, and the dukun stuff. In addition, there is the bisa mari. (Having seen the dukun
[753] and how he diagnoses, I understand Migo when he said that he has a personal-family buffalo totem taboo because the dukun said it caused his illness.)

We

601 does so. So much for the kinship system.

Then, incidentally, he said that an indis-
273 pensable item at each sacrifice must be palm
769 wine (tuak). Even if they have to travel for
778 some distance to get some (and it is hard to get in the Veol area, as not much is made locally), they must do so; and the reason is that the stone, which is the central point of all rites, must have a libation poured over it. The ancestors are explicitly called, and then the tuak is poured over the stone as though into the mouth of a person which the stone is. Thus I think these stones are the ancestors. They are real idols. Note that the Vatu Veol, and the removed Ine Amba too, are, (or were) in human form. I think that perhaps the popularity of statues in Java after the Hindu influx may have been due to the pre-existence of human form stone images. The point is, in this libation business, the stones are treated as though they were really human.

In regard to the mother's brother's daughter
582 or tungku marriage, this was formerly required,
578 at least for one son. He might be forced
835 brutally into such a marriage if he was reluc-
tant. It should be the eldest son too. If
●[753] this is not done, the family may be afflicted with illness. And it is wicked anyway. This rule still holds, although force is no longer used to back it up. A good case is that of the assistant himself. He didn't like his mother's brother's daughter, as he said, "she lived in the house" (what psychological overtones are there here?). So he refused, and married his wife. However, he has two other brothers, who are still unmarried, and his whole family is watching anxiously until one of them marries the mother's brother's daughter. He says that they talk about this all the time. It is true that they are still pagan. His father indeed

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778 high hill, which is otherwise bare, like most
776 of the land here. It is taboo, as special
824 darat dwell here. And now I see many such sacred groves in the hills, carefully left when the land was cleared. It is as though they have to leave places here and there for the darat whose trees have been largely cut away. One has to watch out for feelings of the spirits always. The assistant also uses the word roro for spirits in general.

346 As the big timbers are carried in, the bear-
776 ers sing all the time, moving about slowly, and
533 telling the setan not to sit on the timber and
824 make it heavy. A small girl, elaborately dressed, sits on the timber, showing the setan that someone is already sitting there, so that they won't. A flag is set on the timber (now usually a merdeka, red and white flag) to show the kampong folk from two to three kilometers away that they are coming. In the kampong, they begin to beat gongs and drums "to receive the wood" into the kampong. They may not be quiet as the wood enters. There is much singing, etc.

[335] While the carpenters are at work with modern tools on the house, the gongs and drums are beaten constantly (technology and adat). There has been trouble here in Tjantjar with the tukang from Ruteng. The timbers were already set
[578] when an argument started over the contract, etc. Tempers rose, and the carpenters picked up their tools and left for Ruteng. I saw them on the road two days ago. Now the kampong folk are worried stiff because there lies the wood and there is the wood in the half-finished house, and nothing is being done. The wood may get impatient or angry, and if so they will always have trouble with the house. And this is important, as it is the main house, the cult house,
[753] of the kampong. Also, if the wood gets angry, there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.

346 This costs money, at least. With cleverness,
797 Pastor Krol told how the scheme is working to get the folk to sell their tusks in order to get money to contribute to the new church. This works on the grounds that the people were careless with their fire in the fields when there was a high wind, and this caused the burning of the church. It is all a wily game, and the pagans are lost.

797 This whole religious matter is endless. It
182 is the most powerful acculturation thing here,
769 and the whole weight of Catholicism is on the last few pagans. The guru is full of the propaganda of rationalization. For example, he says, how do we know where the ancestors are? If they led good lives they are in heaven; and if not, they are in the sea (hell). And if they were good they must be in heaven, even though they were not Catholic, because they knew nothing of the Word when they lived.

632 The next day we started by clearing up a point
614 about the radja tuan. He may come from another ama than the No. 1 or waru'ing ama. Thus in Ama Datong suku the present Radja tuan is the kelake of Ama Radja, which is the No. 3 ama.

789 Roy said that not only officials have magic
565 power, but that also all members of the noble
171 families have some, though not so much as the
865 chiefs. They definitely have more than common folk. This is why one must show respect to the uppers. It is like Bone in Celebes, but less so perhaps. For example, they are very much afraid of hitting a noble child.

756
•754 A sorcerer (molang) receives respect too,
[462] even though his post is not hereditary. Some sorcerers, however, are noble. Sorcerers may be male or female, and indeed Roy thinks most of them are women. I asked how one got to be a molang, and he said that in general they get a call while dreaming. It is a matter of getting

Wa.

754 a message that they then have the power. After
756 that the person tries out his dreamed cure on a sick person. If it works, he begins to build up a reputation, and if he continues to have good results, he then becomes a molang. As for the medicine the molang makes, it does not require any formal training. He observes how some practiced molang makes it. There is no "theorie" (and the guru used this word) to be learned. Also, they get prescriptions in dreams. Thus dreams may be the crux of the affair. It is all pretty informal.

I forgot to ask whether the molang may have familiars. Bugis, the molang of Wailolong,
[774] got the call when he was already an adult. A molang can recapture the errant soul of a person who is ill. To make the recapture, the molang rubs betel on the head and joints of the patient and thinks that this replaces the soul. A now discontinued trick of the molang was to discover who did some wrong, for example, in the case of a theft, by looking in his magic mirror. It is quite common to say, "Let's got see what the mirror shows," and then go to a molang. Thus the molang is a person who receives his post through dreams which give him medicine, the ability to recapture souls, and the ability to be a seer.

759 In addition, there are dukun. These are
844 mostly women, but may also be men. They give medicines. The women may also be midwives.
462 They get their medicines from others, for example, from their mothers, or invent them, or obtain prescriptions in dreams. Although Leloba has no more molang, it does have at least one dukun, and there are quite a few in the area.

793 The Catholic priests have magic power too,
789 but it comes from God rather than ancestors or other pagan sources. They can even make rain, by prayer.

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000 children. It is remarkable that there is so
858 much freedom exhibited by the children all
over here. They do as they please evidently.

463 Nearly everyone is a farmer here, but to
212 be kepala kampong, kapitan, secretary, or
622 the like, an individual must be literate.
There are, however, illiterate kepala kampongs,
but they must use a literate mandur to help
them with the work. There are no openings for
clerical people or the like.

[874] The only seminary here is for priests, and
787 as yet there are no students there from here.
[154] The bisa mari (sorcerers) are not trained.
They get their call in dreams. They are about
[756] equally male and female. The dukun also get
[844] their call in dreams. However, the ones who
are midwives learn from mothers.

463 There are no specialists at all. The local
438 population must buy even its ironwork elsewhere.
335 They do not even have carpenters here. Anyone
can build a house. This place exhibits a very
low level in all such things except weaving.
They now learn music in school.

873 Many children who are clever and would like
to advance in school cannot do this as it costs
fl. 10.00 per month for a higher education.
There is plenty of heartache here. Perhaps
there is not so very much yet, actually.

212 Fifty years ago no one could read or write,
not even in the Ende script.

197 One hundred per cent of the people here speak
Ende, including the foreigners from Savu and the
Chinese. The latter did not speak Ende when
they came in, but after a year they could.

Only about one hundred can speak Malay. No
one speaks Dutch. The children are starting
to learn a bit of Dutch in school now, but this
is evidently only in the higher school.

There are no other languages spoken, except
of course, Chinese and Savu. They say that they

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304 Formerly almost everyone filed his teeth
178 down to the gums. Now this is optional, although most of them still file their teeth down a little for evenness. No more do they file them down to the gums. Women do not file them until they are married. Then they may or may not file them. Before, it was required. There is no specialist to do this. It is simply done by a clever person, with a
[302] stone. The teeth were blackened with varnish before, but now they let them color up with betel (and how they do). Tattooing was a matter of choice formerly as it is today. The tattooing of personal names, of course, is recent, and it is very frequently seen. There are no special beliefs in this regard. There was never any cutting here.

123 The next day I had to bring several people
181 to the hospital, and I became irritated and scolded at the way these people always pile in whenever I take any one of them anywhere. Even later today, just when I was thinking the assistant was going well, he made me the proposition that I should give him a tanda mata (remembrance, so he won't forget me) when I leave. He suggested a briefcase. He was very "sly" about it, but I can see that it is pure grasping. And they are too dumb to realize that I see through them. They think I can't see what they're doing.

We worked at the pasanggrahan and later took
164 the patients back to Roworeke. The assistant's wife has a three-week swelling, which looks like a bad bone condition, on the brow to the side. These are unhealthy folk. We brought
754 back the assistant's "foster mother," an old
756 woman who had been in the hospital for a week for some blood trouble. She is a bisa mari, a sorcerer, and the best one in Roworeke. She is also a dukun, and the folk call on her all

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754 the way to Ndona. She has a second sight, and
756 uses stones to divine. She gets her cures
[787] from dreams. I asked whether she had familiars in dreams, but got no satisfactory reply. But now I can at least proceed with further queries regarding the bisa mari, having an actual case in mind. She can save a woman whose child dies inside her. She is a rather handsome old lady, well preserved, with piercing eyes. She looks clean (smells like disinfectant soap, as she just came from the hospital). I note that she, a doctor herself, went
[758] to the hospital. When I went to the hospital this morning, great crowds were waiting. They have all taken to it, but there is no hope of proper care, as there are so many patients and so few doctors.

438 There has been a small increase in the sale of merchandise in order to get cash to buy other items. It has not been a very great
[435] change. The produce sold includes coconut, coconut oil (a few bottles, self made, sell at fl. 0.50), vegetables, bananas, betel leaves, and areca nuts. All are very small items. Coconut seems to be the main thing. All of this is sold in the town of Ende, if at all.

With the money they obtain they buy oil,
[443] soap, salt, tobacco, and even a bit of meat and other food in the toko or warong. They also buy dry fish. The toko buys its supplies in Ende.

249 I asked about the cloth situation. This is
433 a poor case now as everyone is short and the distribution of cloth by the government has not been too effective. This is a remarkable case. For many years formerly the people here had discontinued planting cotton. Then, when the Japanese came, they started up again and have done so since. Each family plants a little. The yield is not so good, but it could be, the assistant says.

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684 fine. Evidence of a man adulterer is not good. I think he pays a fine to the wife, but I am not sure. Anyway, there was a case of a man in Ende who killed his wife when he caught her and a man in his room. The man escaped. The murderer got only a three months sentence.
[583] Although an injured man receives a fine, he does not get the bride price back, because he keeps the errant wife. If he kills her, he loses both the bride price and the wife, but he gets the fine anyway.

754 682 Note: This led easily into the matter of killing a suwanggi. They say that there are plenty of suwanggi here, and, although the government forbids killing them, they do it secretly. They just won't stand for them to get away with their witchcraft. The guru said that they wait until the suwanggi is alone in the garden and then kill him. And no one in the kampong will inform on them, he says. They do fear jail, however, and this reduces the number of suwanggi murders.

589 A widow may stay in the house of her husband. The children belong to his family. The same is true of a widower.

587 A very regular procedure is the levirate. There is no bride price in such a case. The brother merely takes in a widow or widows together with the children. It is a duty, and moreover they are pusaka of the family, as the old man paid for the women. I asked what the Catholics did about this, and he said this is all right if they merely take in a poor widow and her children, but they do not allow sex relations or marriage with her. Then he added slyly, but of course probably a man in such a position does have sexual relations with her secretly.

The sororate is also usual, although it is not required. However, if the pair has already

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727 was then that Keweluk said it was taboo to kill,
266 (to kill women only evidently?). Maybe Vatter[1] has a version? Anyway, he did admit that when an enemy was captured in war, although they didn't kill him in the korke (he was a bit shocked at the idea), they would kill him outside the kampong. His father did this, which was quite decent after all!

754 He insists that there was no cannibalism at
[266] all, except that formerly (and even today?) the suwanggi did it. They were and are evidently the devils here. They do the things that other people wouldn't. I wonder if perhaps they are the scapegoats for past practices. That is, they say that their ancestors never did such things, only the suwanggi did them. But, note that there were plenty of suwanggi. Roy's father had to kill fourteen in one day in Leloba alone! There is something fishy here. Either he won't tell everything, or else he has forgotten, or else I am really wrong to suspect him.

681 The death punishment was given only to suwang-
684 gi (again the devils). It was also given in cases of adultery if the offenders were caught red handed.

Thus my work in Leloba--Wailolong ended. Roy
115 is a fine old fellow. His only requests were to
124 ride with me if I happened to be going the "same" way," and to take his relatives and family along. He also wanted some photographs, and I will send him a photograph of me. And a copy of my book. I will also send him some medicine for asthma. How different he is from the begging and crafty Endenese.

Roy probably won't live much longer. He is a dramatic figure.

He, more than anyone else, probably, killed off paganism here. But he retains the tolerance and respect for his ancestors, and a knowledge of and pride in the legends and old things.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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167 651 486 men to leave, as the tax is on each household headed by an adult man (fl. 12.50 annually), and thus the radja would lose income if they emigrated.

266 681 754 There was head-hunting here before. They say that the only cannibalism was the eating of the hearts of enemies in order to gain additional strength. There was no human sacrifice, they say, but they have heard of the Lio stuff (and I checked with Arriens[1] and noted that de Bruine[2] in a report on Lio did not list this as among the crimes of the executed Radja of Lio--whose alias was Pius!--but Arriens says that he did it anyway). The only way a person could be given the death punishment was to be proven a suwanggi.

778 831 178 More about the tubu musu. They say that "musu" means "two become one." If so, this is perfect, and indeed the tubu musu is similar to the linggam-yoni. Indeed, they say that it consists of an upright stone, less than a meter high, standing on a flat one. "Tubu" they say means "stone," but I note that Arndt gives it an "obscene" meaning (or is it the musu part that is obscene? check Arndt's Lio dictionary).

They have a rather vague idea that this tubu musu may represent male and female. And it can have children. Thus it is like many such stone-bearing stones in Indonesia, including the stones of Larantuka and some on Ambon. I asked if the tubu musu still had children, and this is beautiful, "no more." It is like Roy saying that the familiars of his father appear no more (but they are there and he could call them: "I can call the spirits from there, etc." "Yes, but will they come?") He has no doubt that they would come. I should have asked if the stones still could have children. Anyway, both they and Roy are completely serious about what used to happen. There are no more rites held at the tubu musu, but plenty were held formerly.

[Analyst]

1 [Controleur at Ende--Analyst]; 2 [Probably Controleur at Lio--

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805 held some time after the planting is done. I think this is it. He says that in other parts of Manggarai they may have twelve moons. The European calendar is seldom used and only by those who have gone to school.

793 The only priests here are the tuan tanah.
622 The tuan tanah of the pusat kampong is the most
614 important. Cornelius' agreed that he was like a bishop. The other tuan tanah of the branch kampongs are like parish priests. The tuan panga have certain roles in panga rites. Below the kampong and the panga there are only small rites.

756 Cornelius' says that the mbako went secret even before the Dutch came in. He says he doesn't really know why the people keep the mbako identities so secret. Or perhaps he simply will not tell me. He keeps on saying it is because "they do not want to show any pride." Maybe this means that they do not want to appear to "brag" about their special power, or perhaps it is the idea that if they talk about it they may lose it. They are certainly sensitive on this matter. Van Bekkum[2] says that in all the years he has been in Manggarai he has never found out who a single mbako is. This is amazing. There are no dukun apart from the mbako. In a kampong Cornelius says there are usually from one to three mbako.

[754] There are no suwanggi here.

Cornelius' says that even though all the people turn Catholic, they must still have a mbako, in the sense of a dukun.

A new point is that in addition to the troubles of the mbako with the police (maybe because of poison? or is it mere suspicion of magic murder?) they have also gotten into trouble with the hospital because of their "practice" of medicine.

771 In terms of religion, the people here are

{[i.e., the assistant--Analyst]
[pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

000 of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

582 583 237 614 621 The next day I questioned the guru about this, and after a long talk about kinship, which revealed that the mother's brother's daughter type of marriage is a regular type of thing, he came out with the classic statement that usually the tusks come back to the original payer in three moves. Thus, ideally this is a three-class, mother's brother's daughter, rotating system. However, the route of the tusks may be longer, involving up to twenty moves before they return to the original giver. But they try to make the circle as fast as possible, doing it in three moves if they can. Naturally, this is not always possible. We examined some cases of possible long routes, and he said it might be true that it would take up to twenty moves before the tusks returned. They try never to let the tusks go outside the kampong, and this may be why probably there is not much extrakampong marriage. But even if they did, they could close the circle by careful planning. He said, just as Wouden[1] might, that the mother's brother's daughter marriage and the bride price and the sib system are all part of a complete system. We will have more of this later.

114 Today, Friday, December 23, we started in on the Vatter[2] book which the mission lent to me. It is amazingly correct.

Among the corrections, etc., are the following: [304] tattooing against illness is not done in Leloba; [775] a tattoo mark is needed to be recognized on entering the deadland; [301] feather decorations are used only festively; [302] the special woman's horsetail coiffure is not used here any longer; [755] cotton is not placed in the ears for illness (55)[2]; [614] one of the sibs from Sina Djawa is Lewonuhah; [784] the term suku wung is used here (74)[2] wung having the sense of taboo.

[1] [See pp.19-21, 85-88 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

R Smaller private rites are held for such
755 cases as illness. A medicine man or woman (and in the example given they said woman; perhaps they are more frequent than men) is called in and magical rites are performed.

582 We got onto the suku exogamy matter, and
614 they said at first that one could marry within
178 the suku if the relationship was at least three generations off. But I pressed this a little further and they seemed less certain. I looked over the list which is now up to No. 190, and I noticed only a single case of endogamy. This proved to be a man from the outside who had been "adopted" by the Odja (he was originally from Lio) long ago. He was still separate, however, and I noticed that although he is still trying to find the name of his suku in the old place, the assistant left the suku slot blank for him and his children. This proved to be a case of no bride price and hence matrilocal residence. Thus there is not a single case of suku endogamy. I suspect that they
[124] are either trying to fool me into thinking they follow only Catholic rules, or else they know the latter and talk about them. Or perhaps they just don't phrase the old rules in the same way any more, although they follow them actually in practice.

124 We got onto the schedule as he has written a few short answers already. They are not bad, but it is evident that thinking and writing are painful for him.

342 Formerly the kampong was much larger than it is today and the houses were bigger by far. They are still large. In regard to migration
166 the situation is not too clear, but it is quite evident that very few people leave. Most of the individuals who go away are police or soldiers who serve in other parts of Flores. There are also a few teachers who serve elsewhere in Flores. They nearly all come back later. Their

We

872 one-half years ago. Children of, for example,
[177] fifteen can't enter this school because they
are too old. This is a big reason why there is
less acculturation here than in Larantuka.
624 Also, Larantuka has lost the power of adat
622 chiefs to a greater degree, as has Ende. Here
177 they still are the most powerful leaders, and
even the kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah
family. This is clearly the area of least ac-
culturation, although in agriculture and tech-
nology they are just as advanced if not more so
than in the other areas. For example, witness
the wooden houses. But adat is stronger here,
and the mother's brother's daughter marriage
still stands. The priests still compromise
more with the old. There are many many feasts.
527 There are feasts at birth, death, marriage, if
574 there are many children, at planting, at har-
796 vest, when a new garden is made, when a new
756 house is erected, and on many other occasions.
755 Some of these are large and some are small.
Some are for the family, and some are celebrated
by larger units. Some are celebrated by the
entire kampong. The biggest is perhaps the
cleansing of the kampong ceremony. The medi-
cine man, mbako decided when one is needed.
Thus he says there is a lot of illness, etc.,
and it is time they had a "tjutji kampong."
756 There is at least one mbako in each kampong,
609 and some kampongs have more. He learns his
trade from his father, but there are cases where
such succession is not followed. There is one
in Weol. However, they will never tell an out-
sider who the mbako is. He is secret. They all
know who he is. However, even during a rite,
he keeps in the background so that he can be
kept hidden. Query: Is this because of the
fear of the mission or the government or what?
I couldn't get much about the latter, but I
will try later. This is amazing!

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511 515 cloth to spare for their noses. This is really very true!

622 755 769 [443] On Sunday I went to Roworeke again, but at once I was taken into the rear part of the little warong at kilometer 6, which is owned by the kepala kampong. What a pitiful stock he has: a few bars of yellow soap, some bananas, and that's about all. In a little compartment behind this area he squatted, looking awful. On one side, on the floor, one of his wives were tending a fire on the earth, and on the other side was his other wife (the second one, whom I had thought a handsome pagan when she was a bit dressed up, but now she did not look so good, with betel stains, etc.). He told me about the blood pouring from his nose a few nights ago, for four to five hours. He had a high fever (still had it), and pains, and dizziness and blackouts. I tried to see what was up, but the blood was queer.

Then the assistant (his brother) said we should go and get the old dukun who was treating him. The dukun lives in Ndona. On the way there the assistant said that the dukun had already treated the kepala kampong, and that is why he had gotten better. At least the blood had stopped. I asked what the diagnosis had been, and he said it was something to do with the ancestors. The idea seemed to be that somewhere or other along the line they hadn't "fed" the ceremonial objects of the family properly, and this was the cause of the illness. The assistant said that he suspected also that the kepala kampong was too harsh in his administration, and the people were not happy about it (he has been in his post for four years now). This information was rather mumbled, perhaps so that the lads in the back seat could not hear us, and I wonder if perhaps he was inferring that someone rubbed wrong by

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622 the kepala kampong had put a hex on him. They
755 show the pagan beliefs more and more now. Later
[769] on I discussed the case with the assistant, and he said that I didn't understand why the blood situation had come about. Perhaps the dukun was right: it was a curse of the ancestors for unfulfilled duties to the ceremonial objects.

At Ndona, where there is a big church, school, etc., and in a rather clean kampong there is an enormous cement block on which is set a big flat stone from an old grave heap. There the assistant got off to get the dukun, who lives a one kilometer walk away. Great crowds from the church stood around the jeep and stared at me. He came back after awhile, and with him was a very old man with a chin beard. He had on an old sarong and headcloth. He had never been in a car before, and they had to tell him how to get in, which he did gingerly. He was almost blind. Then we went off to see the patient. When the old man got out I saw his baggage: a kris and a cloth with a lot of things in it, including a brass container. The assistant said that he was to stay with the patient for a week and treat him. If the sick man got better, he would have to give a feast and sacrifice an animal. The dukun is the last terrifically powerful one left in the whole area. When he dies, his children have learned
[759] only a part of his lore. It is too bad for the public health, because there are no doctors here, and it is better to have a dukun than no one. (Think of the psychological need.)

493 Then we went to the house of the kapitan, who luckily was not there. (We had met him on the way to Ende, with his new bicycle, which cost fl. 300.00.)

513 Boys sleep in separate houses. In this area
882 (are there others in the kampong elsewhere? there must be) it is a "bivak," i.e., a wall-

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875 reason for this is that Mohammedans are not
797 educated enough to have many teachers yet. Thus, the mission has given Catholicism a big head start, as is the case in Ambon.

There are only about ten Mohammedans in Ro-
771 woreke. They had a mosque at kilometer five
797 formerly, but it is gone now. The maximum number of converts in the kampong, to Mohammedanism, per year is from one to two. There is a chapel here, and the priest comes once a month to hear confessions, hold mass, etc. Otherwise, the people here go to Ndona for mass (I see them on Sunday walking; rain means nothing to these people). I get the impression that many people do not go to mass. For example, every Sunday I have been there, the kapitan and the assistant and many others do not go to church so far as I can see. And I don't see many women who look as though they had gone. I should have asked about this.

778 There are two ancestor grave-bone shrines, i.e., one in Roworeke and one in Watu Roga. There are also plenty of stones and the usual graves. There has never been a real rumah berhala here. But Manunggo'o had one.

527 The principal feast time is at planting. The tuan tanah (mosa laki mere) must be there at that time. There is no illness exorcism
[755] feast held any more. Thanksgiving feasts for good crops are held privately, not communally. There is a great feast for rebuilding the grave-bone shrine.

788 There is plenty of private pagan rituals, for example, to ward off illness, to make offerings to trees, and the dukun stuff. In addition, there is the bisa mari. (Having seen the dukun
[753] and how he diagnoses, I understand Migo when he said that he has a personal-family buffalo totem taboo because the dukun said it caused his illness.)

622 kelake. Evidently the kepala kampong have been
624 superimposed on the other system.
614 The purely administrative chiefs are:

Kepala Kampong Kottang (he is the kepala kampong)
Kepala Kampong Kelen (IIb)
Kepala Kampong Hurint (IIIc)

The latter two have this as their only titled rank. If I am right that the kepala kampong is also the kepala kampong Kottang, then there are really sixteen officers, i.e., actual men in office, but the total number of offices is twenty-three. Some men have more than one office. When
[788] there are ceremonies, the praying (marang) is
[887] done, not by the man from suku Marang, but by the oldest man who is clever. Here it is a man
[756] named Bugis, from IIa. He is also the molang, or medicine man. Can it be that often the two go together? The guru, as noted above, says that even in Leloba, where they have a suku named Marang, this is not the praying suku at the rites. The chief of the Marang suku is merely a hander around of betel. In Vatter's time in Leloba the one who prayed was Laba, says the guru.

614 Note that an alternative term for Ama is Mela. Thus one can say, for example, either Ama Hurint or Mela Hurint.

693 Yesterday we met the chiefs of Wailolong.
624 They were at the kakang's office for a marriage
302 case. They were partly made up of short-haired Christians, but there were also pagan longhairs. I must get a photograph of all of them together with the information on who they are. Probably the administrative ones are the modern and the adat ones are the old pagans.

614 For the kepala suku they always have an old
887 man if possible. If no old man is available, however, they may have to take a younger one.

614 I must get on to the method of choosing the
622 & [See bibliography, cat. 113 —Analyst]

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755 Some of these are large and some are small.
Some are for the family, and some are celebrated
by larger units. Some are celebrated by the
entire kampong. The biggest is perhaps the
cleansing of the kampong ceremony. The medi-
cine man, mbako decided when one is needed.
Thus he says there is a lot of illness, etc.,
and it is time they had a "tjutji kampong."
756 There is at least one mbako in each kampong,
609 and some kampongs have more. He learns his
trade from his father, but there are cases where
such succession is not followed. There is one
in Weol. However, they will never tell an out-
sider who the mbako is. He is secret. They all
know who he is. However, even during a rite,
he keeps in the background so that he can be
kept hidden. Query: Is this because of the
fear of the mission or the government or what?
I couldn't get much about the latter, but I
will try later. This is amazing!

346 This costs money, at least. With cleverness,
797 Pastor Krol told how the scheme is working to get the folk to sell their tusks in order to get money to contribute to the new church. This works on the grounds that the people were careless with their fire in the fields when there was a high wind, and this caused the burning of the church. It is all a wily game, and the pagans are lost.

797 This whole religious matter is endless. It
182 is the most powerful acculturation thing here,
769 and the whole weight of Catholicism is on the last few pagans. The guru is full of the propaganda of rationalization. For example, he says, how do we know where the ancestors are? If they led good lives they are in heaven; and if not, they are in the sea (hell). And if they were good they must be in heaven, even though they were not Catholic, because they knew nothing of the Word when they lived.

632 The next day we started by clearing up a point
614 about the radja tuan. He may come from another ama than the No. 1 or waru'ing ama. Thus in Ama Datong suku the present Radja tuan is the kelake of Ama Radja, which is the No. 3 ama.

789 Roy said that not only officials have magic
565 power, but that also all members of the noble
171 families have some, though not so much as the
865 chiefs. They definitely have more than common folk. This is why one must show respect to the uppers. It is like Bone in Celebes, but less so perhaps. For example, they are very much afraid
756 of hitting a noble child.

754 A sorcerer (molang) receives respect too,
[462] even though his post is not hereditary. Some sorcerers, however, are noble. Sorcerers may be male or female, and indeed Roy thinks most of them are women. I asked how one got to be a molang, and he said that in general they get a call while dreaming. It is a matter of getting

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754 a message that they then have the power. After
756 that the person tries out his dreamed cure on a sick person. If it works, he begins to build up a reputation, and if he continues to have good results, he then becomes a molang. As for the medicine the molang makes, it does not require any formal training. He observes how some practiced molang makes it. There is no "theorie" (and the guru used this word) to be learned. Also, they get prescriptions in dreams. Thus dreams may be the crux of the affair. It is all pretty informal.

I forgot to ask whether the molang may have familiars. Bugis, the molang of Wailolong,
[774] got the call when he was already an adult. A molang can recapture the errant soul of a person who is ill. To make the recapture, the molang rubs betel on the head and joints of the patient and thinks that this replaces the soul. A now discontinued trick of the molang was to discover who did some wrong, for example, in the case of a theft, by looking in his magic mirror. It is quite common to say, "Let's got see what the mirror shows," and then go to a molang. Thus the molang is a person who receives his post through dreams which give him medicine, the ability to recapture souls, and the ability to be a seer.

759 In addition, there are dukun. These are
844 mostly women, but may also be men. They give medicines. The women may also be midwives.
462 They get their medicines from others, for example, from their mothers, or invent them, or obtain prescriptions in dreams. Although Leloba has no more molang, it does have at least one dukun, and there are quite a few in the area.

793 The Catholic priests have magic power too,
789 but it comes from God rather than ancestors or other pagan sources. They can even make rain, by prayer.

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000 children. It is remarkable that there is so
858 much freedom exhibited by the children all over here. They do as they please evidently.

463 Nearly everyone is a farmer here, but to
212 be kepala kampong, kapitan, secretary, or
622 the like, an individual must be literate. There are, however, illiterate kepala kampongs, but they must use a literate mandur to help them with the work. There are no openings for clerical people or the like.

[874] The only seminary here is for priests, and
787 as yet there are no students there from here.
[154] The bisa mari (sorcerers) are not trained. They get their call in dreams. They are about
[156] equally male and female. The dukun also get
[844] their call in dreams. However, the ones who are midwives learn from mothers.

463 There are no specialists at all. The local
438 population must buy even its ironwork elsewhere.
335 They do not even have carpenters here. Anyone can build a house. This place exhibits a very low level in all such things except weaving. They now learn music in school.

853 Many children who are clever and would like to advance in school cannot do this as it costs fl. 10.00 per month for a higher education. There is plenty of heartache here. Perhaps there is not so very much yet, actually.

212 Fifty years ago no one could read or write, not even in the Ende script.

197 One hundred per cent of the people here speak Ende, including the foreigners from Savu and the Chinese. The latter did not speak Ende when they came in, but after a year they could.

Only about one hundred can speak Malay. No one speaks Dutch. The children are starting to learn a bit of Dutch in school now, but this is evidently only in the higher school.

There are no other languages spoken, except, of course, Chinese and Savu. They say that they

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304 178 Formerly almost everyone filed his teeth down to the gums. Now this is optional, although most of them still file their teeth down a little for evenness. No more do they file them down to the gums. Women do not file them until they are married. Then they may or may not file them. Before, it was required. There is no specialist to do this. It is simply done by a clever person, with a stone. The teeth were blackened with varnish [302] before, but now they let them color up with betel (and how they do). Tattooing was a matter of choice formerly as it is today. The tattooing of personal names, of course, is recent, and it is very frequently seen. There are no special beliefs in this regard. There was never any cutting here.

123 181 The next day I had to bring several people to the hospital, and I became irritated and scolded at the way these people always pile in whenever I take any one of them anywhere. Even later today, just when I was thinking the assistant was going well, he made me the proposition that I should give him a tanda mata (remembrance, so he won't forget me) when I leave. He suggested a briefcase. He was very "sly" about it, but I can see that it is pure grasping. And they are too dumb to realize that I see through them. They think I can't see what they're doing.

164 We worked at the pasanggrahan and later took the patients back to Roworeke. The assistant's wife has a three-week swelling, which looks like a bad bone condition, on the brow to the side. These are unhealthy folk. We brought 754 back the assistant's "foster mother," an old ● 756 woman who had been in the hospital for a week for some blood trouble. She is a bisa mari, a sorcerer, and the best one in Roworeke. She is also a dukun, and the folk call on her all

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754 the way to Ndona. She has a second sight, and
756 uses stones to divine. She gets her cures
[787] from dreams. I asked whether she had familiars in dreams, but got no satisfactory reply. But now I can at least proceed with further queries regarding the bisa mari, having an actual case in mind. She can save a woman whose child dies inside her. She is a rather handsome old lady, well preserved, with piercing eyes. She looks clean (smells like disinfectant soap, as she just came from the hospital). I note that she, a doctor herself, went
[758] to the hospital. When I went to the hospital this morning, great crowds were waiting. They have all taken to it, but there is no hope of proper care, as there are so many patients and so few doctors.

438 There has been a small increase in the sale of merchandise in order to get cash to buy other items. It has not been a very great
[435] change. The produce sold includes coconut, coconut oil (a few bottles, self made, sell at fl. 0.50), vegetables, bananas, betel leaves, and areca nuts. All are very small items. Coconut seems to be the main thing. All of this is sold in the town of Ende, if at all.

With the money they obtain they buy oil,
[443] soap, salt, tobacco, and even a bit of meat and other food in the toko or warong. They also buy dry fish. The toko buys its supplies in Ende.

249 I asked about the cloth situation. This is
433 a poor case now as everyone is short and the distribution of cloth by the government has not been too effective. This is a remarkable case. For many years formerly the people here had discontinued planting cotton. Then, when the Japanese came, they started up again and have done so since. Each family plants a little. The yield is not so good, but it could be, the assistant says.

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000 much of a waste of animals.

796 I finally found out which kampongs do the
614 main ritual functions when they have a general
346 Belakang Gunung feast at which all kampongs are represented. This is when they have a new korke (or church). The order is as follows:

1. Kottang is Mudakaputu (descendants of Bampowa).

2. Keleng is Lewohala (descendants of Kewaka).

3. Hurint is Leloba (descendants of Belawaburak).

4. Marang is Wailolong (descendants of Keweluk).

5. The passer of food and drink and betel ingredients is Watumiti (descendant of Mado). Thus they are the five brothers.

Hence we have the "sistim" which he himself
624 is so impressed by. There are priests in the
614 sense that the radja tuan and the kelake are
793 really suku and ama priests. They are admin-
565 istrative and ritual officers. In addition,
789 there are priests and gurus of the new religion.
●756 And there are the molang or medicine seers. These have more power and influence if they are of bangsawan descent. Thus again the magic power of proper descent comes to the fore and we see that blood and rank affect even the influence of medicine men. Then there are the dukun, who are doctors but with magical aspects.

798 They are extremely liberal toward all religions. The only sign of any animosity I ever saw was toward Mohammedanism, and it was not even here except in Kampong Baru. The pagan resistance was more pronounced formerly. Today the two cults work together without much, if any, friction.

871 The schools are government schools, but the
797 mission runs them and evidently provides, but
658 does not pay, the teachers. The schools were

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166 578 affect mainly the younger branches of panga. The older ones are too important to leave.

[592] Most of the people who leave go as households, except for the men who marry out.

166 574 621 527 Those who leave never come back, as far as the assistant knows, but there have been returnees in other kampongs. They do come back, however, for the big feasts in the mother kampong. There are five kinds of festive returnees: (1) for kampongs in the gelarang Veol, all must come to Veol for the big feast, and so must Veol go to the tjabang kampong feasts. (2) for kampongs in the dalu Rahong, but in other gelarang, if there is a big feast, a delegation must be sent to the mother kampong, and vice versa. These kampongs have their own tuan tanah in the new Veol kampongs, whereas type (1) kampongs have only a tjabang tuan tanah. (3a) For kampongs outside the dalu Rahong, they may come if they want to, but they need not do so, and vice versa. They have their own tuan tanah. (3b) Isolated Veol families which live in kampongs among other va'u always come back, as otherwise there is no ritual life for them in relation to the ancestors, etc. (4) The Ndung and Veol folk, because they are nearby and of the same va'u, always come to each other's big feasts. (5) The Ndung area kampongs (Ndung gelarang) come to the Ndung feasts. Any of them may come to the Veol feasts too, and vice versa. The pattern in the gelarang Ndung is not so complex, as it is actually a branch of Veol.

527 574 756 The big feasts so treated are: (1) "New Year" which comes in November or December. It is not on any set day, but takes place when the gardens are all set and growing. The work is then over; (2) the building of a tuan tanah house; (3) a "buffalo feast," i.e., a cleansing of the kampong, a time decided by one of mbako, who decides that

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574 troubles in the kampong are due to influences
756 which must be exorcised.

756 This led to a discussion of the mbako.
[887] There are two to three mbako per kampong. They may be men or women, although they are usually men. They are called to work, a job which is not hereditary. They are always old people. They dream, see spirits (e.g., naga), look at their paraphernalia (for example, glass pieces, wood pieces), etc. However, there is no shamanism.

This led to a discussion of the secrecy surrounding the identity of the mbako. He is rather vague and said something about how they don't want to appear "proud." But this doesn't ring true, so I asked the mandur and he said it is because several mbako were imprisoned here because of witchcraft murders (what kind?). Anyway, here is the pattern of secrecy and fear which I see all over here.

166 Of those who have gone away, none has re-
574 turned to Yeol, as far as the assistant knows.
783 But there have been returnees to other kampongs.

If a returnee is a man who was imprisoned (note how often the jail theme comes up here; indeed the Dutch ruled by jails!) a feast must be given and buffalo killed. It is called the buka tali, to remove the rope. It also cleanses the returnee of the bad influence of the jail. When the Controleur Bedbeder and Pastor van Bekkum came back from Japanese imprisonment, wherever they went there was a buffalo feast in order to set them finally free.

166 If a family left the area without an argument,
574 then no feast is required on their return, un-
769 less it is a long time afterwards and they have come from far away. For example, a policeman or a soldier who has been away for a long while would go through such a ceremony. Then there must be a feast given for two purposes: to tell

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166 578 614 769 will give me food when I am dead?" This is exactly like the ancestor cult of China, in that there must be descendants to make sacrifices for the soul of the deceased. And there is the same mournful asking by a pagan father whose sons turn to Christianity and therefore probably will not keep up the rites for the dead ancestors: "Who will feed me after I am dead?"

776 361 778 [166] This led to a discussion in regard to the guardian spirit of the kampong. Each kampong has such a re, called naga, and its abode is in the stone heap and the tree thereon in the pusat of the kampong. This is called the tjompang. If there is a great deal of trouble, e.g., illness, a succession of bad crops, etc., [756] the mbako may say that the naga is no longer any good, and if all the people so agree, the whole kampong is moved en masse. When this happens, the old tjompang and tree are left there in the old place and are abandoned. Thus it happens that a naga which for a long time has been benevolent may turn to be malevolent. This may be because the people have not pleased him, or just because he got wicked. He is no longer a good naga, and the people had better get out and get a new place and a new naga (how do they get a new naga? There is a very big feast for a new kampong, so perhaps a new naga is then installed).

Veol moved about two to three generations ago from the place noted on the map (c) on higher ground above the vatu Veol. I thought it was strange that the stone was there, outside of Veol and above Ndung, and also strange that the highest spot was empty. This is where Veol used to be, but the naga became so bad that Veol was moved about one hundred meters below. Also, I noted when I first entered that the tree was small, and when I asked why, they said it was

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776 because it was new. This is because it was
778 planted when they moved (or maybe it was a
361 second new one, as they said the old one died).
Anyway, there is no tree on the old site, just
an empty place and some stones. The old tree
has evidently died, as he says they do not cut
them down. No one would dare live in that
place again. They may go there occasionally
if there is a reason to do so, but they do
not remain there. It is a cursed spot. The
vatu Veol is a man, but he does not yet have
the story. When the kampong moves, they get
a new stone heap and tree (tjompang).

[166] Many kampongs have moved because their naga
have turned bad. Aside from Veol he mentioned
Meler and Ladja. They must keep the naga
happy, or the situation may become dangerous.
Thus the rites held at the tjompang have real
meaning. They are for the kampong naga.

342 The house naga lives in each house. His
776 place is the main post. High on this is a lit-
782 tle shelf hung from strings. On this place
from time to time the occupants place eggs,
rice, and bits of meat. Also, each family
apartment or section has a little hanging shelf
for the house naga's food. The main post is
especially important, and that is why at cere-
monies they must give it blood from animals,
etc. (There must be a link here with the giv-
ing of food to the posts of the Larantuka korke;
note that Roy said they must "feed" the posts.)

342 If there is much trouble in the house, the
776 mbako may say that it is because for one reason
[756] or another the house naga is no longer any good.
Then they must dismantle the house and build a
new one. Many and many a house has been torn
down and the folk have then built a new one for
this reason. And when they do this, a great
expense is entailed, because they may not use
the old wood. They sell it to another family

We

763 There was a death in Veol, and from the hill there came the sound of weeping and howling. I asked if someone had died recently, and he said after listening that the person had died this morning. He could tell by listening, so it seems that there are evidently stages of howling. The next day there was no drumming in the kampong, because of the death, and evidently the dead takes precedence over wood.

186 Everywhere in Indonesia now, as this morning from the school, one can hear Indonesia Raja sung. They all know that it was taboo before.

342 I saw the Radja's house in Ruteng today. It is a complex of three round houses, with one big one in the center. Of course, it was made of fine wood, which was about octangular, but the roof was made of grass thatch. It was impressive.

766 The Radja's daughter of about ten years of age died today, and there was a constant coming and going of cars, police jeep and others, bringing the local kraeng to Ruteng. I took one of the kraeng along at noon. I also took 515 a lot of others, and the smell was strong in the car. I think they never bathe. The pretty head guru's wife got sick, and also one child. They vomited because of carsickness.

194 The mandur said the Ngada can never get over their accent, which is full of gutturals. It is like Dutch. I heard this in the Radja's Malay in Badjawa. The guttural g is here a bit too, as noted in the place name Ndeges, with the g pronounced as in Dutch.

756 683 The assistant agrees that several mbako were jailed from time to time. The charge has been magic murder, but they can't get a conviction because they have no "witnesses." Still, this is a big reason why they no longer tell outsiders who the mbako are.

In regard to the radja and the land matter,

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721 were traditional enmities to some extent be-
578 tween dalu. For example, Ruteng was against
614 Tjibal. Rahong usually helped Ruteng. Tjibal had allies too.

When there was a Todo war against Pongkor, the dalu here often entered, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other.

There are plenty of stories about the old wars. Thus there is the Prang Kuvu (that was against the Dutch near here); Prang Lait (against Bima, at a place near here); Prang Vake (Pongkor against Todo, and the dalus here entered), etc.

621 There are definite borders here, and the
614 people are quite sensitive about them. These
602 exist between the dalu, gelarang, and kampongs.
[423] They are marked by stones, mountains, rivers, etc.

In every gelarang there is a central kampong, for example, Veol and branches. Only one va'u per gelarang is the original va'u. There can't be two. Each dalu has kampongs under direct dalu rule. Some dalu (e.g., Rahong) had kampongs directly under Todo or Pongkor. Aside from the va'u relations, the vina-rona (mother's brother's daughter or affinal) relationship is important. In this mutual help is expected. Thus the pattern of one's own clan and the clan of affinity (and, I suppose, by extension this, could work out to a circle of the Wouden type)[1] is found here.

614 However, I get nowhere with the regular
582 marriage class system here. Nevertheless, the old tuan tanah said that there was a preferred clan, Mungges. It does not show in the record of the marriages, however. He will get the clans of the women for me.

756 Note: he misunderstood the "magic" here,
789 and says that the mbako could and can make a drink or amulet, etc., to make a man strong, and such is used in war.

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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614 and these are the keys to the stuff: wodja bakok are the same as lampang. The meaning is "white rice." Lampang means "stocks" wherein new slaves are put to keep them from running away. The totems newly inserted are:

[784]

lavo	mouse
kaba	buffalo
paku	a leafy vegetable
betu	a kind of mouse
pake	frog
peti	a kind of bird

614 764 784 756 178 Naked burial is called gilo. Note that this used to be a totem of the Pau va'u, and it was given up via a big feast in 1932. At the same time, the buffalo taboo of Pau (Pau therefore does have a food taboo, or rather it did), was given up too via the same feast. In regard to the naked burial, the people decided it was too much trouble, and I suppose they felt they might as well get rid of the buffalo taboo at the same time. To do this kind of thing a va'u must consult a mbako to see if it is all right. If so, they have the feast called kaba oke tjek'i ("buffalo removes the taboo").

nggevo red bean (different from the lusa)

531 622 I asked if it was right that the radja has no horns on his house as he is not a tuan tanah. They said yes. He has no relation with the land. But nowadays there is plenty of illegal use of the horns by non-tuan tanah.

782 It is true that an offering is always made at the vatu Veol before starting garden work. This is as Coolhaas[1] says.

829 No one is able to draw a map of Flores and Indonesia and the world.

212 Fifty years ago (and even forty years ago) no

1 [See bibliography, cit. 113 -- Analysis]

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648 other types of slaves, and a few other things.
634 They also put in the radja. Otherwise they did
[681] not make much change in the traditional administration. Bima was out, and this may be why there is not so much feeling against the Dutch here.

565 As far as nobility is concerned, there are
789 the radja, dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, but they have no magic power. The kraeng says,
●756 however, that Todo and Pongkor sengadji used to have magic power (another sign of Makassar or Bima influence?). The mbako has magic power. The more I hear, the more I see that the mbako is really an important man.

622 The succession of radjas goes from eldest son
624 to eldest son or brother. The same holds for
632 the dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, and tuan panga.
634 However, the dalu wakil is chosen by the dalu, always from his family, I suppose. The kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu after sounding out the feelings of the kampong. Many of these are commoners. Some are also tuan tanah. The tuan mbaru is merely the old man of the house with influence. He is usually the oldest. This position is non-hereditary and is evidently a matter of age.

Thus we see that all of these are hereditary, with the only exceptions those of the new kepala kampong and the unimportant tuan mbaru and the obvious dalu wakil.

666 A recent innovation has been the election
646 of members of the Flores daerah parliament,
635 the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Flores.

There are five members from Manggarai, elected at large, but by electoral districts. There are five districts named according to the place where the electors meet:

(1) Ruteng (South Central Manggarai)
(2) Rekas (West Manggarai)
(3) Tjantjar (Central Manggarai)

We
565 of Flores, so unlike the radjas of Celebes.
582 This is a correction of some of the previous notes, because he had said that radjas, dalu and gelarang intermarried only among each other. The truth seems to be that all except the mendi are intermarriageable.

There is still great feeling against marrying a descendant of a mendi. For example, in Pau, where there are about ten persons descended from mendi, there have been a few marriages of these families with commoners, but never with gelarang families (e.g., the assistant's). The assistant says that he would never want his daughter to marry a mendi descendant. I pressed hard on this, and asked him if he would not be willing to have his daughter marry a mendi descendant if, for example, he became a great man in Indonesia, along with the new democracy. He said absolutely not. This is a Catholic, young and educated fellow. Then I asked about his son, should he want to marry a mendi girl. He said there would be much less resistance in this case.

Among the uppers there is a great deal of inter-district marriage, for example, at the radja, dalu, gelarang and kraeng levels. There is also some inter-district marriage among the commoners.

789 The only magic power known is in the hands
● 756 of the mbako. They can give magical strength
565 to individuals. Thus again I see how important and powerful are these secret persons. The nobles, however, have no kekuatan adjaib.

797 The only major change in the local religion has been the introduction of Catholicism, and it has been epochal.

771 About fifty per cent of the local people are
788 Catholic. Just about every family has at least
183 one Catholic in it. If a Catholic wants to attend community rites, this is all right, but he

527 We
782 Drums, etc. are set up.
231 (5) A new ordinary house. There is a small
[342] feast, and pigs are killed.

(6) If there is an epidemic, a big feast is
[731] held, like the tjutji kampong of Ambon. The
[783] mbako decides when it is needed. It is called
[756] kaba erba golo, which means "buffalo (kaba) makes young or renews (erba) the kampong (golo)." Thus the word for young seems to have the sense of making young or cleaning or renewing. There is a buffalo sacrificed, I suppose at the tjompang.

[697] (7) When a man returns from jail. A buffalo is sacrificed.

[585] (8) A wedding. For such rites only pigs are sacrificed. Buffaloes which are killed at this time are for food only, not for ritual use.

[764] (9) Funerals. If such a rite is for an up-
[565] per, a buffalo is sacrificed; if a funeral is for a lower, only a pig is sacrificed.

(10) Birth. A bigger ceremony is held for
[844] a first child, and all the kampong folk attend. Later children are given smaller rites, and only the family attend. Pigs or fowls are sacrificed. Such ceremonies are held five to ten days after birth. There is no special touching the ground rite. However, at this time the baby's hair is cut and a name is given.

844 This led to a discussion of birth. In each
[756] kampong the mbako are also midwives, i.e., at least some of them. A male mbako may be a midwife, and Cornelius says that some are very clever at this. Evidently all mbako are medicine givers and sorcerers and soothsayers, etc., but not all of them are midwives.

843 There are no food taboos for pregnant women, but there are restrictions. If a pregnant woman goes out at night, she must carry a knife (like Ambon). An expectant father may not make bamboo water holders. Neither parent may work at the graves or go to funerals

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805 held some time after the planting is done. I think this is it. He says that in other parts of Manggarai they may have twelve moons. The European calendar is seldom used and only by those who have gone to school.

793 The only priests here are the tuan tanah.
622 The tuan tanah of the pusat kampong is the most
614 important. Cornelius[1] agreed that he was like a bishop. The other tuan tanah of the branch kampongs are like parish priests. The tuan panga have certain roles in panga rites. Below the kampong and the panga there are only small rites.

● 756 Cornelius[1] says that the mbako went secret even before the Dutch came in. He says he doesn't really know why the people keep the mbako identities so secret. Or perhaps he simply will not tell me. He keeps on saying it is because "they do not want to show any pride." Maybe this means that they do not want to appear to "brag" about their special power, or perhaps it is the idea that if they talk about it they may lose it. They are certainly sensitive on this matter. Van Bekkum[2] says that in all the years he has been in Manggarai he has never found out who a single mbako is. This is amazing. There are no dukun apart from the mbako. In a kampong Cornelius says there are usually from one to three mbako.

[754] There are no suwanggi here.

Cornelius[1] says that even though all the people turn Catholic, they must still have a mbako, in the sense of a dukun.

A new point is that in addition to the troubles of the mbako with the police (maybe because of poison? or is it mere suspicion of magic murder?) they have also gotten into trouble with the hospital because of their "practice" of medicine.

771 In terms of religion, the people here are

[1] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]
[2] [pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

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648 Dutch said there would be no release unless he
578 signed. He signed on a promise that the case
609 would be reheard, but then after he signed the Dutch refused to reopen the case. I get the idea that there was real hostility to the Dutch here, but that the people were so scared that there was no revolt. Indeed, this is what the Roworoke men said: at first the people resisted, but when many of them were sent to jail, they gave up. The Dutch came here late, and the rough stage of colonialism was a recent one. It came earlier elsewhere. At any rate, there is no sorrow at all here that the Dutch have gone. They really hated the Dutch except the pastors. The lack of politeness of the Dutch seems to have impressed the folk here very much. There were radjas, however, who sided with the Dutch, and in fact I think this was the previous line of the radja kedua family.

829 In regard to Holland, they all thought that
648 it was a very big and powerful place. This is why there was great muttering yesterday when I told of the population of Holland. They regarded the Queen as their Radja, because her head was on the money. This is an illustration of the primitive political views here. They also saw that the Larantuka radja was well under the Dutch, and his rank fell very far.

609 The pastors here are the great exception.
797 The people love them, and when Roy tries to ex-
• 758 plain why, the first thing he mentions is medi-
177 cine, and then comes the standard stuff in regard to religion. This is a good example of how religion rides in on the advanced culture's material strength. They indeed have more powerful "medicine." This kind of thing seems to have been the wedge. Then the schools would come in, etc. That is, primitive people can see
797 quickly the obvious advantages in material and
177 job terms, etc., of the outside superior culture,

Wo

721 at me and raised his brows, saying, "Ah, but
789 you are forgetting the kekuatan adjaib. It was not a matter of men alone." I am accepted as one who can appreciate the magical things. In this case he was pointing to "those intangible factors which mean so much in warfare."

842 There are no limitations on the number of children in a family. There is not even a conflict here with the church. He did say, however, that they know or think they know a medicine (at least he has heard that some women know about this) which might limit the number of children a woman could have (or did I say this?). Anyway, it is unthinkable.

[614] The bigger the family the better it is. A big family, ama or suku makes its members cocky.
[534] As Roy says, he is a member of Hurint, the biggest sib here, and he would like to see the so and so who would try anything on him. He would have to settle with the group. Thus numbers mean strength all along the line.

162 The average size of the family here is about
178 eight individuals. Formerly, about fifty per cent of the children did not grow up. Now they
165 nearly all live (I doubt this, but evidently
•758 the change has been so dramatic with the introduction of modern medicine and cleanliness that it seems this way). I asked why, and they at once said new medicines and cleanliness.

355 Women do most of the upbringing. The father,
368 for example, just looks on once in awhile. The
178 mother is the crux, as well as other women. Later on, boys learn to work from their father and girls learn their tasks from their mother. The only change in all this is the school and church, especially of course the former.

581 There has been no significant change in the
178] concept of a "suitable man or wife." So little has the pressure for mere existence lessened that appearance and looks are minor. First of

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754 the way to Ndona. She has a second sight, and
756 uses stones to divine. She gets her cures
[787] from dreams. I asked whether she had familiars in dreams, but got no satisfactory reply. But now I can at least proceed with further queries regarding the bisa mari, having an actual case in mind. She can save a woman whose child dies inside her. She is a rather handsome old lady, well preserved, with piercing eyes. She looks clean (smells like disinfectant soap, as she just came from the hospital). I note that she, a doctor herself, went
● [758] to the hospital. When I went to the hospital this morning, great crowds were waiting. They have all taken to it, but there is no hope of proper care, as there are so many patients and so few doctors.

438 There has been a small increase in the sale of merchandise in order to get cash to buy other items. It has not been a very great
[435] change. The produce sold includes coconut, coconut oil (a few bottles, self made, sell at fl. 0.50), vegetables, bananas, betel leaves, and areca nuts. All are very small items. Coconut seems to be the main thing. All of this is sold in the town of Ende, if at all.

With the money they obtain they buy oil,
[443] soap, salt, tobacco, and even a bit of meat and other food in the toko or warong. They also buy dry fish. The toko buys its supplies in Ende.

249 I asked about the cloth situation. This is
433 a poor case now as everyone is short and the distribution of cloth by the government has not been too effective. This is a remarkable case. For many years formerly the people here had discontinued planting cotton. Then, when the Japanese came, they started up again and have done so since. Each family plants a little. The yield is not so good, but it could be, the assistant says.

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754 a message that they then have the power. After
756 that the person tries out his dreamed cure on a sick person. If it works, he begins to build up a reputation, and if he continues to have good results, he then becomes a molang. As for the medicine the molang makes, it does not require any formal training. He observes how some practiced molang makes it. There is no "theorie" (and the guru used this word) to be learned. Also, they get prescriptions in dreams. Thus dreams may be the crux of the affair. It is all pretty informal.

I forgot to ask whether the molang may have familiars. Bugis, the molang of Wailolong,
[774] got the call when he was already an adult. A molang can recapture the errant soul of a person who is ill. To make the recapture, the molang rubs betel on the head and joints of the patient and thinks that this replaces the soul. A now discontinued trick of the molang was to discover who did some wrong, for example, in the case of a theft, by looking in his magic mirror. It is quite common to say, "Let's got see what the mirror shows," and then go to a molang. Thus the molang is a person who receives his post through dreams which give him medicine, the ability to recapture souls, and the ability to be a seer.

• 759 In addition, there are dukun. These are
844 mostly women, but may also be men. They give medicines. The women may also be midwives.
462 They get their medicines from others, for example, from their mothers, or invent them, or obtain prescriptions in dreams. Although Leloba has no more molang, it does have at least one dukun, and there are quite a few in the area.

793 The Catholic priests have magic power too,
789 but it comes from God rather than ancestors or other pagan sources. They can even make rain, by prayer.

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622 the kepala kampong had put a hex on him. They
755 show the pagan beliefs more and more now. Later
[769] on I discussed the case with the assistant, and he said that I didn't understand why the blood situation had come about. Perhaps the dukun was right: it was a curse of the ancestors for unfulfilled duties to the ceremonial objects.

At Ndona, where there is a big church, school, etc., and in a rather clean kampong there is an enormous cement block on which is set a big flat stone from an old grave heap. There the assistant got off to get the dukun, who lives a one kilometer walk away. Great crowds from the church stood around the jeep and stared at me. He came back after awhile, and with him was a very old man with a chin beard. He had on an old sarong and headcloth. He had never been in a car before, and they had to tell him how to get in, which he did gingerly. He was almost blind. Then we went off to see the patient. When the old man got out I saw his baggage: a kris and a cloth with a lot of things in it, including a brass container. The assistant said that he was to stay with the patient for a week and treat him. If the sick man got better, he would have to give a feast and sacrifice an animal. The dukun is the last terrifically powerful one left in the whole area. When he dies, his children have learned
•[759] only a part of his lore. It is too bad for the public health, because there are no doctors here, and it is better to have a dukun than no one. (Think of the psychological need.)

493 Then we went to the house of the kapitan, who luckily was not there. (We had met him on the way to Ende, with his new bicycle, which cost fl. 300.00.)

513 Boys sleep in separate houses. In this area
882 (are there others in the kampong elsewhere? there must be) it is a "bivak," i.e., a wall-

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000 they might try reasoning with them, they would go no further.

584 The same story holds for marriage. If a
762 child does not like his parent's choice of a mate, the marriage does not occur. There have been a few cases, however, of suicide (always by hanging) on the part of both men and women, because of desperate love and mismarriage. This is interesting, and if I have the time I will try to get these cases down.

582 The marriage system is the thing, and it is
835 exogamous with complicated rules. There has
614 been no change. Even the very few cases of
178 endogamy have not increased. The only thing that has been modified is the fact that there is no longer an allowance of blood mother's
577 brother's daughter marriage. This is a Catholic taboo. This is true at least in Leloba, although I am not sure about Wailolong. They have to be careful to have fourth grade distance (that is, third cousins, via great grandparents). What the system allows is the choice of a mother's brother's daughter (that is, married into the suku of the man's mother) or married into one or two other suku of the ama linked with his suku by marriage. Thus a boy of Hurint Demong (the guru's may marry Belemang, Belepe Lolong A, or Waktukang Keleng. If his mother was Belemang, this would work out all right. In the old days, this would have been the best thing for him, that is, a girl of his mother's group (I want a girl just like the girl that married dear old dad). This is because of the good relations already, and anyway they like these close and reinforced linkages in suku relationships. It is not a matter of bringing back the tusks more rapidly, as one needs to make three moves anyway, and they can do this if they marry in any other group aside from the mother's. But, even in the old days, though this mother's brother's daughter

562 but the men have a slight edge on the women. They are more "important." In rights, privileges, etc., they are equal. There is no abuse of women, and they are supreme in their own spheres; it is just that the men's sphere seems to be a bit more important. Women scold and shout and order the men around. They are not [593] suppressed. If, for example, a man drinks too much, his wife will simply stop fixing his food and he will quickly come around and apologize.

584 Formerly, most marriages were prearranged. 178 This is less true today. Indeed, there was much more forced marriage before, and I get the idea 882 that it is rare for one to show resistance when faced with a parental choice. There were cases [762] of suicide (male and female) and running away. In the old days, the regular thing was for the parents to fix up everything by themselves. Today, more and more of the boys and girls speak up telling whom they like so that the parents learn of this before they try to fix up the marriage arrangement. Thus the initiative is shifting from the parents to the children.

I get the idea that there was quite a lot of trouble in the old days in this regard. Perhaps this was more pronounced as new ideas came in, if such an expression can be used for this stagnant place. For example, Roy's brother ran away.

764 At this point there was a funeral. The other [177] guru had excused himself, and then we heard a low chant approaching, in the local language. It sounded like the Latin chanting the Catholics do in procession (an obvious imitation of the priests' chanting, in the local language). Then a line of people appeared, two by two, with a bamboo coffin of a little child on a litter, and behind this the guru with a sheet on, which had been made into a kind of cloak, resembling that of a priest. Behind him came the mourners. The

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763 There was a death in Veol, and from the hill there came the sound of weeping and howling. I asked if someone had died recently, and he said after listening that the person had died this morning. He could tell by listening, so it seems that there are evidently stages of howling. The next day there was no drumming in the kampong, because of the death, and evidently the dead takes precedence over wood.

186 Everywhere in Indonesia now, as this morning from the school, one can hear Indonesia Raja sung. They all know that it was taboo before.

342 I saw the Radja's house in Ruteng today. It is a complex of three round houses, with one big one in the center. Of course, it was made of fine wood, which was about octangular, but the roof was made of grass thatch. It was impressive.

766 The Radja's daughter of about ten years of age died today, and there was a constant coming and going of cars, police jeep and others, bringing the local kraeng to Ruteng. I took one of the kraeng along at noon. I also took 515 a lot of others, and the smell was strong in the car. I think they never bathe. The pretty head guru's wife got sick, and also one child. They vomited because of carsickness.

194 The mandur said the Ngada can never get over their accent, which is full of gutturals. It is like Dutch. I heard this in the Radja's Malay in Badjawa. The guttural g is here a bit too, as noted in the place name Ndeges, with the g pronounced as in Dutch.

756 683 The assistant agrees that several mbako were jailed from time to time. The charge has been magic murder, but they can't get a conviction because they have no "witnesses." Still, this is a big reason why they no longer tell outsiders who the mbako are.

In regard to the radja and the land matter,

Sumba OF17 Flores OF9 Gorontalo OB4 Celebes OB1 Batak OD5 Nias OD11

[474 cont.]

F 764 A peculiar method of disposal of the dead is found in the Rëa area on Flores; there the bodies of the notables, in a squatting position, are tied to a tree, with the head at the top, and bound with areng fibers so that they form, as it were, a thickening of the trunk and become fused with it.

Where coffins are used, they are always of wood today; the form is commonly that of a boat or ship, certainly in connection with the ideas concerning the land of souls.

A hollowed-out tree-trunk is also often used, which actually is a special kind of boat. Such an interment is usually only temporary in connection with ultimate disposal of the body and the great festival for the dead (see p. 200); later the bones are interred in a kind of "mausoleum."

G I 764 [475] In former times, stone coffins must have been used in various parts of the archipelago, for example, among the Minahasa. [Illustration appears here.] The corpses there were placed in a squatting position in stone pots, waroega, or in a stone coffin, timboekar or tiwoekar, hewn out of half disintegrated trachyte, with a loose stone lid in the form of a roof. These G [636] coffins were formerly [476] half-buried in the ground in the vicinity of the house; by order of the administration special burial places were later laid out. This form of interment was C 764 probably more common on Celebes in former times; in the 172 mountainous region Besoa in central Celebes, stone antiquities have been discovered, including stone pots or vats which in B 764 all probability served as coffins. Stone sarcophagi from an earlier 172 period have also been found in the Toba-Batak lands and on eastern Java; those in the latter area are of huge dimensions.

S N I 764 The presence of these and other creations in stone on various parts of the archipelago (Nias, Sumba, etc.) has led to the [174] hypothesis that a tribe of stone-hewers in long-ago centuries established colonies in the archipelago on their journey eastward, as was discussed in Chapter 1.

2: Wilken--356 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Igorot	OA20	New Guinea	OJ1
Batak	OD5	Sumbawa	OF18
Arfak	OJ7	Ceram	OH9
Samoa	OU8	Flores	OF9
		Kubu	OD9

[304 cont.]

NG 764 We find this custom on New Guinea among the tribes around Doreh Bay (Ajembori) (2). Here the corpse is bound up

2. De Hollander, L. en Vk., Vol. II, pp. 485, 598, 615, 720, 550.

A [764] with the knees against the chest and is placed in the grave in a squatting position. This is also customary among the Arfak. Id Sb C F 764 They make a kind of little latticework case around the corpse, cover it with leaves, and bury it (3). On the Southeastern and

3. Van Rosenberg, Reistochten naar de Geelvinksbaai, p. 92, and Der Malayische Archipel, pp. 534-535.

the Southwestern Islands (2) [see footnote 2 above], among the Manggarai on western Flores, and on Ceram, the body is likewise put in the grave in a squatting position (2) [see footnote 2 above], Sb 764 as is also reported of the Do Donggo or Orang Gunung in Bima (Sumbawa) (4). Among the Sumbanese as soon as one has drawn

4. Roos, Soemba, op. cit., p. 55.

his last breath, his body is put in a squatting position in such a way that the soles of the drawn-up legs touch the floor and the knees, on which the elbows rest, press against the chest, while the hands support the chin and cheeks. In this position it is completely wrapped in linen and put into a round pit in the shape of a well. The same occurs among the Igorot (5), the Orang

Sa Ig K Bt 764

5. Blumentritt, op. cit., p. 38.

Lom of Banka (6), and the Orang Běnuwa of Malacca (7). The

6. Tijdschrift v. Ind. T.L. en Vk., Vol. IX, p. 392.

634 Badjawa (the capital of Nageh Keo is Boawai). The Ngada radja is an old style man with thirty wives who hunts and does nothing else. A relative, a wakil, does the work. To the west is the Radja of Manggarai, with the capital at Ruteng. The Dutch Controleur, Degens, also resides in Ruteng. The former radja died three to four months ago, and the new one has not yet been installed.

361 I began by riding out along the road toward Badjawa, and got to a ford about fifteen kilometers out. On the way I saw plenty of small and disorderly looking kampongs, with a definitely different arrangement and house style from 515 any other of the places I have been. Also, I noticed that the people here are slovenly, dirty, and strange in appearance. This is a real mongrel zone, and neatness is noticeably lacking in the people and in the villages. On 771 this west side of Ende in the coastal kampongs the people are mainly Mohammedan. On the east side and into the mountains they are mainly Christian. But in both cases, there are just about as many pagans, and sometimes the pagans are in the majority.

563 The next day I rode out to the east and into 361 the mountains as far as Ndetosoko, high in the 291 mountains. On the evening of the day before I 515 rode out to the other side of the Ende peninsula to Ipi beach. Along this stretch is a kampong made up mostly of Savunese. The houses are of a different style and the people are more like those from Roti in appearance (somewhat of a Hindu type), with sarongs having nice designs and horizontal patterns. I was told by the Controleur's wife that the Savunese are clean and are used here as babu, etc. The Savunese also keep their kampong clean and neat.

● 764 I stopped here and there along the road into the mountains of Lio and noted some remarkable

•764 kampongs with plazas and tombs all over. The latter are usually rectangular stone piles with flat covers, which are evidently lifted in
342 order to put in more bodies. Some of the houses have high pitched roofs coming down to the floor on all sides. They appear to be hooded, and are rather ragged inasmuch as they use alang-alang grass for thatch. Some houses are simpler and follow a more usual design, but all have a different look from those in, for
[531] example, Celebes or Ambon. I saw no gaba-gaba here, but rice stalks are used in the same way and they look like narrower gaba-gaba strips. I
[778] asked at one kampong if they had pusaka houses, and the answer was yes.

[782] I have seen no offering posts yet. I stopped
797 to talk with the priest at Ndetosoko. He was named Nalles and has a church and school and is starting to plant coffee for the church. The nearby kampongs look pagan to me, but he says that about half of the population in these villages have been converted. It is the usual story: the older ones stay pagan. I talked
121 quite a while with him and he advised my choos-
124 ing a kampong near Wolowaru. We then went back toward Ende, and at 7 km. out we stopped at Roworeke. It is on the side of the road, and then we stopped at another kampong, Watu Roga. The whole place looked ideal, with old style houses, tombs in the plaza, primitive looking folk, etc., and it is all very near Ende. We talked with a couple of the men, and they said that the kapitan (district chief) was in the garden at kilometer 10. We said we would come back later. I decided to take this kampong, or rather this double kampong.

634 In the afternoon we went to see the Ende radja.
124 There was a large gathering there including five Chinese, two hadjis (one kapitan of Nggobe, the northern half of Ende town, and the other from

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773 from van Suchtelen,[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst] but in general the same ele-
769 ments were present. However, he said, for example, that the girl was not really in the form of a lontar leaf but rather that she came wrapped in a leaf. He also said that Toni, one of the sisters, had no children; and Soru, the other, after having a child in Sikka who produced the ancestors of the radjas there, came to Ende and had children there who became the ancestors of the Ende radjas. Her Sikka husband was killed in Timor, and his name, Djau, was given to her Ende son. Thus from the start Ende and Sikka radjas have a common female ancestor. I can see that the myths here have many versions. The Java-Madjapahit stuff is definitely there. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja was quite enthusiastic in telling about these myths, and it always seemed that his ancestors figured largely.

778 I asked if they have a negri lama here, and
361 they at once pointed to the high hills behind both kampongs and said that they are located there. And on them, as in Ambon, are the batu pemali! The Dutch forced them to move to the lowlands as they did in Ambon. Evidently they go to these places from time to time, and I must find out if feasts are linked with them. They
[578] said there is no real open conflict between the new and the old religions.

535 They said that there are still plenty of the old dances and old adat costumes here. They will put on this ceremonial dress for photographing later.

764 I asked about funerals and they said that the
565 nobles used to be cocooned on a tree branch (not on the trunk, as Körner[2] says for Rea Ndona) until they rotted. Then there was a great feast with
[231] the killing of many buffalo, and the bones and skulls of the deceased were taken and cleaned and put in a chest which was then put in the slab-
[177] covered cist tombs. The Dutch forbade the tree burial as unhygienic.

[2] [See p. 21 of Körner & p. 189 of Elbert as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I must find out how the funerals are run now. Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.
[797] The assistant has finished five grades of schooling in Ndona.

291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
178 men (old style) although this is changing fast, a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
[302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
286 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
531 looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the designs are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
124 I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan. Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they have a holiday whenever there is the slightest excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I must find out about later, is how the kepala kampong is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some re-
624 marks about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan and others are not. I must get this kepala kampong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

632 The kapitan of Ambu Nggobe, whom I met in a new hadji costume before, is a rather oldish one. Ariens says he has the most power of any-
123 one in Ende. The guru is a hard, pushing, Christian type, who has lost the old respect forms and feels superior to all the others. This guru kept trying to find out whether we were Catholics, but we didn't tell him.

At last we went back to the kampong but stopped
191 off in a fine village near where the Kilimutu road leaves the main road. I forget the name. It has
[142] handsome women, proto-Malay type, who are ruined
[276] by betel. The men too are pretty good looking. Some of the children are very intelligent. I asked about the language situation and the guru said that only the schooled ones speak Malay anywhere in Ende. Thus the old ones do not, but this is not entirely so as some of the old ones who were never schooled are able to speak Malay.

342 In this kampong the houses as usual are roofed
343 with alang-alang thatch. There are many barns, which are small and have roofs which go to the
●764 floor. The graves are in the plaza. One was
178 very large and of massive stone situated under a roof. It was the grave of an important ancestor. Others were of usual stone piles and slabs. One burial was set up last month, as it said on a wooden cross set up on top of the old style stone slab grave. The bodies here are laid out in a lying down position in the stone cists. From later evidence in Roworeke I think that many individuals may be placed in one grave. They lift the slab, move over the old bones, and set the new body in. In the old days they would put the body wound up with gemutu ropes in a tree until the whole thing rotted. Then the bones were placed in a box which in turn was placed in the cist. A rather long time ago the government made the people here dispose of the bodies at once.

[i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg--Analyst]

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764 178 It is done in one day now, because the body begins to smell otherwise.

144 361 [197] The physical types in the mountains, the Lio folk (who speak the same dialect as the Ende coastal dwellers but with a different accent, and they are really only a mountain branch of the Ende-Lio tribe) are mainly proto-Malay, or at least that's the way it seems to me. One can see this especially in the women, but also in many of the men. It seems that the more Melanesian and Papuan types are settled along the coast, which makes me wonder if maybe there might not have been a reverse movement of the black people from the Timor area into Flores, pushing the proto-Malay people back into the hills. There are plenty of Melanesian types, and Papuans, and even Australoid types in the hills, however, just as on the coast. I get the impression that the mountain people are nicer, better looking, more polite, and perhaps even a little cleaner than the coastal dwellers. [181]

609 197 771 I notice that these Roworeke lads, especially the guru, order the Lio folk around. They seem to be regarded as hillbillies. However, they speak the same language, and many mountain kampongs are one hundred per cent Catholic. In fact, I really wonder if maybe there might not be more pagans in Roworeke itself than in many if not most of the mountain kampongs. Certainly there seem to be more obviously pagans in Roworeke than I saw offhand in the mountain kampong. I 778 asked if the mountain kampong has a rumah pemali. They said yes, but that it is quite far off, near the main road. I didn't have time to see it. 291 286 Much of the clothing here is in the form of ikat work, and I can see some of this material woven on the local back bar looms (horizontal).

Much of the cloth is plain, unattractive, dark material. The ikat work, and also much of the plainly woven cloth, is dark and is used mainly

349 and in the corner is a long wooden drum used in
769 certain ceremonies. Most amazing, however, is
614 a box under the roof and set on planks across
766 beams. This box is covered with old ikat clothes and measures about 3x2x2 feet. In it are the bones of the great ancestor of the Wanda suku. The kapitan said they are "hundreds of years" old. When they have a suku feast, hundreds of people come here and kill buffaloes and dance and sing and pray, asking the ancestors for favors. They do not call them but call on them. All a-
764 round! are the stone heap and slab graves of lesser folk. Bodies put in them are bound in the knee-to-chest posture. They often are too small to allow lying down anyway. I was told that many are placed in one cist, and new bodies are put in by lifting the slab and moving the old bones over.

286 I saw a back-bar loom and two women spinning
126 on primitive wheels from cotton fluff. It is im-
181 pressive and the threads they make are good. One old and one young woman were so employed. I started to take a photograph of the old one and a young lady came up and said that she was his mother and that if I took a photograph of her I had to give him one too. I closed the camera and went away. These are the least agreeable folk I have met yet in Indonesia. Still there are plenty of fine people here. Nevertheless, they are not uniformly polite as, for example, are most of the Buginese.

181 We then got out of Watu Roga, leaving discon-
126 tent, it seemed, as we had taken photographs but given none to the people as we had done across the road in Roworeke. I get the impression that the Watu Roga folk are a bit antagonistic possibly to the people in Roworeke. I also suspect that these Ende people are aggressive and competitive and grasping anyway.

621 Then we went around the sections of Roworeke. These are, so far as I can get them up to now:

! [i.e., Watu Roga.—Analyst]

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621 Nuamere (the kapitan's house is located here), Pudjambu, Aibod, Aiutu, Roworeke proper (the original kampong after they moved down from the negri lama), Kopoëdo (all Tibo suku, and small), and Wolomere. Thus there are seven. To the south, below Aiutu and Wolomere, is an open land stretching out toward Ende, on which various mixed folk have settled sparsely. The Roworeke [778] sections run up hill gradually from the road to the west, and the negri lama is located high above. All are on the west side of the road except the far south Wolomere, where the secretary lives. Wolomere is on the Watu Roga side of the road. There is an offshoot of Watu Roga on the Roworeke side. This is Paudari, and most, if not all, here are of the Wanda suku.

764 In Nuamere there is one high-roofed house, near the kapitan's. And here is a large concrete tomb set high above the houses. In the upper part, and alone, is the body of the kapitan who died in 1939. In the large lower part are tens of bodies of the Odja suku. When a new body is to be put in, an earthen section is dug up, which exposes an opening in the concrete tomb. The bones are pushed back and the body placed in and the earth replaced (are these bound in the knee-to-chest position?). There are many other rougher stone tombs which the kapitan said contain tens of bodies also. They do not know how many are contained in some of them as they are so old and have been used for so long.

621 766 349 769 614 Then we went to Pudjambu, the next place, and it is like a small separate kampong by itself. Then we went to another, rather farther off and up on the rising stone-faced levels. It was fine. This was the Roworeke proper, the ancestral kampong whence all others spread after moving down from the negri lama. It is a very fine place and I took a photograph. Here there is a high-set roofed tower like the Wanda one, and on planks

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304 was more common formerly. The tattooing occurs on the arms, face, and chest. In Tandjung Bunga there is a lot of tattooing. Sometimes this is done on the back of the calves too. The young people do it no longer. However, the guru's daughter has her name tattooed on her arm.

342 The houses have upright sticks at the ridge ends, but the guru says this is of no significance.

●764 Stones called nubanara are all over the kampong, lying flat mainly. I wonder if maybe these could have been used for graves in this kampong before, because the nubanara are scattered like the graves in Ende.

346 178 535 368 At the top of the kampong is the korke of the kampong, and in front is a nama, or rectangular dance place. This consists of a platform built up of stones. Some of the stones should stand (four, one for each of the main suku; but the guru says there may be more than four standing). This appears in Vatter's photo of another nama. These former uprights here have fallen down and he says the people do not bother to erect them again. This is a sign of the steady breakdown of paganism. On the dance place there is an old drum left standing. It is evidently no longer used. The korke is empty, and has merely a bale-bale under a roof. No walls are left. The roof has not been repaired, which again may show the breakdown. Near the korke is a large house of [614] the tuan tanah of the main suku, and near this is the korke of his suku. In addition to the kampong korke, there is one for each suku, but no nama in front of these. These korke are used by the kepala suku, who is also the tuan tanah of the suku, for suku rites regarding rain illness, etc. The main korke is used for kampong rites. [574] When a feast is thus given, the big men sit on the bale-bale in the korke, and the dancers per- [534] form in front to the music of a drum and gong.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

578 wars. There is no more head-hunting (but the
721 priest in the mission thinks it still goes on secretly, especially for the main post of a new korke).

53 The arts here are poor in all ways.

583 The bride price must be paid, but ambil anak
611 can occur. In the latter case a daughter or
237 daughters are given to the family in place of the
[556] price. This is especially true for the poor. Elephant tusks are needed for things such as the bride price, but this is evidently mainly for the uppers. And Krol said that nowadays, when the tusks have become rare, they often merely make the transfer in their heads, talking all night, and never actually transferring the real tusks from one family to another. It is a kind of clearing-house procedure. The tusks may be "transferred" up to twenty times in their heads, and they balance out in the end. Thus there is no real cost. It is a matter of delayed payment and really works out to a system of woman exchange between families. The tusk transfer is fictional. Thus A will "pay" tusks to B for a girl, and B will "pay" these to C for a girl, and C will "pay" them to A for a girl, and so on. The tusks, however, may even be non-existent in a particular case, and since they balance out in the end, no one really pays.

764 I was told that they used to put the bodies of
766 the war dead (I think) in trees before burial. Newborn children were buried in the kampong in front of the house. Cemeteries here were evidently placed outside the kampong.

124 We will return to Leloba tomorrow and try to
621 get the assistant matter straightened out. It
578 is notable that the guru said he is more comfortable working in an outside kampong. If the kakang gives the order the people must cooperate. This shows that the kampongs here are fiercely separatistic and only the upper government controls this atomism.

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[793] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here, and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

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776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 Kraeng here is the original title for high
554 nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

796 At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is
614 done by families or pangas. Each man in the
782 group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck
231 with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunt-
[887] ing.) Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say
535 here) is done at many feasts. Each house has
574 some costumes, and the men may use them. They
555 say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 In the afternoon we went to see some fine
527 dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part
526 of the week long independence festival. The
533 lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and sing-
[276] ing. Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertain-
[887] ment was complicated and good. Most drummers
>00 and gong players seem to be old women. These

582 firm in stating that one had ~~to marry~~ within the
565 same class, of which there are three: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata hoö, but I forget the terms for the others.
[587] They say that a lower man may never marry up,
[567] but that a higher man may marry down for a second wife. They are more open here about slavery than I have found elsewhere.

142 The people are quite handsome and many of
144 them are of the proto-Malay type. There are relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay element predominates, and the East Flores Negroid types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars. There is also a great difference in the color of the skin, many people being quite light-skinned
[515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here
[197] say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not the Soa folk.

291 The clothes of the local people are shabby and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are
304 universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears.
[276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments
[301] in their ears today. Only the holes are noted. We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most men have their names or initials as well as figures tattooed on their forearms. This name tattoo is quite general.) (Perhaps this is the
[177] secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy tattoo.")

•764 The burials here, I think, and certainly in
565 Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners, but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

632 The districts here are called kepala mereschappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan. This one is evidently Naru.

243 where around the earthen plaza there are Every-
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They
looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the
peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it
were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with shelleyes. It was set in cement.

From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
132 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However,
124 when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from
Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of
two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we
had to stay overnight at the house of a former
kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the
oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see
the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of
Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan.
He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and his cronies are taking everything. There is only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And
now they are asking the Christians to move up

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443 basis. They obtain products by purchase in the backland and sell them in Ende. They also sell gewgaws which they bring along with them.

186 829 Interest in local, foreign or international news is at a very low level. They insist that nearly everyone here knows just about nothing in regard to anything outside of the kampong. They are even ignorant of Rewarangga.

614 621 They said that originally each kampong consisted of only one suku. Then others moved in. Thus, at one time Wawatonda was the kampong of suku Rewarangga. Then they came down to Worowai. Here today there is a rumah berhala, ●[764] but it is a mere bone-grave hut, like Odja in Roworeke.

Rabu is now in three kampongs. It was one at some former time. It is ten kilometers from here. This is the place where the original kampong of the Odja suku was located. But they have now lost contact, and indeed, so complete was the move to Roworeke that probably no Odja folk are left in Rabu today.

124 829 The kapitan said an interesting thing when I was pressing him to give information in this regard. He said that only since I came here had he learned very much about the culture and the past of Rewarangga.

778 614 346 764 These rumah berhala, with images and a real house, or merely with the grave-bone shrines, are suku shrines. There are four real rumah berhala houses in Rewarangga. These are as large as a real old style high roofed house, [753] and in them there are images (ana deo) and per- [782] haps bone bundles too. These run as follows: (and anyone who visits them and looks into them must leave an offering, for example, money or cigarettes, etc.; otherwise he may get sick):

1. Volofeo has a real house and in it there are four ana deo, wooden images. There are no bones. This house was used by all four suku

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346 here, and perhaps each ana deo is of one of
614 the suku. They are uncertain about this, but
778 thought that this was perhaps right. They
764 did know that the house was used by all four
suku. It is a kind of cooperative venture in
the ancestor cult. They got together and
built it. It is at kilometer 17, one kilometer's walk up.

2. Bu'ube'i, the most remote of the Rewarangga kampongs, is at kilometer 17 plus a ten kilometer walk. There is a real house there, but the kapitan does not know if there are any bones. They do not know what suku it belongs to. He was there, but was afraid to
[753] look inside. They fear illness. I asked why
[782] he didn't give a gift and thus insure his safety. He said it would be no use to take
[152] the chance. Thus he is a Catholic and thus he fears both outside magic and ancestral ghosts at the same time. It does have an ana deo.

3. Ratebedi has an ana deo, and bones too. The suku is unknown. This is at kilometer 13 plus a four kilometer walk.

4. Vavoëü has an ana deo, but with no bones. The suku is unknown. It is at kilometer 13 plus a one kilometer walk.

All others have either nothing or merely a grave-bones shrine.

5. Worowai has a shrine of the suku Rewarangga.

6. Roworeke has a shrine of the suku Odja. It is in a section of Roworeke Asal.

7. Worowaku does not even have a shrine.

8. Arereke has a shrine of suku Urureva.

9. Pu'uperi has a shrine of suku Rea (a different suku from Reandona).

10. Information is lacking for Kekawi'i.

11. Koavena has a shrine of the Gusa suku.

12. Kekamberu does not even have a shrine.

13. Nioreko has a shrine, but the suku is

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614 unknown. Nioreko also has a rumah berhala, an
778 actual house, but it is merely temporary and
346 lasts only seven to eight years. Then it is
764 rebuilt. It has no ana deo. This is a kind of intermediate type of situation.

14. Manunggo'o has no shrine. Thus suku Reandona evidently has none.

15. Pu'umbindi has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

16. Mbago has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

17. Pemodjera has a shrine, but the suku is unknown. Also, like Nioreko, Pemodjera has a temporary rumah berhala house, which is rebuilt when it collapses.

18. Sokopedji does not even have a shrine. It is a new kampong.

614 This is interesting and goes to show that
178 the suku were localized before. I asked why
829 there were so many in the census for which the suku were unknown. They said that if their parents did not tell them, they never learned this information. It shows a breakdown in the system, but it is still very important. Real disintegration is just beginning. I scolded them to the effect that they as government men of Rewarangga did not even know the suku of the kampongs in their district. I said that the people in the United States would think that they were poor administrators. They said that this suku business was adat only and that they were concerned with government only. I pointed out that even the giri tumba besar seemed vague about all of this outside of his own kampong, and he is a leader of adat. They begged off saying that perhaps he didn't understand what I was after.

778 It is notable that only the four kampongs
769 with real rumah berhala (Volofeo, Bu'ubedi,
346 Ratebedi, and Vavoëü) have annual ancestor
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R Generally, I think that
632 the government has not put adat chiefs (for
622 example, ata nggaëh nua) into administrative
624 posts. This also holds for the mosa laki. I
693 can think of the following possible reasons:
631 (1) adat chiefs are largely illiterate and cannot do administrative work therefore; (2) adat chiefs are largely pagan, and the mission, therefore, probably does not like them (indeed, one of the main ends of the mission is to do away with that devil, the tuan tanah; they usually say they want to do this because he stands in the way of progress and land reform, but this is a rationalization; it is like killing the Toradja death feasts because of immorality, when the real reason is that they constitute the main bulwark of pagan survival); (3) adat chiefs formerly and potentially even today are probably the centers of possible revolt against alien laws and government, and thus it is better not to let them have too much power. So they let them handle harmless adat cases. This is indirect rule on the adat level, taking all important functions away from them. Nevertheless, I note that the ad-
[565] ministrative appointees (who may be "elected" in a way) are always or nearly always of the adat chiefly families. Thus, here the kepala kampong is the younger brother of the ata nggaëh nua, and the kapitan is a noble of the adat lineage. They are literate and Christian (or Mohammedan) nobles of the old adat nobility.

Ngada and Nageh: The Ngada Y- or rather
231 U-topped upright, is used to run a buffalo rope
417 through. One end of the rope is attached to the neck of the buffalo and then passed through the U, and the other end is fastened to the stone post. Thus it is held taut when the buffalo is killed.

764 Ngada "resting places" along the road are
211 rectangular stone heap mounds, flat on top,

764 with upright stone. They are built by indi-
211 viduals to commemorate their own name. There
[554] is great vanity here in keeping one's name alive after death. Thus the ngadu builder gets his name on the ngadu too. There are no offerings, however, at these rest places.

231 The Nageh in Soa kill animals with spears
411 as they are released (probably a hunting survival). Perhaps this is related to Toradja spearing?

556 Larantuka: We left Ende on Friday, January
237 6, and after ten and a half hours we got to
177 Larantuka. There we met a young Chinese trader
438 who was born in Lomblem and whose father has a toko there. They are now in Surabaja, but he comes through Flores and the islands to buy stuff each year. He is now buying kemiri nuts. He told me a lot about Lomblem. He said that there are thousands of tusks in Lomblem alone. And he said that Maumere, which is relatively rich in various products, is cornering a large part of the tusks of Flores. In other places, for example, in Larantuka, there are fewer tusks now, and people are beginning to pay money instead. The Maumere folk, he said, think nothing of money. The real wealth and goal of all striving is tied up in the tusks. He said that the Chinese brought the tusks in originally and told the radjas here that they were the teeth of the naga (which was important locally before that). The radjas paid dearly for them, and soon all the folk here wanted them. Hence, thousands were imported by the Chinese. It may have been the same situation as that which obtains with the mokko in the Alor area. They too may well be from China.

511 This Chinese said that in Lomblem the folk
461 want very little. They work a little, just
185 enough to get the corn going, and then drink
273 enough gin to go to sleep. When drunk they

562 but the men have a slight edge on the women. They are more "important." In rights, privileges, etc., they are equal. There is no abuse of women, and they are supreme in their own spheres; it is just that the men's sphere seems to be a bit more important. Women scold and shout and order the men around. They are not
[593] suppressed. If, for example, a man drinks too much, his wife will simply stop fixing his food and he will quickly come around and apologize.

Formerly, most marriages were prearranged.
584 This is less true today. Indeed, there was much
178 more forced marriage before, and I get the idea
882 that it is rare for one to show resistance when faced with a parental choice. There were cases
[762] of suicide (male and female) and running away. In the old days, the regular thing was for the parents to fix up everything by themselves. Today, more and more of the boys and girls speak up telling whom they like so that the parents learn of this before they try to fix up the marriage arrangement. Thus the initiative is shifting from the parents to the children.

I get the idea that there was quite a lot of trouble in the old days in this regard. Perhaps this was more pronounced as new ideas came in, if such an expression can be used for this stagnant place. For example, Roy's brother ran away.

764 At this point there was a funeral. The other
[177] guru had excused himself, and then we heard a low chant approaching, in the local language. It sounded like the Latin chanting the Catholics do in procession (an obvious imitation of the priests' chanting, in the local language). Then a line of people appeared, two by two, with a bamboo coffin of a little child on a litter, and behind this the guru with a sheet on, which had been made into a kind of cloak, resembling that of a priest. Behind him came the mourners. The

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764 bells in the chapel tolled and the service was held. The body was buried in the cemetery.

Roy has been full of life since I gave him
124 some medicine for his asthma. He jokes and
123 laughs. He had a meeting of the Red Cross yesterday, and the Radja and Dr. Sutomo and other notables were there. He knocked them out with the new words he has learned from me (sistim, desas-desus, kekuatan adjaib, etc.). They asked how this came about, and he said that the American professor was responsible. He told the priest that I was better than Vatter,[1] as we talk over each point at length, and I tell him details too, and then we discuss everything. Also, he says, everything is told to me and nothing is hidden, as he puts it. He tells the people, even in front of me, that I am like a suwanggi, because I learn so fast and come with material that an outsider should not know, and because I anticipate things that are not yet told. At one point, he said that I could join up and become a member of the Kottang sib.

The ratio between men and women here is about
162 fifty-fifty. They think this is all right.
793 Perhaps only two per cent of the women never
589 marry, and it is exceedingly rare to find an old bachelor. There are no nuns or priests in Wailolong yet. Leloba has one nun now. There is a case in Lewohala at the present time of a father making a terrific fuss because his daughter wants to become a nun and his son wants to go to a seminary. (Is he a pagan?)

586 Formerly there was no divorce according to
178 adat. There are two pagan cases in Wailolong and this is considered new.

684 I asked about adultery, and Roy said that in the old days if there was a case of adultery, the woman remained the man's wife, but a fine had to be paid. Or, if the couple were found

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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000 for tolerance!

●764 178 At death, different rites are given according to the age of the deceased. Formerly, children were just buried, fast. Today they are also buried, but after a Catholic funeral service. Before and now, among all groups, after four days a beast is killed and the house is cleaned up. After eight days they wash the hair and bathe (does this mean that they do not wash until then?) and throw all the dirt into the river. Anyway, they buried and still bury after one day.

The same treatment is given for a person of middle age or a mere adult. If the person is very old, more rites are held. The blake (means mother's brother, but also all affinal relations) must bring tusks, goats, pigs. Until these are brought, there is no burial. Formerly, the body would be kept until it began to smell. Evidently, this was a kind of shaming. But if it got too smelly, it was buried (and evidently they still bury under these conditions) finally even though no gifts came from the blake. For an old person, a little house would be built on the grave. I gather that the government will not [656] let them keep the bodies any more, so probably this practice is no longer kept up even by the pagans. Thus it seems that they have sanitary laws which have changed the death cult and rites over all Indonesia.

765 In the old days, after four days an animal was killed, and after eight days they had the wash up, cleaning of the hair, and the throwing of the dirt into the river. (This is clearly a rite to rid the community of the stain of death.)

764 178 656 And here it is, as I see it. Yes, he says the government now forces them to bury within a day. But until now, for an old person it was proper for the blake to bring a tusk and beasts.

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764 If the people were very poor (or evidently for
178 some other reason) they may not bring them.
[656] Thus there has not been much change except for the fast burial now enforced in all cases.

One can see a change in that the Catholics have church rites as well as pagan. And another change is that whereas even now all pagan bodies are merely wound up in mats, Catholic bodies are put in a coffin. Formerly, very
766 famous men and stillborn children were buried near the house. Other people were buried outside the kampong (something like Limbo!).

764 Another thing is that if an old person dies, one must guard his sleeping mat (evidently all
769 of this applies to old women too) for four days. Food for the soul and a lit lamp are placed beside the body. The ghost comes and eats. It can be seen whether or not the ghost is happy if the food has been neatly eaten. If the food is left messy, it shows that the dead one is not happy. The pagans still do all of this, and sometimes the Catholics do too.

764 There are no tombs here, and there were none in the past. They have graves. There are stone markers placed on the graves.

53 All forms of entertainment are local. They are particularly fond of singing. They also dance, and there are many kinds of songs using a complement of such instruments as drums, flutes and gongs. There are no viols. He stresses that they love singing.

526 Soccer is a new game here but it is very much
524 liked. They also have raga, the rattan ball kick game. This is also new here, Roy says. They do not play cards, dice, etc. They have a kind of fruit-pits-in-holes game.

53 There is no sculpture here. A little carving is done (on the korke, barns, and they used to have images in the korke). There is no painting.
536 There is no drama (but he sees the point that

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797 tial rites require pigs, but here other animals
782 can be used.

Three religions are known: pagan, Catholic,
771 and Mohammedan. They know little except about the pagan religion, which they probably know better than the others!

I asked about the religion here as given in
771 my notes from Elbert[1] who was here in the pre-
114 Catholic period. They said that my notes were all right, including the god names, and that
[775] Mt. Iya was the deadland, etc. In fact, I see more and more that Elbert was a good man. The
[776] high god, however, they give the name Ngga'eh Dewa. They say there is no dualism, i.e., no earth mother, here. This doesn't quite jibe with Elbert, but maybe they have forgotten, or they are vague about this. Maybe they are always vague about such stuff as regards the high gods.

The tubu musu, indeed, has two stones, and
778 after hesitation they admitted that it is a
831 male-female symbol. I note that in his Lio dictionary, Arndt[1] says (I think tubu) has an "obscene" significance with reference to "male." Thus it seems clearly a sex symbol. They never heard of yoni. They seem to say that there are two stones, one lying and another standing. Like a fool, I did not check this. I will have to look in Elbert[1] and Suchtelen[1] for this.

[789] They have the matakau, and it is called nabe.
776 The term Ngga'eh Dewa means the god above. I guess that ngga'eh means big or high. They say that ata ngga'eh nua means "pembesar kampong."

●764 At death, the bodies were formerly placed in big trees, cocooned. This was true for big men. For about a month they were left there while a feast was prepared. When all the animals and other things were ready, the bundle was brought down from the tree and bones cleaned. Then they

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

R

764 were put in a box and placed in the "attics" of the tombs. All except one of these tombs are gone, and this one is the Odja shrine. Now I understand why the bones are placed above in this shrine. This is like all the
[656] big men in the old days. Today, they can't use trees because the government forbids this on hygienic grounds (why worry? the place is so dirty and disease-ridden that it seems foolish). Today the big men are buried in especially elaborate tombs of stone, in which many bodies are put (as in Sumba). Formerly, ordinary folk were just buried, or if they had money enough they were placed in tombs.

764 554 565 Thus one can say that only big men, that is, the kepala suku, were put in the attics of the pondok before. Other nobles were placed in stone tombs if they could pay the expenses. Evidently both of these kinds of nobles were first placed in a tree. An ordinary noble who did not have enough money, however, was simply buried, as there would be no use putting him in a tree if there was not to be a second funeral and a stone tomb.

764 Today bodies must be buried within twenty-four hours. They are buried or put in tombs. The only "memory feast" aside from the second burial disposal was held when it was desired to ask for rain by calling directly on the dead (evidently).

[184] Only the pagans still put the body in knee-chest position at burial. The Christians and Mohammedans bury their dead in an extended posture.

At the old tombs, when they have a funeral of one to be put therein, the Catholic priest, (and I presume the Mohammedan leader too) prays.

At the funeral feast, pagans, Catholics and Mohammedans all kill animals.

517 All amusement is local, except for rare and

Wa.

614 ask; and (3) the latung pesi corn: this is
784 true of the firstborn only (I will ask about
773 this too).

Note the firstborn theme here too. This is also found in Sikka totemism. The Pau va'u
● [764] has only one taboo aside from the custom that the stone must not be used for anything, and it is that the members must be buried naked. The story is that once, when the dead were still dressed, a child was ordered to get clothes for a dead person. The child refused, and an old man who was angry said, "All right, from now on our descendants cannot be buried in clothes." It is a kind of curse.

Manong taboos are mice and dogs. They cannot be eaten. I don't know the story, but I can ask the assistant's wife. Now, however, the assistant's wife can eat these, because she has married out. But she has taken on a taboo (tjek'i) of Pau and will be buried naked. He asks, "What about the Catholics?" I said there was no trouble, I thought, because there is no rule in the Church that a person must be buried with clothes on! Each taboo has a story of rationalization behind it. Usually there are two or three taboos per va'u.

[262] I found out that cats are eaten here.

These kampongs have long since been separate,
621 but once they were one. There was a man named
[361] Pong Ndung who came from Veol, but didn't want to live in the kampong, so he moved down to lower land and settled under a tree. The Veol people got angry and asked him to come back, and he said all right, but moved only into the present Ndung area, which was then vacant. He thus founded the new kampong, and since then it has been called Ndung.

Before 1870 to 1880 they had only kampongs and va'u. Then, under Bima, came in the dalu and gelarang divisions. The line between gela-

War

829 all, have heard of Holland and Japan. Beyond these very little is known. Many people know the word America. Wilcox was here recently and then they heard of England. But these are just names. The gurus in Tjantjar know a bit about the outside world.

Nothing is known about the population figures of Indonesia or even for Flores. The school level is too low for even children to know these things. The assistant, however, knows the population of Indonesia, and of the world (exact! two billion!). He knew that there were four hundred and fifty million people in China too! But he did not know about India or the rest of the countries. He was surprised that Holland was so small.

186 Formerly, in the wartime, there was a great feeling for the kampong, but no real thought in regard to patriotism. They like their place and their adat. They dislike Ngada. They say that the people in Ngada kill, are coarse, etc. They don't like Ende, Larantuka, Sikka, etc. They simply do not like the adat from other areas. This is the main point. They hate Bima, and have vivid memories in this regard. Formerly there was no criticism of the Dutch, but now they are getting onto colonialism a bit in retrospect. However, there is no real thought on these things. They know that the Chinese are tipu orang (crooks). They consider Arabs as better people; in fact, they are O.K. They are rich. They have no knowledge about other people.

166 There are kampongs which are declining in population and seem not to amount to much, but the people stay there because it is their kampong. They simply do not move unless they decide their naga is no good.

764 A dead person must be taken back to the home kampong for burial unless (1) it is too far or impossible, or (2) they are already established

[i.e., author of "White Stranger, Six Moons in the Celebes", London, 1949 - Analyst]

We

764 in a new place and have children there, a tjompang, etc. (thus the Tjepang do not go back to their old home in the west).

764 614 823 Also, all women who marry out become members of their husbands' va'u and are buried there. If it is impossible to take the body back to the kampong of origin, they at least get a bit of dirt from the cemetery there and take it to the far-off grave (a spot of land that is forever Veol!). This is a real duty, and they may travel very far to get it. Thus, if a Veol man dies in a far away kampong where there is no tuan tanah and no privilege, a bit of earth from the Veol cemetery (near the road here) is taken to his grave. A small feast is given, at which time only a fowl is sacrificed. This is done in the far-off kampong at the burial. However, then the family travel to Veol, no matter how far off it may be, and there [775] they have the really big funeral feast. This is because the soul of the deceased always returns to the home kampong, that is, unless the clan section is already settled in a new place and has its own cemetery.

775 769 782 The souls of the dead live around the graves. There is no special deadland here. Thus, whenever there is a feast in the kampong, people go to the cemetery and invite the souls to attend. The assistant sang a song which they use. Also, they kill a fowl there, in order to give a little food in advance (he said "voorschot"). [776] Also, they go to the spring and invite the water spirits, and give them a fowl too. (Now I see why they have the cry, "Who will feed me when I am dead?")

161 769 The real population of Veol--Ndung is not three hundred and fifty, but thousands, as the dead live there too. The ancestor cult is thus tremendous in regard to the stature of the kampong.

Wa

614 and these are the keys to the stuff: wodja bakok are the same as lampang. The meaning is "white rice." Lampang means "stocks" wherein new slaves are put to keep them from running away. The totems newly inserted are:

[784]

lavo	mouse
kaba	buffalo
paku	a leafy vegetable
betu	a kind of mouse
pake	frog
peti	a kind of bird

614 764 784 756 178 Naked burial is called gilo. Note that this used to be a totem of the Pau va'u, and it was given up via a big feast in 1932. At the same time, the buffalo taboo of Pau (Pau therefore does have a food taboo, or rather it did), was given up too via the same feast. In regard to the naked burial, the people decided it was too much trouble, and I suppose they felt they might as well get rid of the buffalo taboo at the same time. To do this kind of thing a va'u must consult a mbako to see if it is all right. If so, they have the feast called kaba oke tjek'i ("buffalo removes the taboo").

nggevo red bean (different from the lusa)

531 622 I asked if it was right that the radja has no horns on his house as he is not a tuan tanah. They said yes. He has no relation with the land. But nowadays there is plenty of illegal use of the horns by non-tuan tanah.

782 It is true that an offering is always made at the vatu Veol before starting garden work. This is as Coolhaas[1] says.

829 No one is able to draw a map of Flores and Indonesia and the world.

212 Fifty years ago (and even forty years ago) no

1 [See bibliography, art. 113 -- Analyst]

527 We
782 Drums, etc. are set up.
231 (5) A new ordinary house. There is a small
[342] feast, and pigs are killed.

(6) If there is an epidemic, a big feast is
[731] held, like the tjutji kampong of Ambon. The
[783] mbako decides when it is needed. It is called
[756] kaba erba golo, which means "buffalo (kaba) makes young or renews (erba) the kampong (golo)." Thus the word for young seems to have the sense of making young or cleaning or renewing. There is a buffalo sacrificed, I suppose at the tjompang.

[697] (7) When a man returns from jail. A buffalo is sacrificed.

[585] (8) A wedding. For such rites only pigs are sacrificed. Buffaloes which are killed at this time are for food only, not for ritual use.

[764] (9) Funerals. If such a rite is for an up-
[565] per, a buffalo is sacrificed; if a funeral is for a lower, only a pig is sacrificed.

(10) Birth. A bigger ceremony is held for
[844] a first child, and all the kampong folk attend. Later children are given smaller rites, and only the family attend. Pigs or fowls are sacrificed. Such ceremonies are held five to ten days after birth. There is no special touching the ground rite. However, at this time the baby's hair is cut and a name is given.

844 This led to a discussion of birth. In each
[756] kampong the mbako are also midwives, i.e., at least some of them. A male mbako may be a midwife, and Cornelius says that some are very clever at this. Evidently all mbako are medicine givers and sorcerers and soothsayers, etc., but not all of them are midwives.

843 There are no food taboos for pregnant women, but there are restrictions. If a pregnant woman goes out at night, she must carry a knife (like Ambon). An expectant father may not make bamboo water holders. Neither parent may work at the graves or go to funerals

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771 conservative, but not fanatic. Cornelius[1] says that they do not analyze the situation by thinking of what good things Catholicism has brought. Opposition is in the form of criticism, not in terms of a balance of good and bad. Just about all education is in the hands of the mission, although schools are paid for mainly by the government. Even in Mohammedan Reo, I found, the schools are mission run.

[871] [797] [658]

The people here do not debate very much about religious matters, but they do criticize the Catholic opposition to polygyny and feasts. There are no real debates or discussions, however, not even within families.

[521]

In regard to other religions, they know only Catholicism. All they know about Mohammedanism is that they eat no pork and are allowed four wives. There is no knowledge of other cults.

[829]

764 Formerly, in disposing of the dead, a mat was used, not a coffin. Today boxes are used everywhere. The big change in funeral rites has been the addition of Catholic rites, but the old ones are carried out too, as in the case of the wedding. When someone dies, everyone howls, and this includes men and women. Then two or three children carry a spear around the area, telling who has died. A few people from each house come to the house of the dead. They place the dead on a mat, on the floor, with the head toward the door. A cloth is placed over the whole body including the face. Thus the body remains on the floor for one day. A coffin is made. The dead is dressed in fine clothes. A few carefully saved silver coins are usually put in the mouth of the dead.

[178]

At the cemetery a man hits the ground five times with a stick before the grave is dug. When the grave is ready, they bring the coffin and bury the body. The reason for hitting the ground five times is in hope that in this way

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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●764 they will encounter no big stones while digging, as this is a sign that more people will die. After the burial they return to the house and [888] pray. If the person who died was old or a big [554] man, they kill a buffalo. If the person was of lesser status, they kill only a pig or a fowl. Three days later, if the person who died was old or was a big man, they may kill two or three horses or buffaloes and eat them. At the same time, if the person was of lesser status, they will kill a pig or fowl.

[766] Clothes are placed on the grave of a person who dies a violent death. (See Coolhaas.)[1]

The local Catholics go through the same rites, except that they add on the church service.

[178] The big feasts for the dead dalu mentioned by Coolhaas[1] are no longer held. On such occasions they might wait quite a while. They killed up to perhaps ten buffaloes.

769 There is a very close relation between the ancestors and the death cult. The dead are always invited to feasts. There are no tombs, but the ancestor cult is strong.

[574] Note: The whip duels are held at all big
526 feasts: New Year, harvest, illness, exorcism,
524 wedding, but not at the funeral.

All local recreation is native: tjatjih (whip duelling), tug of war, rope jumping (1), children's games like tag and hide and seek (he says they are the "hunter and hunted"), the bam- [535] boo jumping dance (tekarulu). The dances are: sanda (round), sae (group and solo), danding (round). They play the rattan football (raga) and soccer.

526 The most loved of all is tjatjih. Cornelius says that to the best of his knowledge he has never known of any man being actually blinded, because the superorbitals protect the eyes. However, plenty of people get bad scars on their

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Wae

000 for tolerance!

764 178 At death, different rites are given according to the age of the deceased. Formerly, children were just buried, fast. Today they are also buried, but after a Catholic funeral service. Before and now, among all groups, after four days a beast is killed and the house is cleaned up. After eight days they wash the hair and bathe (does this mean that they do not wash until then?) and throw all the dirt into the river. Anyway, they buried and still bury after one day.

The same treatment is given for a person of middle age or a mere adult. If the person is very old, more rites are held. The blake (means mother's brother, but also all affinal relations) must bring tusks, goats, pigs. Until these are brought, there is no burial. Formerly, the body would be kept until it began to smell. Evidently, this was a kind of shaming. But if it got too smelly, it was buried (and evidently they still bury under these conditions) finally even though no gifts came from the blake. For an old person, a little house would be built on the grave. I gather that the government will not [656] let them keep the bodies any more, so probably this practice is no longer kept up even by the pagans. Thus it seems that they have sanitary laws which have changed the death cult and rites over all Indonesia.

● 765 In the old days, after four days an animal was killed, and after eight days they had the wash up, cleaning of the hair, and the throwing of the dirt into the river. (This is clearly a rite to rid the community of the stain of death.)

764 178 656 And here it is, as I see it. Yes, he says the government now forces them to bury within a day. But until now, for an old person it was proper for the blake to bring a tusk and beasts.

R

778 They agreed that Ndoeria had rebuilt many rumah pemali. I must go there sometime.

574 Back in Roworeke, the kapitan gave us sweet soft drinks and port wine (Chinese). Then he put 291 on his adat dress, including a batik headcloth 386 which was winged in front, and a fine ikat slen- [287] dang, and a woven sarong. There seems to be no more tapa around here. The colors of the woven and ikat stuff are dark, including blue, black, and dull red. They are not very attractive, and the cloth is quite heavy. I saw women with baskets full of leafy stuff (small leaves) and I asked what was inside. They said tarum [indigo] and that it is used to make the blue and black dye. Thus they still use locally made dyes, but in Roworeke the red dye is bought in a store.

126 I took a picture of the kapitan and his wife and family including the fine type old mother. 621 We then started on a tour of the kampong. We went first across the road to Watu Roga. It is small and evidently most of the Wanda suku are. 342 There is one large house, but most of the others 178 are rather small. They are not of the high pitched roof type. I was told that before the war there were more of the old high roof type, but the Japanese leveled many of them to make the people move into the hills as they said the population was too dense near the town. I can't quite get the point, but new houses tend to be low, four sloped roofed, rather long and squat in type, but still look primitive because of the alang-alang thatched roof and many with the coconut leaf midrib walls. The walls, however, are usually low or invisible because they are under the low-hanging roof. Hence they are hooded.

349 In Watu Roga there is a high concrete struc- 769 ture looking something like a watchtower with 614 steps leading up. It has a four-sloped tin roof. ●766 There is a low wall around a small rectangular space under the roof. The flooring is of tile,

349 and in the corner is a long wooden drum used in
769 certain ceremonies. Most amazing, however, is
614 a box under the roof and set on planks across
766 beams. This box is covered with old ikat clothes
and measures about 3x2x2 feet. In it are the
bones of the great ancestor of the Wanda suku.
The kapitan said they are "hundreds of years"
old. When they have a suku feast, hundreds of
people come here and kill buffaloes and dance and
sing and pray, asking the ancestors for favors.
They do not call them but call on them. All a-
764 round are the stone heap and slab graves of
lesser folk. Bodies put in them are bound in the
knee-to-chest posture. They often are too small
to allow lying down anyway. I was told that many
are placed in one cist, and new bodies are put in
by lifting the slab and moving the old bones over.

286 I saw a back-bar loom and two women spinning
126 on primitive wheels from cotton fluff. It is im-
181 pressive and the threads they make are good.
One old and one young woman were so employed. I
started to take a photograph of the old one and
a young lady came up and said that she was his
mother and that if I took a photograph of her I
had to give him one too. I closed the camera and
went away. These are the least agreeable folk I
have met yet in Indonesia. Still there are plenty
of fine people here. Nevertheless, they are not
uniformly polite as, for example, are most of the
Buginese.

181 We then got out of Watu Roga, leaving discon-
126 tent, it seemed, as we had taken photographs but
given none to the people as we had done across
the road in Roworeke. I get the impression that
the Watu Roga folk are a bit antagonistic possibly
to the people in Roworeke. I also suspect that
these Ende people are aggressive and competitive
and grasping anyway.

621 Then we went around the sections of Roworeke.
These are, so far as I can get them up to now:
[i.e., Watu Roga.—Analyst]

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621 Nuamere (the kapitan's house is located here), Pudjambu, Aibod, Aiutu, Roworeke proper (the original kampong after they moved down from the negri lama), Kopoëdo (all Tibo suku, and small), and Wolomere. Thus there are seven. To the south, below Aiutu and Wolomere, is an open land stretching out toward Ende, on which various mixed folk have settled sparsely. The Roworeke [778] sections run up hill gradually from the road to the west, and the negri lama is located high above. All are on the west side of the road except the far south Wolomere, where the secretary lives. Wolomere is on the Watu Roga side of the road. There is an offshoot of Watu Roga on the Roworeke side. This is Paudari, and most, if not all, here are of the Wanda suku.

764 In Nuamere there is one high-roofed house, near the kapitan's. And here is a large concrete tomb set high above the houses. In the upper part, and alone, is the body of the kapitan who died in 1939. In the large lower part are tens of bodies of the Odja suku. When a new body is to be put in, an earthen section is dug up, which exposes an opening in the concrete tomb. The bones are pushed back and the body placed in and the earth replaced (are these bound in the knee-to-chest position?). There are many other rougher stone tombs which the kapitan said contain tens of bodies also. They do not know how many are contained in some of them as they are so old and have been used for so long.

621 Then we went to Pudjambu, the next place, and
766 it is like a small separate kampong by itself.
349 Then we went to another, rather farther off and
769 up on the rising stone-faced levels. It was fine.
614 This was the Roworeke proper, the ancestral kampong whence all others spread after moving down from the negri lama. It is a very fine place and I took a photograph. Here there is a high-set roofed tower like the Wanda one, and on planks

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349 set on the rafters a similar chest with bones of
766 the old ancestor of the Odja suku. I was told
769 that this has been there for hundreds of years,
614 but then it was reckoned that it had been there
621 for at least seven generations. It too was covered with ikat clothing. There was no drum in this one. They said that when the ancestor suku feast is held, hundreds of people gather here and buffaloes are killed, as was true in the other place. All around are many other stone cist tombs, all graves of descendants of the big
342 Odja. There are some high houses here, but most of them are lower in construction.

286 In Padjambu we saw many women spinning and weaving. One girl was pressing cotton fluff on a primitive wooden wringer arrangement in order to flatten it before spinning. It looked just like an old-fashioned clothes wringer. We saw an old woman preparing the loom threads in the first stage of ikat work. The white threads were wrapped with fiber windings. We saw several ikat sarongs, all of which were heavy and dull in
[435] color. The kapitan said that I could buy one for
[181] fl. 150.00 and another for fl. 250.00. This again shows the grasping character of these folk.

123 I forgot to say that the kapitan wants to go to Larantuka with us. I refused to let him go along. Also, at the Odja ancestral bone bundle tower an old mother said we had to leave an offering. We left some cigarettes. Perhaps they wanted money.

286 These ikat things are all over. I don't like
386 them very much, but they are genuine. The cotton
531 is grown locally and is pressed and spun. The dyes are blue and black and are made from indigo leaves. The ikat work is done with ties of fiber.
[438] Indeed, the only trade material used here is the red dye they buy in the stores. They also weave regular cloth, but the colors are always dull. The designs are small and indecisive.

578 wars. There is no more head-hunting (but the
721 priest in the mission thinks it still goes on secretly, especially for the main post of a new korke).

53 The arts here are poor in all ways.

583 The bride price must be paid, but ambil anak
611 can occur. In the latter case a daughter or
237 daughters are given to the family in place of the
[556] price. This is especially true for the poor. Elephant tusks are needed for things such as the bride price, but this is evidently mainly for the uppers. And Krol said that nowadays, when the tusks have become rare, they often merely make the transfer in their heads, talking all night, and never actually transferring the real tusks from one family to another. It is a kind of clearing-house procedure. The tusks may be "transferred" up to twenty times in their heads, and they balance out in the end. Thus there is no real cost. It is a matter of delayed payment and really works out to a system of woman exchange between families. The tusk transfer is fictional. Thus A will "pay" tusks to B for a girl, and B will "pay" these to C for a girl, and C will "pay" them to A for a girl, and so on. The tusks, however, may even be non-existent in a particular case, and since they balance out in the end, no one really pays.

764 I was told that they used to put the bodies of
●766 the war dead (I think) in trees before burial. Newborn children were buried in the kampong in front of the house. Cemeteries here were evidently placed outside the kampong.

124 We will return to Leloba tomorrow and try to
621 get the assistant matter straightened out. It
578 is notable that the guru said he is more comfortable working in an outside kampong. If the kakang gives the order the people must cooperate. This shows that the kampongs here are fiercely separatistic and only the upper government controls this atomism.

Wac

764 If the people were very poor (or evidently for
178 some other reason) they may not bring them.
[656] Thus there has not been much change except for the fast burial now enforced in all cases.

One can see a change in that the Catholics have church rites as well as pagan. And another change is that whereas even now all pagan bodies are merely wound up in mats, Catholic bodies are put in a coffin. Formerly, very
●766 famous men and stillborn children were buried near the house. Other people were buried outside the kampong (something like Limbo!).

764 Another thing is that if an old person dies, one must guard his sleeping mat (evidently all
769 of this applies to old women too) for four days. Food for the soul and a lit lamp are placed beside the body. The ghost comes and eats. It can be seen whether or not the ghost is happy if the food has been neatly eaten. If the food is left messy, it shows that the dead one is not happy. The pagans still do all of this, and sometimes the Catholics do too.

764 There are no tombs here, and there were none in the past. They have graves. There are stone markers placed on the graves.

53 All forms of entertainment are local. They are particularly fond of singing. They also dance, and there are many kinds of songs using a complement of such instruments as drums, flutes and gongs. There are no viols. He stresses that they love singing.

526 Soccer is a new game here but it is very much
524 liked. They also have raga, the rattan ball kick game. This is also new here, Roy says. They do not play cards, dice, etc. They have a kind of fruit-pits-in-holes game.

53 There is no sculpture here. A little carving is done (on the korke, barns, and they used to have images in the korke). There is no painting.
536 There is no drama (but he sees the point that

We

763 There was a death in Veol, and from the hill there came the sound of weeping and howling. I asked if someone had died recently, and he said after listening that the person had died this morning. He could tell by listening, so it seems that there are evidently stages of howling. The next day there was no drumming in the kampong, because of the death, and evidently the dead takes precedence over wood.

186 Everywhere in Indonesia now, as this morning from the school, one can hear Indonesia Raja sung. They all know that it was taboo before.

342 I saw the Radja's house in Ruteng today. It is a complex of three round houses, with one big one in the center. Of course, it was made of fine wood, which was about octangular, but the roof was made of grass thatch. It was impressive.

766 The Radja's daughter of about ten years of age died today, and there was a constant coming and going of cars, police jeep and others, bringing the local kraeng to Ruteng. I took one of the kraeng along at noon. I also took 515 a lot of others, and the smell was strong in the car. I think they never bathe. The pretty head guru's wife got sick, and also one child. They vomited because of carsickness.

194 The mandur said the Ngada can never get over their accent, which is full of gutturals. It is like Dutch. I heard this in the Radja's Malay in Badjawa. The guttural g is here a bit too, as noted in the place name Ndeges, with the g pronounced as in Dutch.

756 683 The assistant agrees that several mbako were jailed from time to time. The charge has been magic murder, but they can't get a conviction because they have no "witnesses." Still, this is a big reason why they no longer tell outsiders who the mbako are.

In regard to the radja and the land matter,

We

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526 feasts: New Year, harvest, illness, exorcism,
524 wedding, but not at the funeral.

All local recreation is native: tjatjih (whip duelling), tug of war, rope jumping (!), children's games like tag and hide and seek (he says they are the "hunter and hunted"), the bam-
[535] boo jumping dance (tekarulu). The dances are: sanda (round), sae (group and solo), danding (round). They play the rattan football (raga) and soccer.

526 The most loved of all is tjatjih. Cornelius says that to the best of his knowledge he has never known of any man being actually blinded, because the superorbitals protect the eyes. However, plenty of people get bad scars on their

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Wac

582 people married earlier, because they got their
291 clothes earlier. Cornelius' says that until
178 about twenty-five years ago you could see quite old and young people going about naked. He remembers this. They do not like too young marriages (!). Also, they do not like them if the partners are too old.

[561] There are no age grades.

614 The Veol clan is very large, but there are clans which are even larger. Not a single clan has ever become extinct. However, some panga have. There is one such panga in Veol.

562 Formerly, the position of women was really
178 low, like that of slaves. Now they are a little
584 higher. Today there is a beginning in the direction of freer choice in marriage. Formerly all marriages were arranged by the elders.

611 The system here is all patrilineal, and there have been no changes.

162 In 1930, Cornelius' says, there were five thousand extra women in all Manggarai. I will check the records for the ratio.

587 The levirate obtains if there is a widow. If
768 there is no brother, her family must take her back, and pay one horse. The children stay with the dead father's family. If the levirate goes through, the man pays one horse.

[583] If a widow remarries to a man other than the brother of her deceased husband, the price must be paid to the family of the dead husband, and the "bonds" are "broken." The sororate is not required. The bride price is required in the case of a sororate. It is quite usual, because the sister of the deceased is accustomed to the widower and his children. The children of course stay with the father's family always.

586 There is not much divorce, but it did occur and still does.

[587] The main cause of divorce is discord, not barrenness, as in this case a man simply gets another wife.

' [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

614 are somewhat moved around, however, and are even scattered, so that one may find parts of a suku in entirely different areas. I must check on this.

624 As for the four adat chiefs, aside from the mosa laki mere, who sits in the center when judging, the giri tumba (whose name means "spear running around") stands or sits to the right of the mosa laki mere. The ndeto au, who is an [791] expert on making adat stuff which I judge to be ordeal material or magical divining, sits or stands to the left of the mosa laki mere. The sike sani acts as a watchman or policeman. I must get the full account of the functions of these men.

701 Then I asked if they had had war leaders formerly and they said yes. They are called "brave men" or atambani (ata-m-bani or orang brani). They said that they were fierce and feared.

793 Then I asked about the priests, and they said
789 that they still have plenty of them. They are called bisa mari. I got the usual story of how
171 they prove their powers of second sight, and it sounded just like the Ambonese talking about guna-guna. These priests are not hereditary, and never were, but the sons usually learn their lore from their fathers.

648 There is much talk here about war with the
175 Dutch and I am told that there were uprisings all over Flores in the year 1907. I was also told of the stern methods of suppression used in those times and how afterwards there was wholesale jailing of the Florenese. They seem to have lost their nerve then and today they no longer rebel.

773 I asked about the old myths concerned with
769 ancestors. The Kapitan Gunung Rodja, who is descended from Djari Djawa, the Madjapahit man who came here on a whale, told a different version

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773 from van Suchtelen,[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst] but in general the same ele-
769 ments were present. However, he said, for example, that the girl was not really in the form of a lontar leaf but rather that she came wrapped in a leaf. He also said that Toni, one of the sisters, had no children; and Soru, the other, after having a child in Sikka who produced the ancestors of the radjas there, came to Ende and had children there who became the ancestors of the Ende radjas. Her Sikka husband was killed in Timor, and his name, Djau, was given to her Ende son. Thus from the start Ende and Sikka radjas have a common female ancestor. I can see that the myths here have many versions. The Java-Madjapahit stuff is definitely there. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja was quite enthusiastic in telling about these myths, and it always seemed that his ancestors figured largely.

778 I asked if they have a negri lama here, and
361 they at once pointed to the high hills behind both kampongs and said that they are located there. And on them, as in Ambon, are the batu pemali! The Dutch forced them to move to the lowlands as they did in Ambon. Evidently they go to these places from time to time, and I must find out if feasts are linked with them. They
[578] said there is no real open conflict between the new and the old religions.

535 They said that there are still plenty of the old dances and old adat costumes here. They will put on this ceremonial dress for photographing later.

764 I asked about funerals and they said that the
565 nobles used to be cocooned on a tree branch (not on the trunk, as Körner[2] says for Rea Ndona) until they rotted. Then there was a great feast with
(231) the killing of many buffalo, and the bones and skulls of the deceased were taken and cleaned and put in a chest which was then put in the slab-
[177] covered cist tombs. The Dutch forbade the tree burial as unhygienic.

2 [See p. 21 of Körner & p. 189 of Elbert as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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778 They agreed that Ndoeria had rebuilt many rumah pemali. I must go there sometime.

574 Back in Roworeke, the kapitan gave us sweet soft drinks and port wine (Chinese). Then he put 291 on his adat dress, including a batik headcloth 386 which was winged in front, and a fine ikat slen- [287] dang, and a woven sarong. There seems to be no more tapa around here. The colors of the woven and ikat stuff are dark, including blue, black, and dull red. They are not very attractive, and the cloth is quite heavy. I saw women with baskets full of leafy stuff (small leaves) and I asked what was inside. They said tarum [indigo] and that it is used to make the blue and black dye. Thus they still use locally made dyes, but in Roworeke the red dye is bought in a store.

126 I took a picture of the kapitan and his wife and family including the fine type old mother. 621 We then started on a tour of the kampong. We went first across the road to Watu Roga. It is small and evidently most of the Wanda suku are. 342 There is one large house, but most of the others 178 are rather small. They are not of the high pitched roof type. I was told that before the war there were more of the old high roof type, but the Japanese leveled many of them to make the people move into the hills as they said the population was too dense near the town. I can't quite get the point, but new houses tend to be low, four sloped roofed, rather long and squat in type, but still look primitive because of the alang-alang thatched roof and many with the coconut leaf midrib walls. The walls, however, are usually low or invisible because they are under the low-hanging roof. Hence they are hooded.

349 In Watu Roga there is a high concrete struc- ● 769 ture looking something like a watchtower with 614 steps leading up. It has a four-sloped tin roof. 766 There is a low wall around a small rectangular space under the roof. The flooring is of tile,

349 and in the corner is a long wooden drum used in
●769 certain ceremonies. Most amazing, however, is
614 a box under the roof and set on planks across
766 beams. This box is covered with old ikat clothes and measures about 3x2x2 feet. In it are the bones of the great ancestor of the Wanda suku. The kapitan said they are "hundreds of years" old. When they have a suku feast, hundreds of people come here and kill buffaloes and dance and sing and pray, asking the ancestors for favors. They do not call them but call on them. All a-
764 round! are the stone heap and slab graves of lesser folk. Bodies put in them are bound in the knee-to-chest posture. They often are too small to allow lying down anyway. I was told that many are placed in one cist, and new bodies are put in by lifting the slab and moving the old bones over.

286 I saw a back-bar loom and two women spinning
126 on primitive wheels from cotton fluff. It is im-
181 pressive and the threads they make are good. One old and one young woman were so employed. I started to take a photograph of the old one and a young lady came up and said that she was his mother and that if I took a photograph of her I had to give him one too. I closed the camera and went away. These are the least agreeable folk I have met yet in Indonesia. Still there are plenty of fine people here. Nevertheless, they are not uniformly polite as, for example, are most of the Buginese.

181 We then got out of Watu Roga, leaving discon-
126 tent, it seemed, as we had taken photographs but given none to the people as we had done across the road in Roworeke. I get the impression that the Watu Roga folk are a bit antagonistic possibly to the people in Roworeke. I also suspect that these Ende people are aggressive and competitive and grasping anyway.

621 Then we went around the sections of Roworeke. These are, so far as I can get them up to now:

! [i.e., Watu Roga.—Analyst]

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621 Nuamere (the kapitan's house is located here), Pudjambu, Aibod, Aiutu, Roworeke proper (the original kampong after they moved down from the negri lama), Kopodo (all Tibo suku, and small), and Wolomere. Thus there are seven. To the south, below Aiutu and Wolomere, is an open land stretching out toward Ende, on which various mixed folk have settled sparsely. The Roworeke [778] sections run up hill gradually from the road to the west, and the negri lama is located high above. All are on the west side of the road except the far south Wolomere, where the secretary lives. Wolomere is on the Watu Roga side of the road. There is an offshoot of Watu Roga on the Roworeke side. This is Paudari, and most, if not all, here are of the Wanda suku.

764 In Nuamere there is one high-roofed house, near the kapitan's. And here is a large concrete tomb set high above the houses. In the upper part, and alone, is the body of the kapitan who died in 1939. In the large lower part are tens of bodies of the Odja suku. When a new body is to be put in, an earthen section is dug up, which exposes an opening in the concrete tomb. The bones are pushed back and the body placed in and the earth replaced (are these bound in the knee-to-chest position?). There are many other rougher stone tombs which the kapitan said contain tens of bodies also. They do not know how many are contained in some of them as they are so old and have been used for so long.

621 Then we went to Pudjambu, the next place, and
766 it is like a small separate kampong by itself.
349 Then we went to another, rather farther off and
769 up on the rising stone-faced levels. It was fine.
614 This was the Roworeke proper, the ancestral kampong whence all others spread after moving down from the negri lama. It is a very fine place and I took a photograph. Here there is a high-set roofed tower like the Wanda one, and on planks

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349 set on the rafters a similar chest with bones of
766 the old ancestor of the Odja suku. I was told
●769 that this has been there for hundreds of years,
614 but then it was reckoned that it had been there
621 for at least seven generations. It too was
covered with ikat clothing. There was no drum
in this one. They said that when the ancestor
suku feast is held, hundreds of people gather
here and buffaloes are killed, as was true in
the other place. All around are many other stone
cist tombs, all graves of descendants of the big
342 Odja. There are some high houses here, but most
of them are lower in construction.

286 In Padjambu we saw many women spinning and
weaving. One girl was pressing cotton fluff on
a primitive wooden wringer arrangement in order
to flatten it before spinning. It looked just
like an old-fashioned clothes wringer. We saw
an old woman preparing the loom threads in the
first stage of ikat work. The white threads were
wrapped with fiber windings. We saw several ikat
sarongs, all of which were heavy and dull in
[435] color. The kapitan said that I could buy one for
[181] fl. 150.00 and another for fl. 250.00. This
again shows the grasping character of these folk.

123 I forgot to say that the kapitan wants to go
to Larantuka with us. I refused to let him go
along. Also, at the Odja ancestral bone bundle
tower an old mother said we had to leave an offer-
ing. We left some cigarettes. Perhaps they
wanted money.

286 These ikat things are all over. I don't like
386 them very much, but they are genuine. The cotton
531 is grown locally and is pressed and spun. The
dyes are blue and black and are made from indigo
leaves. The ikat work is done with ties of fiber.
[438] Indeed, the only trade material used here is the
red dye they buy in the stores. They also weave
regular cloth, but the colors are always dull.
The designs are small and indecisive.

We

778 must give them respect and why the folk are scared
789 not to obey them. (Thus it is like the aradjang
171 in South Celebes.)

789 The guru really got going on magic power. He
721 said that they call on magic power especially
778 when they are going to war (and right now too).
769 If, for example, Wailolong were going to war tomorrow with Riang Kamiß as they did only some fifteen years ago, the respective radja tuan, kelake, and maybe even the molang would get to work the night before doing the magic stuff. Among the other things they would call on the ancestors for magic power and also go through the betel rubbing on face, bodies, etc. They would also kill animals and use gin, because blood and alcohol have power. Then, on the next morning, they would be full of magical power and would go to war. All the men would come to the "big houses" to be "treated."

778 These "big houses" of the suku and ama also
614 have sacred objects, including tusks, plates,
237 etc.

422 These tusks, all of them, are ama property.
583 If any member gains possession of one, he places it in the big house of his ama. Any man in need of some tusks for a bride price may take them. If the tusks of the ama are exhausted, he may draw on the tusks of the suku. Thus Kassi, who Vatter said had no tusks of his own, could not use any tusks because his ama no longer had any. He happened to be a member of the Hurint suku, and the guru, the kepala suku, gave him some finally from the suku store and thus he was able to get married.

583 The minimum price for any girl is five units
237 of tusks (I think this is a matter of length, that is, the small and large are reckoned up). One may pay more without limitation. It is not a matter of beauty.

584 Child betrothal is common here, but this is
184

Wa. The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof,
are easier to keep clean and are better in
general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the
kampong, and even fewer move out of or into
the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration
from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas
beyond Larantuka.

20 The kakang has the only telephone here.
There is no telegraph. There is no mail ser-
vice. There is no postman. The priest has a
battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië.
Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not
Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to
change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few
people have much knowledge about the world.
This is really the lowest place I have been in
yet. Most of the people are strongly attached
to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is
very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong
is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they
had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at
war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an
enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

487 of dirty, mixed kampongs, and then went up along
the cliffs over the sea to Nangapanda. Then
the road headed into the mountains, and after
[361] a long stretch which appeared to be practically
uninhabited (as usual between the coast and
mountain folk, here as in the Toradja country),
and finally we arrived in Badjawa. Before we
797 reached Badjawa we saw a large mission station
at Todabelu, where there were many modern
buildings, a seminary, and a model farm as well
as a trade school. All of these were notably
advanced over anything else we have seen in
Flores. As usual, it is connected with the
526 mission. In Badjawa there was a great crowd
for the day, and football games were held.
These are the great sport all over Indonesia
now, and it is coming even into the remote kam-
pongs. It is the national sport [i.e., soccer].

We saw here the dirty but spirited Ngada,
291 with dull clothes. The adat dress, however, is
striking, especially that of the men. It con-
sists of a dark blue cloak and a red headcloth.
304 We also noted that a lot of the people had filed
teeth, and in addition many had blackened them.
Earboring is a general practice here, but as
usual the younger men may have the holes but no
rings. (For example, the assistant in Roworeke
is like this and so is the younger guru in Le-
[771] loba.) This is a pretty primitive looking lot,
although most of them are Christian.

361 The Ngada kampongs are hard to see as they
342 are nearly all behind bamboo thickets. Ngada
houses are rectangular with low hanging hooded
roofs. They are built on piles definitely,
unlike Ende (or at least most of the houses in
[778] Ende) and Larantuka. In these kampongs there
are not many stones that I could see, but as
769 yet I have not seen a kampong fully. Notable
346 are the inverted pyramid-like ancestor houses
built on a single post. They are called nadu

769 or ngadu. These and the bhaga, which I could
346 not see clearly but which are evidently merely minature rectangular houses for female ancestors, are notable features in just about all of the Ngada kampongs. Arndt[1] says the bhaga are empty, but I wonder. These two sorts of structures are erected by the prosperous folk to show respect and honor to their dead ancestors. Each one is given the name of the ancestor. Evidently, a person may build one for himself.

They are always built in pairs, one male and one female.

159 The very fat Radja of Ngada came to the
634 pasanggrahan in a uniform with shoulder epau-
224 lets, four stripes, and above this a cluster
[292] looking like a sunburst. The uniform was white and not unlike that of a KPM captain. He can't write, and is still a pagan, but he says that his children are Christian. He is very jolly and although tolerant I can see that he thinks little of the missions. He also criticized the forced labor which the Dutch demanded for road work when he was young. He said that anyone who wouldn't follow orders, including the radjas, was jailed or deposed. He is the man who joked about the Dutch and the "modern" Florenese. He never does much in administration,
[595] but likes to hunt and has many wives. He told us that he has many children and grandchildren. He gets in trouble with the government for burning the vegetation in deer hunts. He said it is necessary to kill deer as otherwise they would hurt the gardens. This land has practi-
311 cally no trees on it, but consists mostly of
[137] [133] rolling naked hills as a result of overburning.
[224] Maybe the priest was right who said that he thought they were a hunting folk before and in those days they burned off the whole area in
[241] deer drives. Now they burn off the vegetable

[1] [See pp. 366-69 of Arndt as cited in bibliography, Cat. 113 -- Analyst]

000 only technical changes have occurred here.

592 I noted that as we were walking out of Weol, and I asked the priest how many families there were per house, he asked a man and the fellow said there were five in one of the big round houses nearby. Another man rebuked him and said no, there were only three in it. The priest said this is because the government has the law that only three families may live in a house, for health reasons. However, the folk secretly manage to have more. The first man was giving the folk away.

541 697 I forgot to say that at the whip fights (main tjatjih)[1] there was a band of extra gay fellows who did a lot of the sideline chanting and chorusing. They had red and white banners and at one time when we were taking photographs they came dancing en masse and singing across the field like a slow moving army. At 5 P.M. they raised the banners, singing lustily, and marched off. I asked who they were, and the Radja said that they were the prisoners of the jail, who had been given the day free, and that they were now marching back to jail!

463 462 231 The assistant says that all or nearly all men in Weol are farmers. Some, but very few, have specialist skills, but even those farm too. Not one woman has any other job than that of helping in the fields and making mats or weaving in her spare time. Nearly every man has a few to many horses, and some have other animals.

354 A bad feature of the old houses is the smoke from the fire which coats everything with soot and makes for additional darkness, but on the good side is the warmth which comes with the smoke.

769 718 342 173 614 Theory on reading Coolhaas:[2] The Ngada nadu which is for the male ancestors is a small replica of the conical houses of Manggarai. The small bhaga houses of the female houses are

[1] [See pp. 91-92, cat. 116 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

769 rectangular. Now, Coolhaas[1] says that in Mang-
778 garai there are two native forms, and he gives
342 the native terms. One is conical and the other
173 rectangular, or perhaps a bit oval in shape.
614 However, the latter is not related to the for-
mer. There are areas of the one and the other,
and evidently some areas have both. Now, the
conical ones seem older, and on any surmise be-
cause round houses are simply older in Indonesia.
Note then, that Ngada legends say that Djawa had
seven daughters who became the ancestral mothers
of the seven main voi. And they married men of
the land, aborigines, here. The men are the
[174] ancestral fathers of the bhou. Could it be that
the conical male ancestor houses reflect the
patrilineal aboriginal culture and the popula-
tion stratum which lived in round houses, and
the rectangular bhaga represent the incoming,
matrilineal population and culture? If so, this
says much about the double descent of Ngada, the
peculiar legend, and the strange double ancestor
houses. Now I think I know why there are those
amazing conical male ancestor posts in Ngada.

173 The legends of Minangkabau immigration may
611 be foolish, and the priest says he thinks it is
342 built up more recently, by the younger folk who
563 hear a name of an ancestor who came in and it
sounds like "Minangkabau." But the surface evi-
dence looks as though Manggarai and Ngada are a
mixture of aborigines and immigrants. And there
are also many evidences of double descent. I
remember now that the priests talk much of en-
claves of "autochthonous" folk in East Manggarai
and East Nageh. They say that the people in these
places are neither Manggarai nor Nageh. The
Nageh enclave is originally from Soa, says Mom-
mersteeg. I wish I knew whether these enclaves
were patrilineal. Anyway, I doubt that they were
unmixed. This may be a pretty good theory and
may explain the umbrella houses.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

784 There is definite totemism here though some
614 clans have no taboos or totem ancestors. But
611 it is the usual thing. Weol may not use one
769 kind of bamboo, because the ancestors were born
562 of this bamboo. Pau may not eat a certain kind of monkey, as the ancestors were linked (this is the assistant's va'u). Women marrying out of the va'u may eat the totem of their own clan but must go through a special rite. Men may never give up the totem taboos, even if they live in an ambil anak arrangement.

574 The next day we went to Weol and up to the
273 kampong with the assistant. We brought native
276 tobacco and gin which we had bought for fl. 2.00
123 in Ruteng. As we entered the kampong, on the right we noted the house of the kepala kampong. Next to it is that of the tuan tanah, where we sat on the front porch. Both of these houses are of the new style, but are sooty because there are no chimneys. The children carried two chairs up from Tjantjar for us and later brought a table from the school. However, the assistant and the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong sat on a mat on the floor. Others were in the background. On the rise in front was a great crowd. We gave gin and tobacco to the old people and
[262] were later served first coffee and then two hard boiled eggs. Others got no eggs. The eggs came by chain-passing from the next kampong, Ndung. Evidently eggs are something special. The old tuan tanah knows everything, and his brother the kepala kampong is old and smart too. The kepala of the third panga of Weol kampong sat in the rear. He too is old.

632 The daluschap Rahong is one of the thirty-
621 nine in Manggarai. The dalu are of Bima origin, or at least this is true of most of them. There are thirty-three kampongs in Rahong. The tuan tanah knows all of them, including the constellations. They are as follows:

We

241 five times. Then two men imitate mice and run
782 around, while others pelt them with clods of
231 earth. This part is called mburu pusu. After
624 this weeding can be done.

527 (4) Tege rego, when the crops are ripening. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok five times. (The tuan tanah always leads the procession of the people who have shares in the garden being rited.)

(5) Tjepa, just before the harvest. Each family concerned gives a pig, rice, etc. If the garden is a lingko randang, a buffalo must be sacrificed. The animals are assembled in the kampong, and the crowd, with one of the pigs, goes to the garden. Each one plucks a stalk and a hair. The pig is killed. Then they go back to the kampong and go around the "adat house" five times and then go inside to dance. Then all the other beasts are killed and the
[195] whipping starts. While harvesting, special words are used for animals and aliens.

776 At all feasts the poti empo are called and
●769 the setan are chased. Therefore, the dead are never buried far from the kampong, and perhaps inside the kampong. Thus it is easier to call them. They live at their graves.

124 We talked with the assistant Sunday and then
[524] took him home. (We discovered in Ende later that the bamboo clapping game is also practiced there.) Then we set out for Badjawa, which we reached in the evening. The next morning a lad named Alfons appeared and said that the Radja Kedua had told him to show us the Soa area when we were in Badjawa. He is the former guru agama [religious teacher] and had taught Malay and Ngada to many priests. He is good looking and intelligent and wears leather puttees.

361 Then we went to Soa, but first stopped at a
621 spectacular kampong named Lekedjere, on the side
614 road to Soa. It is pure Ngada, really a double

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
614 living on the level of the road and the other
621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo.
[211] At the road border of the kampong a bit in from the road, standing against the skyline, is a row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe heads. They are thin and tall. They are set on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
[417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical of all kampongs in this region, so that the kampong itself is located down in a stone wall enclosure.

346 Below the first row of stone pillars there
769 is another with just as many stones. It is also set on a mound. Just below this stands the
531 umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on one side there is a living tree with Y-branches at the fork. Stones are heaped around the ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet high, and consists of a single pillar with thatched cap. The pillar is made of hebuh wood and is carved in fancy designs which are hard to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were made of white shell). Looking under the cap I could see that the pillar forks were in the shape of a U, and so it is really about the same as the Nageh peo, but less clearly Y-shaped and covered with a cap.

342 To either side of the plaza, which was of
361 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small and had rather low roofs. These houses are set on piles. On one side was the house of the
624 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
769 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
346 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
565 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
554 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in
574

624
565 order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase
554 his fame. However, a common man cannot do this.
769 Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions.
346
574 Also, buffalo sacrifices are needed for putting
[782] a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger" mori ndaru who lives on the other side of the plaza. This has some relation to the elder and younger brother stuff mentioned in the manuscript report on Soa by a priest. Mommersteeg[1]
342 has lent me this report. The mori ndaru house
624 has a wood post in front, on either side be-
532 side the steps. They are rather thin and low and are carved in a human form. This is known as the ata deo, or rather these are the ata deo.

342 Also, beside the door of the house and on the
531 porch are two richly carved wooden rectangles measuring about 3x2 feet. This looks like the
[171] Balinese stuff and consists mainly of scrolls so far as I could see.

237 Not only on the houses of the mori ndaru
342 but also on others, we noted many lower jaws of
531 pigs, wild pigs with tusks, deer horns, and buffalo horns. These are partly ranged along a rack under the roof eaves and partly, especially true of the buffalo horns, stuck in beside the wall of the porch. We later found out that the ata deo may be used by others than the mori ndaru, but evidently the carved wood slabs are only for him. I saw some especially elaborate lower jaw carvings on a barn in Brova.

346 In the lower kampong, Lodo, which has a low
231 stone wall between it and Naru, there is the
[624] house of the mori ndaru (thus each suku, voi, has a mori ndaru, and there may be more than one per kampong) and the rest of the things just mentioned. The ndaru there, however, has a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had been no renewal they said that they would do so, but they would have to get the buffalo first.

[1] [pastor at Soa --Analyst]

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a
●769 female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a
237 simple rectangular small house inside of which
224 are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this.
[171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is
614 easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended
776 from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him
784 about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh
124 tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must
824 have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read
769 that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 When there is a sacrifice they must always
346 smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the
531 mori ndaru, and any other house which has the
342 elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo
[789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 When I asked about marriage rules, they were
565

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
361 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
515 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
574 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
●769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

243 where around the earthen plaza there are Every-
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They
looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the
peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it
were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with shelleyes. It was set in cement.

From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
132 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However,
124 when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from
Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of
two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we
had to stay overnight at the house of a former
kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the
oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see
the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of
Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan.
He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and his cronies are taking everything. There is only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And
now they are asking the Christians to move up

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614 unknown. Nioreko also has a rumah berhala, an
778 actual house, but it is merely temporary and
346 lasts only seven to eight years. Then it is
764 rebuilt. It has no ana deo. This is a kind of intermediate type of situation.

14. Manunggo'o has no shrine. Thus suku Reandona evidently has none.

15. Pu'umbindi has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

16. Mbago has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

17. Pemodjera has a shrine, but the suku is unknown. Also, like Nioreko, Pemodjera has a temporary rumah berhala house, which is rebuilt when it collapses.

18. Sokopedji does not even have a shrine. It is a new kampong.

614 This is interesting and goes to show that
178 the suku were localized before. I asked why
829 there were so many in the census for which the suku were unknown. They said that if their parents did not tell them, they never learned this information. It shows a breakdown in the system, but it is still very important. Real disintegration is just beginning. I scolded them to the effect that they as government men of Rewarangga did not even know the suku of the kampongs in their district. I said that the people in the United States would think that they were poor administrators. They said that this suku business was adat only and that they were concerned with government only. I pointed out that even the giri tumba besar seemed vague about all of this outside of his own kampong, and he is a leader of adat. They begged off saying that perhaps he didn't understand what I was after.

778 It is notable that only the four kampongs
●769 with real rumah berhala (Volofeo, Bu'ubedi,
346 Ratebedi, and Vavoëü) have annual ancestor
574

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778 feasts. Thus it is like Barupu in Toradja.
●769 (Ratebedi is one of the Rabu kampongs.
346 Vavoëü is another, and so is the non-shrine
574 kampong Kekamberu. The others which have merely the grave-bone shrines have a feast only when they need to fix up a shrine.

632 The next day we went to Roworeke again. Note an error in the preceding notes: The sikesani besar, who lives in Worowai, is of the suku Nggonggora'ba. Thus the Big Four are as follows: Mosa laki mere of Rewarangga, Giri tumba of Odja. Ndeto au of Rewarangga, and Sikesani of Nggonggora'ba. The names of these posts mean: mosa, male (animal); laki, male (human); mere, big; giri, around; tumba, spear (he walks around with a spear); ndetu, many colored; au, bamboo; sike, here; sani, there.

181 I am always impressed by the combination of
124 lack of courtesy and the cringing servility of
576 these Endenese. They constantly talk to each other when I am talking, pass remarks about me in Endenese, etc. At the same time they keep on "tuanning" and bowing. They are grasping too. For example, the kapitan looks steadily at my gold watch and band and asked me to sell him U.S. gold pieces. The assistant asked me to give him personally a ring-spiral notebook such as used for the work. He can't answer questions on the schedule, so I have to do it all. The kapitan is a bit better, and the guru is smarter, but I get the idea that these folk are a rather poor lot.

784 Again we got on to the subject of totemism.
262 The word for such taboos is pire. I doubt that
614 I got the whole story, but as far as I can see
562 there are three kinds of totem taboos and they apply to foods:

(1) Suku or pu'u taboo. This is called pire ngguäh, the latter term meaning "descen-

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829 assistant said that he just did it, and that it was a revelation to him. They simply do not think in such diagrammatic terms.

769 186 The ancestor cult is strong here and there are many stories about it, but it is not used to glorify the place. In fact, there is no real pride as such. They are simply satisfied as they know nothing else. There is no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village.

178 There has been very little change here in regard to the expanding horizons of social and economic contact.

721 578 178 The old wars and head-hunting continued until recently. Wars seem to have been caused mostly over border disputes, so far as they can remember. Heads were taken as a sign of victory. But I got very little regarding a real head-hunting cult. They said that the heads were placed on the borders, evidently on the borders over which the war had been fought. [789] [266] They said voluntarily that they ate the hearts of enemies in order to increase their magic power. They are quite clear and vivid about this. The hearts were removed through an incision in the back under the shoulder blade. The main enemies were Nggobe and Rodja, but there is no hostility now. More seldom, war was waged against the Lio folk. Spears and [411] guns were used, and formerly bows. Bows were used especially by the Nggobe folk. Circular shields were made of buffalo hide and wood. There were alliances of mutual aid too. For example, Rewarangga (Worowai) and Odja (Roworeke) were in such an arrangement. Also, they [634] went to war for the Ende radja who paid wages for this.

721 634 The radja bitjara (a post no longer present in Ende; he was a kind of minister of foreign relations) (and he was able to talk all lan-

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614 ration began. At the head of the group sat the
241 kelake of the Leworita ama doing the rite. On
796 one side sat two old men, one from Leworita and
231 the other from Hurint, who prayed. They were
merely the oldest and cleverest ones there.
[301] They were real pagans, with bobbed hair, red
necklaces of beads, and silver earrings. One
had á tattoo (relatively young fellow). One
[769] prayed steadily, giving generations of Leworita
and calling all these ancestors in turn, and at
each generation the other chimed in with a
chant. The rhythm was fine. On the other side
sat the three; the man from Lewodoreng Waru'ing
holding the head of the pig (as this ama has
the Kottang function in this suku); the man
from Engamaking holding the feet (as this ama
has the Kelen function in this suku); and the
man from Hurint, who cut, as usual.

178 To the side from these sat two old women
562 who were the tuno wudjo, one from Leworita and
796 one from Lewodoreng (they needed two because
887 the former was giving the rite, but it was on
241 the latter's ground). In the old days it was
614 always a young girl virgin who acted as tuno
wudjo, but there are no more in these groups
who are still pagan, so they have to use old
women. I can see the same thing on the schedule:
in Wailolong there are some tuno wudjo who are
very young (e.g., three or four years old) as
they are not yet Christians, but others are very
old pagan women. Thus, the pagans are making
the best of it, but what can they do when the
old women are dead? The answer is found in
Leloba, where they no longer are able to have
rites. They have given up the suku and ama
rites, but still have the kampong agricultural
ceremonies. First, however, a mass is held in
[769] the chapel, and then they say prayers, but are
allowed to recite the names of the ancestors.
They no longer use the tuno wudjo, however.

178 After the ancestors are called, the pig is cut,
562 first sawed through the neck until the windpipe
796 is cut, and then with one blow the head is cut
241 off. The assistant said that if it is a big
887 pig, a strong blow is required to knock the
●769 head off with a single sweep.
614 Note that the two old men who prayed were from Leworita and Hurint. Evidently this makes no difference, but they do choose old people who know prayers (however, they have one from the suku giving the rite, as he must recite the names of their ancestors).

[276] Then betel was prepared and passed around. As the pig bled, blood splashed on the tusk which was lying on the ground beside one of the posts. This is a ritual tusk and is not very large. It is owned by the ama and is not used for bride prices. The second part of the rite--to give the food to the ground and posts --came next. The tuno wudjo and other old women took the rice and heaped it on a plate like a hillock. The men cut out the liver of the pig and chopped it up. The mixture was put on the ground, or rather a bit of it was, and also smeared on the four posts of the barn. Gin was
[273] meanwhile passed around (we got some), and it was also poured on the ground and sprinkled around under the barn. We left after this as the rite was over, but they went on to cook and eat the pork with the rice. This is a relatively small rite, although it was a part of the entire planting ritual complex.

614 One can say that each grouping (or, as the
241 assistant says, each barn) must have agricul-
796 tural rites. Thus, the system runs down from
343 the big kampong-barn-suku Kottang rite, with all the suku there and all the tuno wudjo (of all suku and ama); to the suku rites at each suku barn, and all suku and tuno wudjo at these too, in all five rites; and finally to the ama-

Wae The Demon or
614 Ili Djadi are the original people here because
173 the Padji are gone. They also are found else-
621 where, and where they and the Padji are found
829 together, as in Adonara, they still fight.
[578] The constant murders there are partly caused by this endless feud. They never live in the same kampong together.

3. Sina Djawa. These are descendants of people who came from the west. There are suku here which came from there. Thus the suku Lewonuhah (kampong, island) of Leloba is of Sina Djawa. So is the suku Lewato of Wailolong.

4. Tenemau. These people came from the submerged island Kroko Putang. There are suku here from these people. Thus, Lewarita suku of Wailolong is Tenemau. In the ceremony this
[769] morning the genealogy used to call the ancestors went back to the Tenemau. He says you can tell at once the origin of any suku by listening to the genealogies recited at the rites, because the ancestors are called.

582 Then we got onto the inter-kampong marriage
124 system, and this is not so complicated as the intra-kampong marriage system. I jokingly said that perhaps he got so tired figuring out the internal system that he decided to make the extra kampong rules simpler. He was amused. He also seemed amazed at the building-up process of anthropological research which I use; for example, when I first asked the names of the eight kampongs and then went right on to ask the names of the sons of Lenurat, he saw that
[791] I was getting directly at the system. He said that if the folk here heard me leading straight into the heart of the complete cosmogony they would think me a suwanggi. I also said jokingly that they couldn't call me a pontianak. He was also delighted with my admiration of how everything here falls into a system. He has learned
124 the word "sistim" and uses it all the time. He

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578 land disputes, head-hunting, and women. Or
721 perhaps the latter two should be reversed. Another cause was molesting a child if done by a neighboring kampong. There were also radja wars, in which the people served, but this was involved in high politics. Finally, there were also the early wars against the aborigines, the Padji folk.

721 The reasons for head-hunting were linked
346 with the new korke (this is still a reason for
796 the largest feast, when all kampongs come to-
782 gether. Nowadays, the feast for the new church takes over this function). When a new korke is built, if the six posts do not fit into the rafter posts, it is a sign that the posts are not happy because they are in need of food, so they are pledged food. Formerly the people then went out and got a head and hung it in the korke. Then everything was all right. Note that nowadays at such rites they give food to the posts. For example, yesterday they smeared rice on the four barn posts. The korke must have six posts.

346 The korke was the center of the war cult and
769 the ghost cult (ancestor cult). The barns were
343 the center of the agricultural cult. The little
241 kebang (barn) of the suku and the ama is called sebua.!

582 Relations between villages are kept up by
621 marriages. In fact, they are almost the sole
602 reason for such relations. This shows that genealogical relationship is nearly everything here. It shows also why descent is the basis for the whole organization of power, etc., and why marriage rules are so complex and strongly held to. There have even been marriage relations with Riang Kanié, although they have not been too pronounced.

476 Another reason for relations with other com-
582 munities is work. That is, there is mutual aid
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621

! [See cat. 116, p. 202 -- Analyst]

Wa Today there are more meetings and greater
208 effort to get the opinions of the people. This
634 is especially so since this Radja came in about
178 eleven years ago. Formerly, the radja merely
663 ordered things to be done and paid no heed to
648 the local requirements, etc. Also, the radja gets around to more areas now. (We noted that the Radja is making a good-will tour, and probably all of them are scared of another Java.) He said that there is a much closer arrangement between the radja and the people now. Formerly the Dutch and the radjas worked together very closely, and anyone who spoke up was simply jailed. I can see this is as in Ende, and the Dutch here until the end used the jail as the solution for everything. They wouldn't listen to anything else. If the radja and Dutch work together the result is tyranny, and it is real here.

There is more justice here now, they say. They say this began about eleven years ago with the present Radja. But this may be out of respect, and they admit that the real change has taken place here since the war. The war really liberated Indonesia. There is no more use of brute force. People can speak up now.

789 We had a long talk about magical power. They
769 say that the power of the chiefs, from the radja
622 to the adat kepala kampong to the kepala suku to
[153] the kelake, is all a matter of fear of ancestral punishment. If they do not obey, they
[152] become sick and have misfortunes. The magical power comes mainly from the ancestral spirits, but it is funneled through the magic stones of authority too. The curse power of an adat chief is very great. The power of the purely administrative chiefs, for example, the kepala kampong, who does not deal with adat, and the kalang, is that of the police, etc. This is actually not so because all of the chiefs are of the proper succession. If they ever tried to put one in

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789 who was not so, the people would not follow him,
●769 or rather they would do so only out of fear of
622 being sent to jail. Such respect would be given only halfheartedly.

The power of the chiefs, up to the radja, rests on their "blood" or legitimate succession, and on the power of their ancestors, who uphold the proper authority and punishment the disobedient by unseen power. Legitimacy and magic power from the ancestors go together. I asked whether, if a bad man succeeded to a post legitimately, they would revolt? They said absolutely not, as he would be legitimate. However, they would rest assured that the ancestors would see to it that the bad fellow died quickly. The idea is to have faith in the ancestors. Following a succession of bad crops, or crop failure, illness, etc., they think that something is wrong. They may think that the chief concerned does not have the right power. They may seek ways out and may even ask the radja about it. But they would never revolt.

There are a few cases where two men hold the same post (adat) in Wailolong. These cases (Blawa, the one talked of) are of the kelake, and what happened was that the legitimate man could not seem to get the proper "wave length" to the powers, and the crops, etc., were bad. So, though they could not drive him out, they got another man to work with him. I think that what happens is that the new man, who gets results, does the main ritual work while the legitimate man, who has the title, passes around the betel. Thus form is kept. It is said, however, that there are a few "rebels". I must check this.

789 This led to a talk about what magical power is. They call it no'o ike(ng). It is mana or tondi. It means to have power literally. Everyone has some of the soul stuff or Lebenskraft,

We.

789 even the rice, animals, iron and trees have it. If an animal lives for a long time despite many blows, he is in possession of a lot of this power. Men differ in the amount of this power they may have. The radja has lots, and so on down the line. Thus power is a combination of ancestor sanction and real, indwelling power which comes with the blood of legitimacy. The stones and other fetishes linked with office reinforce and symbolize this power. One can even have power from animal familiars, as is the case with the assistant's father.

●769 797 182 This led to a talk about how to reconcile the ancestors, who were pagan, with the abandonment of the rites they were used to. They have rationalized that God is more powerful than their ancestors, and the latter are in heaven anyway. They call on them rather than call them in person. The pagans, however, still do the latter. This is usual, and I think it is a real problem to them. Roy told how Laba, the last powerful pagan of Leloba, gradually took on Christianity after swearing that he would not. He tried it and his crops were still good. He decided that maybe it was all right. What would have happened if his crops had failed? And what if his crops failed steadily now or there was a great calamity? Could there be a nativist revival of paganism? The Catholics are working fast to kill everything before there is any chance of this.

346 [656] [796] I asked why the korke of several kampongs were in such bad repair. He said that this was because of the great cost in animals, etc. needed for a feast at the time of rebuilding. And, the government will not allow "wasteful" rites to be held. They say that it is a waste because so much food is consumed and so many beasts are killed. But why, then, let them build a new church for the one which is now burned in Riang Kamil? 346 797

346 This costs money, at least. With cleverness,
797 Pastor Krol told how the scheme is working to get the folk to sell their tusks in order to get money to contribute to the new church. This works on the grounds that the people were careless with their fire in the fields when there was a high wind, and this caused the burning of the church. It is all a wily game, and the pagans are lost.

797 This whole religious matter is endless. It
182 is the most powerful acculturation thing here,
769 and the whole weight of Catholicism is on the last few pagans. The guru is full of the propaganda of rationalization. For example, he says, how do we know where the ancestors are? If they led good lives they are in heaven; and if not, they are in the sea (hell). And if they were good they must be in heaven, even though they were not Catholic, because they knew nothing of the Word when they lived.

632 The next day we started by clearing up a point
614 about the radja tuan. He may come from another ama than the No. 1 or waru'ing ama. Thus in Ama Datong suku the present Radja tuan is the kelake of Ama Radja, which is the No. 3 ama.

789 Roy said that not only officials have magic
565 power, but that also all members of the noble
171 families have some, though not so much as the
865 chiefs. They definitely have more than common folk. This is why one must show respect to the uppers. It is like Bone in Celebes, but less so perhaps. For example, they are very much afraid of hitting a noble child.

756 A sorcerer (molang) receives respect too,
754 even though his post is not hereditary. Some
[462] sorcerers, however, are noble. Sorcerers may be male or female, and indeed Roy thinks most of them are women. I asked how one got to be a molang, and he said that in general they get a call while dreaming. It is a matter of getting

794 Catholic, has two wives, but he was adamant.
665 As for Mohammedanism, he says that they are dormant politically, or at least they have been until recently. Now that Dr. Sutomo is here he is becoming a kind of Mohammedan leader. However, the Mohammedans are few and they are important only in Kampong Baru. There was a
798 rumor here on the Japanese entrance that the
203 Japanese were Mohammedans. It went further to the effect that all Christians and pagans were to be killed. The theme was that you had better get your songko boys. There was a new version, when the red and white flag went up. It went that this was really the flag of Islam and that the Christians and pagans would have no voice in the government. He thinks that perhaps this rumor was started by the Mohammedans. It was here that he joyfully parroted several times my word desas-desus [whispering, rumors]. He learns new words fast.

The situation here is the reverse of the
178 usual thing. The Catholics are the radicals,
797 in the sense that they are against the old
565 things which are pagan, and the pagans are the
177 conservatives in the sense that they want to
●769 keep the old ways. This will change later, surely.

This led to a long talk about the entry of Catholicism here. Roy admits that he may be the most powerful factor in the fast and one hundred per cent conversion here. He said that the main reason was that he gave good lessons (ketranggan [interpretation, clarification, proof]) and the second reason was that he happens to be a real noble. The latter meant not only that he had a good name and respected rank, but that he was in close touch with and had real privileges in the pagan ancestral stuff. Indeed, his own rank depends on the ancestor cult. If he was willing to take a chance with the new

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178 religion, when he knew so much about the old
797 ways and his ancestors were so important in
565 it, then this new religion must be all right.
177 (Here we see the old theme of converting the
769 chiefs first. And all the magic aspect is clear too.) He admitted that if the nobles had been against Catholicism it would have been much more difficult (impossible? Note India, where the handicap of missions has been that most of the people converted have been untouchables; and the joy of the missions has been whenever they could snare a Brahmin.)

797 Roy says that they received Catholicism at
175 first gladly and were interested and liked the medicine. Then there came trouble, however, when they saw that the Catholics were determined to wipe out the old things. Then came resignation. The trouble started when the Catholics began to win. Thus there were three phases, starting with the conversion of the first man, Guru Bala, in 1885:

(1) 1885--1912: period of amicable relations.

(2) 1912--1920: the pagan fight, and real conflict.

(3) 1920 to the present: the surrender and acceptance of the inevitable.

[614] Bala was of the suku Lewonuhah.

565 Even now, the asli, the men of real noble
177 descent, have the power and prestige. It is very hard, indeed impossible, for a commoner, no matter how clever he may be, to bring in alien things. If a commoner tried he would be killed. If he is a noble, he will find things easier, but he too had better be careful, for if he is a "trouble maker" he too might be thrown out (killed?).

797 In Wailolong the first Christian was Pulo,
177 converted by Bala in 1890. Conversions were
798 slower here than in Leloba, and paganism still
184 holds on. Because it was slower there, Roy says
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592 The oldest man is the head of the house, and his eldest son succeeds him. This is invariable. The eldest woman is the manager (nu'a luka rumah tangga). The eldest son's wife succeeds her.

783 673 It is interesting to note that both adat sins and church sins are kept track of.

509 We left Larantuka on Tuesday, January 9, and stopped that night in Maumere, so that Kattenburg can get his plane to Makassar on Wednesday.

286 On Wednesday I went on to Ende, and this took six hours, because I went to Sikka (didn't quite get there because the road had been torn up, although I did see Lela, which is near it). Sikka is really isolated, and the road leading there is poor. I noticed all along the road that there were women under or beside the houses weaving. This is true all over Flores. I noticed the drying of threads after dyeing, the looms, the wheels, the piles of cotton, etc. I note the same thing in Roworeke, Wailolong, Leloba, and everywhere.

634 661 439 789 769 I heard much about the radjas' shady business practices (led by the Radja of Sikka, but Larantuka is in on it too) in regard to the surplus distribution sold in Makassar and the copra smuggled into Singapore, etc. The Chinese are in on the deal. Some day these radjas will be out, and this will be better for everyone. I talked with Arriens[1] about them and he was doubtful that they have much magic power here, but I think there is quite a bit. It is perhaps not so directly electrical as in Celebes, but the respect hangs heavy, and they are the apex of the whole ancestor cult. This is true of Larantuka, and I suspect it is true of the other areas.

632 634 Arriens said there has been much trouble in Tana Ai, because they want their own kapitan, but Sikka evidently has his own ideas. Until

[1] [i.e., Controleur at Ende -- Analyst]

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624 465 like the marinyo of Ambon. I asked what the secretary got, and he said cigarette money only. The pay is evidently very little.

583 614 611 784 Correction: Although he says there is no case here now, he has found out that if the bride price is not paid, the children are of the suku of the mother. And the bride price must be paid at marriage. There is no post-marriage payment in order to get the children back. Thus there is real ambil anak here. The man remains a member of his own sib, and the wife a member of hers. Thus she assumes the "married woman" totem taboos of her own sib, not those of her husband's sib, as is the more usual thing.

346 778 614 I asked about the rumah berhala of Wolorec. This group has a real house, and in it there are four ana deo, two in bad repair. There is one for each of the four suku. There are no other suku in the kampong. There are also plenty of belongings in the house. It is rather large, about twelve meters on a side. There are baskets and other objects therein. This old kampong is only one kilometer off the road in the hills at kilometer 17. I may go there one day. The four suku are Mbonggi (the kepala kampong is from this), Djo'bi, Soa, and Woro. The oldest suku is Mbonggi. There is also a grave-bone shrine here, of the suku Djo'bi. [769]

771 769 The folk here are now mostly Catholic, but they do have an annual ancestor rite, and the Catholics attend too. The kampong Ratebedi, far off in the hills, has fewer Catholics, as is the case with the far off Bu'ube'i. The distant ones remain pagan longer.

872 178 212 000 Fifty years ago there was no school. It came in 1921. No one went to school before this. They were totally illiterate (this shows how recently the schools came in here). They were

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511 515 cloth to spare for their noses. This is really very true!

622 755 ●769 [443] On Sunday I went to Roworeke again, but at once I was taken into the rear part of the little warong at kilometer 6, which is owned by the kepala kampong. What a pitiful stock he has: a few bars of yellow soap, some bananas, and that's about all. In a little compartment behind this area he squatted, looking awful. On one side, on the floor, one of his wives were tending a fire on the earth, and on the other side was his other wife (the second one, whom I had thought a handsome pagan when she was a bit dressed up, but now she did not look so good, with betel stains, etc.). He told me about the blood pouring from his nose a few nights ago, for four to five hours. He had a high fever (still had it), and pains, and dizziness and blackouts. I tried to see what was up, but the blood was queer.

Then the assistant (his brother) said we should go and get the old dukun who was treating him. The dukun lives in Ndona. On the way there the assistant said that the dukun had already treated the kepala kampong, and that is why he had gotten better. At least the blood had stopped. I asked what the diagnosis had been, and he said it was something to do with the ancestors. The idea seemed to be that somewhere or other along the line they hadn't "fed" the ceremonial objects of the family properly, and this was the cause of the illness. The assistant said that he suspected also that the kepala kampong was too harsh in his administration, and the people were not happy about it (he has been in his post for four years now). This information was rather mumbled, perhaps so that the lads in the back seat could not hear us, and I wonder if perhaps he was inferring that someone rubbed wrong by

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622 the kepala kampong had put a hex on him. They
755 show the pagan beliefs more and more now. Later
[769] on I discussed the case with the assistant, and he said that I didn't understand why the blood situation had come about. Perhaps the dukun was right: it was a curse of the ancestors for unfulfilled duties to the ceremonial objects.

At Ndona, where there is a big church, school, etc., and in a rather clean kampong there is an enormous cement block on which is set a big flat stone from an old grave heap. There the assistant got off to get the dukun, who lives a one kilometer walk away. Great crowds from the church stood around the jeep and stared at me. He came back after awhile, and with him was a very old man with a chin beard. He had on an old sarong and headcloth. He had never been in a car before, and they had to tell him how to get in, which he did gingerly. He was almost blind. Then we went off to see the patient. When the old man got out I saw his baggage: a kris and a cloth with a lot of things in it, including a brass container. The assistant said that he was to stay with the patient for a week and treat him. If the sick man got better, he would have to give a feast and sacrifice an animal. The dukun is the last terrifically powerful one left in the whole area. When he dies, his children have learned
[759] only a part of his lore. It is too bad for the public health, because there are no doctors here, and it is better to have a dukun than no one. (Think of the psychological need.)

493 Then we went to the house of the kapitan, who luckily was not there. (We had met him on the way to Ende, with his new bicycle, which cost fl. 300.00.)

513 Boys sleep in separate houses. In this area
882 (are there others in the kampong elsewhere? there must be) it is a "bivak," i.e., a wall-

Wac

764 If the people were very poor (or evidently for
178 some other reason) they may not bring them.
[656] Thus there has not been much change except for the fast burial now enforced in all cases.

One can see a change in that the Catholics have church rites as well as pagan. And another change is that whereas even now all pagan bodies are merely wound up in mats, Catholic bodies are put in a coffin. Formerly, very
766 famous men and stillborn children were buried near the house. Other people were buried outside the kampong (something like Limbo!).

764 Another thing is that if an old person dies, one must guard his sleeping mat (evidently all
●769 of this applies to old women too) for four days. Food for the soul and a lit lamp are placed beside the body. The ghost comes and eats. It can be seen whether or not the ghost is happy if the food has been neatly eaten. If the food is left messy, it shows that the dead one is not happy. The pagans still do all of this, and sometimes the Catholics do too.

764 There are no tombs here, and there were none in the past. They have graves. There are stone markers placed on the graves.

53 All forms of entertainment are local. They are particularly fond of singing. They also dance, and there are many kinds of songs using a complement of such instruments as drums, flutes and gongs. There are no viols. He stresses that they love singing.

526 Soccer is a new game here but it is very much
524 liked. They also have raga, the rattan ball kick game. This is also new here, Roy says. They do not play cards, dice, etc. They have a kind of fruit-pits-in-holes game.

53 There is no sculpture here. A little carving is done (on the korke, barns, and they used to have images in the korke). There is no painting.
536 There is no drama (but he sees the point that

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601 does so. So much for the kinship system.

Then, incidentally, he said that an indis-
273 pensable item at each sacrifice must be palm
•769 wine (tuak). Even if they have to travel for
778 some distance to get some (and it is hard to get in the Veol area, as not much is made locally), They must do so; and the reason is that the stone, which is the central point of all rites, must have a libation poured over it. The ancestors are explicitly called, and then the tuak is poured over the stone as though into the mouth of a person which the stone is. Thus I think these stones are the ancestors. They are real idols. Note that the Vatu Veol, and the removed Ine Amba too, are, (or were) in human form. I think that perhaps the popularity of statues in Java after the Hindu influx may have been due to the pre-existence of human form stone images. The point is, in this libation business, the stones are treated as though they were really human.

In regard to the mother's brother's daughter
582 or tungku marriage, this was formerly required,
578 at least for one son. He might be forced
835 brutally into such a marriage if he was reluc-
[753] tant. It should be the eldest son too. If this is not done, the family may be afflicted with illness. And it is wicked anyway. This rule still holds, although force is no longer used to back it up. A good case is that of the assistant himself. He didn't like his mother's brother's daughter, as he said, "she lived in the house" (what psychological overtones are there here?). So he refused, and married his wife. However, he has two other brothers, who are still unmarried, and his whole family is watching anxiously until one of them marries the mother's brother's daughter. He says that they talk about this all the time. It is true that they are still pagan. His father indeed

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574 troubles in the kampong are due to influences
786 which must be exorcised.

This led to a discussion of the mbako.
756 There are two to three mbako per kampong. They
[887] may be men or women, although they are usually men. They are called to work, a job which is not hereditary. They are always old people. They dream, see spirits (e.g., naga), look at their paraphernalia (for example, glass pieces, wood pieces), etc. However, there is no shamanism.

This led to a discussion of the secrecy surrounding the identity of the mbako. He is rather vague and said something about how they don't want to appear "proud." But this doesn't ring true, so I asked the mandur and he said it is because several mbako were imprisoned here because of witchcraft murders (what kind?). Anyway, here is the pattern of secrecy and fear which I see all over here.

166 Of those who have gone away, none has re-
574 turned to Yeol, as far as the assistant knows.
783 But there have been returnees to other kampongs.

If a returnee is a man who was imprisoned (note how often the jail theme comes up here; indeed the Dutch ruled by jails!) a feast must be given and buffalo killed. It is called the buka tali, to remove the rope. It also cleanses the returnee of the bad influence of the jail. When the Controleur Bedbeder and Pastor van Bekkum came back from Japanese imprisonment, wherever they went there was a buffalo feast in order to set them finally free.

If a family left the area without an argument,
166 then no feast is required on their return, un-
574 less it is a long time afterwards and they have
769 come from far away. For example, a policeman or a soldier who has been away for a long while would go through such a ceremony. Then there must be a feast given for two purposes: to tell

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166 the ancestors that they are back, and to offer
574 something to all the relatives who have died
769 since they went away. This applies to an individual who has been away for a long time and at some distance. If a family departed in anger and with hot words, they must give a feast on their return with the sacrifice of an animal "to clean off the dirty talk."

166 They like to see people return, because they always like to see their kampong and va'u increase in population.

When they move they take with them movables, cattle, etc. If they have relatives in the new kampong, they are received easily. It is notable that the assistant says the ones who leave are always the younger branches, and so they have no status to lose. As for land, the situation is not too clear. I suppose they lose it.

166 If they are merely moving to some nearby
578 kampong, for example, within the same dalu,
614 there is little opposition. If it is within
769 Manggarai, it is not so bad. But if there is a desire to move really far off, there is great trouble, and a youth would probably have to sneak away. The assistant helped a brother of his to sneak off to become a soldier (I think). They try every means to keep them home. All relatives try hard in this. If someone leaves anyway, they have a feast and there is much mourning. The bonds are very close and strong.

One of the main reasons for this family resistance to leavers is because they do not want to have the population of the family, panga, or va'u lessened. There is a great fear of depleting the strength of these units. No greater catastrophe can take place than to become extinct. And I found a beautiful ancestor cult reason on the part of the old. The assistant says that the father mournfully asks, "Who

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166 will give me food when I am dead?" This is
578 exactly like the ancestor cult of China, in
614 that there must be descendants to make sacri-
769 fices for the soul of the deceased. And there is the same mournful asking by a pagan father whose sons turn to Christianity and therefore probably will not keep up the rites for the dead ancestors: "Who will feed me after I am dead?"

776 This led to a discussion in regard to the
361 guardian spirit of the kampong. Each kampong
778 has such a ro, called naga, and its abode is in the stone heap and the tree thereon in the
[166] pusat of the kampong. This is called the tjompang. If there is a great deal of trouble, e.g., illness, a succession of bad crops, etc.,
[756] the mbako may say that the naga is no longer any good, and if all the people so agree, the whole kampong is moved en masse. When this happens, the old tjompang and tree are left there in the old place and are abandoned. Thus it happens that a naga which for a long time has been benevolent may turn to be malevolent. This may be because the people have not pleased him, or just because he got wicked. He is no longer a good naga, and the people had better get out and get a new place and a new naga (how do they get a new naga? There is a very big feast for a new kampong, so perhaps a new naga is then installed).

Veol moved about two to three generations ago from the place noted on the map (c) on higher ground above the vatu Veol. I thought it was strange that the stone was there, outside of Veol and above Ndung, and also strange that the highest spot was empty. This is where Veol used to be, but the naga became so bad that Veol was moved about one hundred meters below. Also, I noted when I first entered that the tree was small, and when I asked why, they said it was

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000 that is all.

166 There are no rites for ordinary folk who
609 just enter the kampong. In the old days, how-
567 ever, when new slaves came in they had to have
614 rites in order to tell the ancestors that they
769 were new members of the clan. This pretty well clinches the slave entering va'u matter. They just do. This is why the former slaves are members of the clans. Only those on the inside know who is who. The longer the time gets from slavery days the more it is not brought up.

563 The only Europeans here are the pastors.
443 The traders are Chinese and Arabs and natives.
-793 The business of the occasional Chinese pedlar with his coolie is quite usual here. They stay usually for only a few hours.

The pastors tell stories to the local people about Europe, etc. The Chinese who are regular
[203] pedlars have been in Manggarai for a long time, and they spread some news.

484 In these local kampongs everyone has been to another kampong. The women go outside their own kampong less often and do not go so far
[438] away as the men. Men go out to trade horses, buy tobacco, etc. During the Japanese occupation they ranged far in order to buy cloth, etc. However, all of this was within Manggarai. All have been to Ruteng.

All have been outside Rahong, as they have been to Ruteng. At least fifty per cent of the local population have never seen the sea. One person has gone to Ende, and two have gone
[167] to Kupang as soldiers. One went to Makassar to work. The Japanese took several to Riung to work, but most of the people have never left Manggarai. No one from here has ever left Indonesia. In all Manggarai, the assistant thinks only one person has ever left Flores. He is a pastor, I think.

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764 in a new place and have children there, a tjompang, etc. (thus the Tjepang do not go back to their old home in the west).

764 614 823 Also, all women who marry out become members of their husbands' va'u and are buried there. If it is impossible to take the body back to the kampong of origin, they at least get a bit of dirt from the cemetery there and take it to the far-off grave (a spot of land that is forever Veol!). This is a real duty, and they may travel very far to get it. Thus, if a Veol man dies in a far away kampong where there is no tuan tanah and no privilege, a bit of earth from the Veol cemetery (near the road here) is taken to his grave. A small feast is given, at which time only a fowl is sacrificed. This is done in the far-off kampong at the burial. However, then the family travel to Veol, no matter how far off it may be, and there [775] they have the really big funeral feast. This is because the soul of the deceased always returns to the home kampong, that is, unless the clan section is already settled in a new place and has its own cemetery.

775 769 782 The souls of the dead live around the graves. There is no special deadland here. Thus, whenever there is a feast in the kampong, people go to the cemetery and invite the souls to attend. The assistant sang a song which they use. Also, they kill a fowl there, in order to give a little food in advance (he said "voorschot"). [776] Also, they go to the spring and invite the water spirits, and give them a fowl too. (Now I see why they have the cry, "Who will feed me when I am dead?")

161 769 The real population of Veol--Ndung is not three hundred and fifty, but thousands, as the dead live there too. The ancestor cult is thus tremendous in regard to the stature of the kampong.

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162 Here in Veol the Christians and pagans are also about fifty-fifty. It is notable that here in Veol many of the young people are still pagan. There is plenty of paganism still, and the Catholics, I am sure, are largely pagan. The [578] main conflict is over polygyny. But there is also plenty of general friction. It is especially bad if a man has a barren wife. He must remarry. Who will feed him when he is dead? Also, what about the ceremonies? It is all right for the Catholics to say that Christians may attend community rites, if they do not pray in pagan style, but what will happen if all of them turn Catholic? Who will be there to do the rites?

797 Note also that the last of the rites means
● 769 the end of relations with the thousands of dead inhabitants of the kampong. The Catholics try
775 to fix this up. For example, Roy tried to do
788 this by saying that they are probably not around the graves but have flown off to heaven. But this is revolutionary, and changes the whole character of the settlement into a kind of "empty" place, with only living persons living in it. He told how his father's father, when his father was a boy and the guru tried to convert him, had ordered the boy not to change. And the boy didn't. He now has four wives, one of whom is the assistant's mother. Note the [711] similarity with Toradja Protestant rules. Catholics may not pray in pagan style and may not hold private rites, and they may not officiate at the rites, but they may attend.

865 Note: At the Sunday singing performance I was impressed by the good behavior of the children. This always seems to be true here in Indonesia. They are amazingly unmischievous. The guru says that almost never is there a disciplinary problem. I can see this all over. The children are adults really while still very

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865 young, in regard to the propriety of their behavior.

346 As usual, the church at Tjantjar has no
778 windows. There is no rumah pemali here. The tuan tanah house is the cult center. At each feast all gather here, unless it is a smaller, house or panga feast. The gongs and drums are located here, and also the main post (and in each house is a lesser main post) and the pusaka. The last, however, does not consist of very much--clothes, knives, etc., from the ancestors, and heirlooms of the group.

778 The cult places are: (1) the tjompang with
614 the tree, and (2) the stones. Here it is the
769 Vatu Veol, in the form of a human male with
773 arms akimbo, but "someone" broke off the arms.
532 It is near the high hill where the original kampong was located. It was placed there by an ancestor named Padja (thus like the named stones of Ngada). Padja is invited to the feasts at the stone. If there is a war, ceremonies are held there. Any kampong of the va'u Veol may come there and use it. Thus it is a va'u stone. Most kampongs have such a holy stone. Vatu Runtu is the one in Ruteng kampong, whence came the original ancestors of va'u Runtu. Vatu Pau in kampong Pau is where the original ancestors of va'u Pau came out. This was about fifteen generations ago, he says, and he is a member (this is thus quite recent, and curious, but maybe these family trees get foreshortened; or perhaps the period represents a new immigration of "stone people"? It seems to be about three hundred years ago or perhaps a bit less). Vatu La'o is in the gelarang La'o of dalu Rahong. He doesn't know the story about it.

778 It is notable that outside of Rahong, as far
769 as he knows, there are no stone images. Indeed,
776 the only one I know of is the Vatu Veol. And
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778 note that the removed Vatu Ine Amba was in the
769 gelarang Veol too. However, outside Rahong
776 there are plenty of regular cult stones which
[532] are not images. Where did these images come from? This is peculiar for Flores, and would bear checking profitably.

(3) The house of the tuan tanah, and to a lesser extent the main pillars and individual family naga shelves in each house.

(4) The lodok in the center of the gardens. When it is first placed there, it is made of wood, and only later is it replaced by a stone.

(5) Cemeteries, where the ghosts live. On each grave there are two stones, one at the head and one at the foot.

(6) Places in the woods which are known to be the abodes of spirits. The people go there to make offerings when they think illness has been caused therefrom. Some of these places have stones and others do not. They are known frequently without markers. As I remember, he said that in this area there were no such places, but I had better not mention this, because I am not sure.

(7) Locally, the bamboo grove where the ancestors of va'u Veol emerged from bamboo.

(8) The kampong spring. This is the usual thing, and here they hold ceremonies. Here there are nitu as well as ancestral ghosts (empo).

(9) The tree of Ndung. People may go there if they are afflicted by illness.

(10) The Bangka Veol ("former Veol"), the abandoned higher site, where the naga was not good. No rites are held there, and it is avoided.

(11) Pong Noang, a grove of trees. The name means "place of the dog bark noise." There were trees here once, but they have all been cut down now for gardens (showing the desperate need of

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769 more land here). However, the darat (tree spir-
778 its) who lived in the trees are still there on
776 the spot. When such a grove is cut (and most kampongs have a grove), elaborate rites must be given. It is evidently quite dangerous. Therefore, in addition to the darat in all groves, almost every kampong has its own private darat, who live in the kampong grove.

778 This is important: The assistant says that
769 whenever and wherever they have a ceremony they
273 must set a stone in the center of the place
782 where the rite is held. This stone has palm wine poured over it as a libation. The libation is indispensable, and therefore the stone is also indispensable. It evidently represents the ancestral ghosts, who must always get a drink at every rite. And they pour the drink carefully, as though they were pouring it into someone's mouth. Palm wine is hard to get here, but they will go great distances to get it for a ceremony, even though they may obtain only a little, as it is essential. I note the tremendous importance of alcohol all through here. They drink a lot, as I saw in Anam at the New Year feast (see later), and they like it. It seems to be a perfect case of giving the ancestors what they liked best in life.

I noticed another amazing thing, though it
[533] may be unconscious. When the singing teacher at the mission at the Sunday performance for me arranged the boys for a round singing dance (sanda), he put a stone in the center of the place! It was probably just a marker, but note how easily he set a stone there.

527 I do not know if I got information on all
241 the feasts, as the time was getting short, but
514 he gave them as follows:

(1) New Year. This usually comes in October or November or December. It may be later, but may not be held in the summer. It takes place when

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764 they will encounter no big stones while digging, as this is a sign that more people will die. After the burial they return to the house and
[888] pray. If the person who died was old or a big
[554] man, they kill a buffalo. If the person was of lesser status, they kill only a pig or a fowl. Three days later, if the person who died was old or was a big man, they may kill two or three horses or buffaloes and eat them. At the same time, if the person was of lesser status, they will kill a pig or fowl.

[766] Clothes are placed on the grave of a person who dies a violent death. (See Coolhaas.)[1]

The local Catholics go through the same rites, except that they add on the church service.

[178] The big feasts for the dead dalu mentioned by Coolhaas[1] are no longer held. On such occasions they might wait quite a while. They killed up to perhaps ten buffaloes.

769 There is a very close relation between the ancestors and the death cult. The dead are always invited to feasts. There are no tombs, but the ancestor cult is strong.

[574] Note: The whip duels are held at all big
526 feasts: New Year, harvest, illness, exorcism,
524 wedding, but not at the funeral.

All local recreation is native: tjatjih (whip duelling), tug of war, rope jumping (!), children's games like tag and hide and seek (he says they are the "hunter and hunted"), the bam-
[535] boo jumping dance (tekarulu). The dances are: sanda (round), sae (group and solo), danding (round). They play the rattan football (raga) and soccer.

526 The most loved of all is tjatjih. Cornelius says that to the best of his knowledge he has never known of any man being actually blinded, because the superorbitals protect the eyes. However, plenty of people get bad scars on their

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

634 from Kupang was large, round, and of an almost
142 Caucasoid Negro type. He was very pleasant. He sweats a lot. Next to the Radja of Adonara, he seemed to be the most agreeable and the most intelligent. The Radja of Nageh Keo was obviously a minor radja in comparison to the others, while he was a nice lad, looking exactly like a Negroid Abdul Careem.

There were also two members of parliament, one from Larantuka but now resident in Ende, and the other from Kupang. They were young and agreeable lads. There was also the Radja of Ende, a smooth faced but dark fellow with straight hair. He looked a little like a dark Bao Dai. He was very pleasant and later helped a lot with getting a start in Ende. I had a few talks with these fellows, but I did not learn much.

122 We landed at Ende early on the morning of December 14, and I had to take the jeep off on a double barge. I drove it down the ramp to the beach.

As usual, the Information Office in Makassar had not sent the wire, or at least that is what the Dutchman said who met us. The Dutchmen who did come to meet us were Twerda, the Assistant Resident; two Controleurs, Ariens and Hettinga; and a Finance man Fekkes. The best one of these was the tall Ariens. All the radjas went
485 to the pasanggrahan and we nearly had to go to another one. Finally, however, we got a little room for two. We had lunch in state with the radjas at the pasanggrahan. The Ende radja was met by a delegation of hadjis recently back
●771 from Mecca. The Ende radja is Mohammedan, and he told me later that in Ende the proportion of Christians to Mohammedans is about sixty-forty, but plenty of the people are pagan.

361 The town here is on a very picturesque bay,
133 with Pulo Ende rearing in it and with impressive

634 Badjawa (the capital of Nageh Keo is Boawai). The Ngada radja is an old style man with thirty wives who hunts and does nothing else. A relative, a wakil, does the work. To the west is the Radja of Manggarai, with the capital at Ruteng. The Dutch Controleur, Degens, also resides in Ruteng. The former radja died three to four months ago, and the new one has not yet been installed.

361 I began by riding out along the road toward Badjawa, and got to a ford about fifteen kilometers out. On the way I saw plenty of small and disorderly looking kampongs, with a definitely different arrangement and house style from 515 any other of the places I have been. Also, I noticed that the people here are slovenly, dirty, and strange in appearance. This is a real mongrel zone, and neatness is noticeably lacking in the people and in the villages. On 771 this west side of Ende in the coastal kampongs the people are mainly Mohammedan. On the east side and into the mountains they are mainly Christian. But in both cases, there are just about as many pagans, and sometimes the pagans are in the majority.

563 The next day I rode out to the east and into the mountains as far as Ndetosoko, high in the 361 mountains. On the evening of the day before I 291 rode out to the other side of the Ende peninsula 515 to Ipi beach. Along this stretch is a kampong made up mostly of Savunese. The houses are of a different style and the people are more like those from Roti in appearance (somewhat of a Hindu type), with sarongs having nice designs and horizontal patterns. I was told by the Controleur's wife that the Savunese are clean and are used here as babu, etc. The Savunese also keep their kampong clean and neat.

764 I stopped here and there along the road into the mountains of Lio and noted some remarkable

614 R They did
582 say, however, that Mohammedanism is tending to
178 break down this suku exogamy. Here in Roworeke, however, the old adat is still strong and the exogamous rule still holds. The young people who have gone to school are beginning to rebel, but the elders remain strong and hold to the adat.

771 I asked about religion and they said that at
797 least fifty per cent of the people here are pagan. Most of the rest are Christian, although there are a few Mohammedans. The picture is the familiar one of the younger generation becoming Christian while the older generation remains pagan.

565 If I can believe the story about the nobility,
632 it looks as if there are about ten noble fami-
614 lies eligible to the kapitanschap in all Rewarangga, because there are five suku and about two families of this nobility to each suku.

632 Then I got onto the subject of the officers. In the kapitanschap there is the kapitan, and he is assisted by a scribe, a mandur and an oppas. Evidently these are a secretary, a sort of public works man, and a messenger--sheriff.

622 In the kampong the chief is the kepala kampong,
565 the ata nggaeh nua (ata nggaeh itself is a term
624 for noble). Some of these belong to the nobility and others not (I must find out more about this). The assistant to the kepala kampong is the oro kuni. Then tere are four mosa laki, which seems to them to be the equivalent to the tuan tanah elsewhere. One of these is the main adat chief (thus exactly like the tuan tanah) and he is called the mosa laki mere, or mosa laki pu'u (pu'u is the term for clan, and I must check on this as it may be a survival of a purely genealogical localization of clans in a single kampong). He may also be called merely by the term laki pu'u. The three other mosa laki are: the giri tumba,
624 the ndeto au, and the sikesani. The giri tumba

123 panda, a kampong about thirty kilometers to the
west along the coast road. The drive was very
133 scary above tremendous cliffs above the sea,
but the scenery was magnificent, with Pulo Ende
in the bay and the mountains all around. The
road is extremely dangerous, especially when
the rains come. The kampongs here seem to be
[771] mainly Mohammedan. They are shabby. Only one
36 side, that which faces the sea, of Pulo Ende,
is inhabited.

123 When we returned it was too late, although the
men were sitting in the pasanggrahan. We talked
[582] for a little while and I got some information on
the non-existence of strict exogamous marriage
rules. We also talked a little about a map and
the schedule with the assistant. Then we took
them back to the kampong. We did nothing more
that day, but the kapitan suggested that we go to
Kilimutu, the colored lake mountain, on the next
day, Sunday. I refused at first, but then thought
that I might as well and get it over. I note that
[181] these people are not retiring and respectful like
the Buginese, although the kapitan is really quite
polite. Still he has an eye on the jeep as a
means of getting around. They are all mad over
the camera and talk constantly about photographs
I should take and give to them. I could easily
lose my patience with them. They keep asking for
things.

126 The next day we went to the kampong at seven
123 in the morning and tried to get away fast. But
we had to take photographs, and I was almost de-
luged with requests for more from all sides. I
took pictures of the two old mosa laki, the
kapitan, etc. The old mother of the kapitan, a
good type with the usual betel teeth, asked me
through the interpreter to take her photograph
before she died. I said I would on the return
123 from the lakes. Finally we got off, and I had a
terrible struggle insisting that I could take

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764 It is done in one day now, because the body be-
178 gins to smell otherwise.

144 The physical types in the mountains, the Lio
361 folk (who speak the same dialect as the Ende
[197] coastal dwellers but with a different accent, and they are really only a mountain branch of the Ende-Lio tribe) are mainly proto-Malay, or at least that's the way it seems to me. One can see this especially in the women, but also in many of the men. It seems that the more Melanesian and Papuan types are settled along the coast, which makes me wonder if maybe there might not have been a reverse movement of the black people from the Timor area into Flores, pushing the proto-Malay people back into the hills. There are plenty of Melanesian types, and Papuans, and even Australoid types in the hills, however, just as on the coast. I get the impres-
[181] sion that the mountain people are nicer, better looking, more polite, and perhaps even a little cleaner than the coastal dwellers.

609 I notice that these Roworeke lads, especially
197 the guru, order the Lio folk around. They seem
●771 to be regarded as hillbillies. However, they speak the same language, and many mountain kampongs are one hundred per cent Catholic. In fact, I really wonder if maybe there might not be more pagans in Roworeke itself than in many if not most of the mountain kampongs. Certainly there seem to be more obviously pagans in Roworeke than I saw offhand in the mountain kampong. I
778 asked if the mountain kampong has a rumah pemali. They said yes, but that it is quite far off, near the main road. I didn't have time to see it.

291 Much of the clothing here is in the form of ikat
286 work, and I can see some of this material woven on the local back bar looms (horizontal).

Much of the cloth is plain, unattractive, dark material. The ikat work, and also much of the plainly woven cloth, is dark and is used mainly

000 notable.

797 The church in Riangkamiß is built with refer-
177 ence to the four ritual sibs of Kottang, Hurin,
346 Keleng, and Marang. This is an example of the
[614] rule used: anything of a social nature is all right, but if it is of a religious nature and related to the old spirits or ghosts, etc., Catholicism won't take it. This is like the
[171] death feasts in the Toradja country, where the Protestants will let the Christians go to these social rites but not to the great exorcism rites. Thus the Catholics here are not allowed to go to the old rites on the nama in front of the korke, but as the priest admitted, it is hard for the folk here to see the difference, and they tend to regard these retained aspects of paganism as full paganism because they are symbols of the whole pagan system.

797 He told much that was interesting. There is
178 in paganism here a need for a girl to be the
243 rice maiden for the fertility rites (Vatter[1]
796 tells the story too), and the old adat chiefs insisted in one kampong that at least one girl should not be converted, as at least one is needed to be the rice maiden. This shows the desperate plight of paganism. They must beg to have something vital allowed to remain. "Give us one only," they ask. He said it is true that just about all of the young people are Catholic, but many of the old remain pagan.

[771] Later, in Wailolong the guru Roy said there are few, but very few young people who are pagan.
578 He told us about a war in which a man was killed
411 yesterday. It was a border war between Leloba and Waibalun and the police had to stop it. They fight these wars all the time, with bow and spear and knife. I asked if maybe it were not
511 because they were hungry and need land. And
[578] hunger and misery cause aggression anyway. He denied this, but I think it is true, especially

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

159 wherein the kepala kampong is a Kottang. This is
[622] all right according to adat, he says. The guru is
an old fellow, sick with a cough. He was not there,
and his daughter, who might be any age from eighteen
to thirty, talked with us. She seems to be a queer
type, and it is strange that she is not married. I
get the idea there is some friction between her and
her father. She had five years of schooling at the
sisters' school in Larantuka. A son of the guru is in
Makassar as a clerk (I think in a church office),
and he married a Leloba girl recently. The guru
[582] married a woman from the same suku, but the daugh-
ter says this is all right as she was from Laran-
tuka. If she were from any kampong behind the moun-
tain, this would have been impossible. The house
was adorned with holy pictures. The guru said he
[797] was converted in 1907, and as he is now perhaps
●771 sixty, that was when he was about eighteen. There
178 are no more pagans in Leloba, a change from Vatter.
The old pagan stuff in a material form is all gone.

124 After our talk we decided that perhaps Wailolong
121 was the best community in which to work, because
Leloba is entirely Christian. In addition, Leloba
was done by Vatter. Wailolong is about the same
size as Leloba and at the crossroads below. We
talked a great deal about adat and then came back
to Larantuka with the guru, who wanted to visit
the children in the school there.

In the afternoon we picked him up and went to
312 Wailolong. On the way we picked up the kepala kam-
pong Leloba and a few others. They were at the
[515] other crossroad near the sea, and here there were
many women bathing (there is no water in the kampong
for this). Women were also hauling water from this
place. The guru said they had to go even farther
778 for water originally. It seems as though all of the
kampongs have a higher negri lama, as in Ambon.
There are holy stones here too.

361 Wailolong is along the main road and is located
161 on both sides of this highway. It may have as
many as one hundred houses and a possible population
of seven hundred.

[See bibliography, Cat. 113 - Analyze]

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000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass
thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in
area where there is a large bench for sleeping.
There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the
roof and often in front too. Here sit the women
while they work. If there are two families to a
house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
797 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel
as in other kampongs. The church to which every-
one here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamië, but
since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are stan-
dard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are
nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have
brown hair or hair which is partly brown.

[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk
along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-
bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue
and black mostly. The designs are even poorer
than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used
for men and for women. They say that a cloth
takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many
304 men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
few old people, it seems especially the women,
have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

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771 I see many old pagan men and women here, un-
301 like in Leloba. They wear necklaces, earbells,
291 and ikat sarongs. I saw one old man getting gin with bamboos. Many women here go about bare breasted.

304 Most people have their teeth filed. They are flattened.

621 The kepala kampong, who has sore eyes, say
124 that Leloba and Wailolong were combined in the negri lama. There is still much intermarriage and a very close relationship between these two. Later, when I got to work with the guru and he saw that I needed to get every name, etc., he was scared and said that it is easy if he has to do this in his kampong but hard in Wailolong. Thus there is a big gulf between even nearby kampongs. This question took us until 7:30 to talk over and we are still in trouble.

124 I knew this morning that I should not take a
123 man who is not a member of my kampong, but he is
115 so good in other ways that I yielded to the priest. It is clear that the main rule in this kind of research is: never take an assistant who does not live in the kampong. If you do he will not be received easily and he does not know the local gossip and intimate personal matters which would prove helpful. Also, I can't sit in his house in the kampong, and this is important for impressions. I may be able to work out a compromise at greater cost by using the Leloba guru but another assistant in Wailolong. This is a mess and from now on I follow my instinct on choosing an assistant. We finally left after dark.

797 At noon today I went to the mission headquarters to get gas. It alone has any, because V. and W. has no trucks here. I can see that the mission has everything. It is really the administration here. The pasanggrahan boy said that the Catholics here do not use the name "Christ" because this is taken to mean Protestant. In-

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693 632 624 [622] tions. Murder, theft, etc., come to the kepala kampong or kapitan. Such cases are not within the adat sphere. These officials do not interfere with each other's spheres.

632 624 622 The situation in regard to the offices is as follows: The Big Four of the gemeente who are also the Little Four of Roworeke (combined with Worowai) are respectively from Rewarangga, Odja, Rewarangga, and Rewarangga. All except the giri tumba are from Worowai, and here there is a rumah berhala. Only an Odja or a Rewarangga man (and he must be a resident of Roworeke) may be elected kapitan or kepala kampong of Roworeke. In each of the other kampongs there are families in which the Little Fours are hereditary posts. This position is inherited from father to eldest son.

[796] There are no set ritual functions associated with these offices, but the mosa laki mere of the Big Four (I think) must always be there for a big ceremony, and he must receive the lower jaws of the animals slaughtered. I note that an alternative term for the four mosa laki is tuan tanah.

771 796 Some of the people here are Catholics, and I asked if they still did the ritual and prayed when they held a big ceremony. He say yes, and that Catholicism makes no difference in this matter. He was firm in stating that there are Catholic things and adat things. They are separate. 796 241 574 527 The two main feasts of the year are those held at planting and at harvest time, when the crops are brought in ritually to the kampong. At these feasts the mosa are the leaders and the big leader is the local mosa laki mere. There is animal slaughter, dancing, singing, and praying. They wear festive clothes. [614] [342] 000 And there is also a big suku feast when the bone house of a suku is rebuilt. Thousands attend. Smaller private rites are held for such

487 of dirty, mixed kampongs, and then went up along
the cliffs over the sea to Nangapanda. Then
the road headed into the mountains, and after
[361] a long stretch which appeared to be practically
uninhabited (as usual between the coast and
mountain folk, here as in the Toradja country),
and finally we arrived in Badjawa. Before we
797 reached Badjawa we saw a large mission station
at Todabelu, where there were many modern
buildings, a seminary, and a model farm as well
as a trade school. All of these were notably
advanced over anything else we have seen in
Flores. As usual, it is connected with the
526 mission. In Badjawa there was a great crowd
for the day, and football games were held.
These are the great sport all over Indonesia
now, and it is coming even into the remote kam-
pongs. It is the national sport [i.e., soccer].

We saw here the dirty but spirited Ngada,
291 with dull clothes. The adat dress, however, is
striking, especially that of the men. It con-
sists of a dark blue cloak and a red headcloth.
304 We also noted that a lot of the people had filed
teeth, and in addition many had blackened them.
Earboring is a general practice here, but as
usual the younger men may have the holes but no
rings. (For example, the assistant in Roworeke
is like this and so is the younger guru in Le-
[771] loba.) This is a pretty primitive looking lot,
although most of them are Christian.

361 The Ngada kampongs are hard to see as they
342 are nearly all behind bamboo thickets. Ngada
houses are rectangular with low hanging hooded
roofs. They are built on piles definitely,
unlike Ende (or at least most of the houses in
[778] Ende) and Larantuka. In these kampongs there
are not many stones that I could see, but as
769 yet I have not seen a kampong fully. Notable
346 are the inverted pyramid-like ancestor houses
built on a single post. They are called nadu

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[799] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here, and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

771 the young folk are Christian. Most of the old
[624] people are largely pagan however. There are
no other obvious signs of pagan religion in
the lower kampong. The same goes for Weol.
342 Here there are more round houses, but the new
ones are all rectangular. At the entrance of
778 the kampong there is a mound which I must ask
about. It looks as though it might have been
a cult hill. Then there is the holy tree and
the stones around it. The photo of the stone
figure, Ine Amba, which Vroklage[1] gives as from
Weol, is really from a kampong which can be seen
across the rice fields.

621 There are many old people here, including two
[624] remarkable old men, one of whom is one of the
two tuan tanah in the kampong. This is a double
kampong, with two main parts, and it has there-
fore two tuan tanah. The children here are
[515] dirty and so are the adults, for the most part.
[231] There are pigs all over. However, the houses
[361] are better spaced than, for example, in Laran-
tuka kampongs. The people here have poor clothes,
[291] and many, especially the women, were seen with
304 filed teeth and some of them with teeth beauti-
fully blackened. We noticed no tattooing nor
cutting.

243 Looking off from the high kampong one can see
the wet rice fields below. These are in wedge
shapes with a common center. There are many
adjacent, star-shaped arrangements. This is
unique in Indonesia. The priest says this is
because it is easier to fence them in this fashion,
but I suspect there is some cosmological signifi-
cance, perhaps reflected in the circular houses
too. The houses have all sorts of decorations
342 on top of them. The round ones seem to have an
531 upright wooden thing on them. The rectangular
ones have at the ridge ends a stylized pair of
wooden horns, often with a bird in the middle,
and some with two birds, one at each horn tip.

[1] [See pp. 390-91 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography
cat. 113--Analyst]

243 where around the earthen plaza there are Every-
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They
looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the
peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it
were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with shelleyes. It was set in cement.

132 From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
124 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However,
when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we had to stay overnight at the house of a former kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the
oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see
the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
● 771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan.
He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and his cronies are taking everything. There is only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And
now they are asking the Christians to move up

634 166 361 into the hills with their Christian and pagan relatives and leave the lower lands for the Mohammedans.

632 634 771 578 I wonder if the kapitan of Nggobe, the fat and aggressive man, plus the kapitan of Rodja, who seem to be the right hand men of the Radja, may not form a triumvirate of Mohammedan rule here. The Christians rely on the priests to intervene (the Dutch are no longer here for appeal), and it will result in a funny situation if there is Mohammedan-Catholic trouble here. Note also that of the seven radjas here, only one (Ende) is Mohammedan; and one pagan (Ngada). The others are Christian (Manggarai, Nageh, Sikka, Lio, and Larantuka). This presents a curious pattern, especially when one considers that the RIS is mainly Mohammedan. This is similar to the Ambon situation. The Christian majority locally is in a difficult situation with the former local Mohammedan minority now in the majority group of all Indonesia. No wonder the Christians of Indonesia are frequently against independence.

632 829 The former kapitan is quite bitter, but he is clearly glad to see us and talked a lot to us about his troubles, with the obvious although vague idea that we might get the United States to help in some way. He was impressed by the United States elective system and especially gasped with pleasure when we told him that if a leader was not good to the majority of the folk he would not get reelected. He was also impressed with the fact that we told him there are no radjas. But I reminded him that his claim to office rested on inherited succession, and he began to think. They like succession when it is to their advantage, but see the useful points in the elective system when they can visualize that such a condition might ruin their rivals.

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624 like the marinyo of Ambon. I asked what the
465 secretary got, and he said cigarette money only. The pay is evidently very little.

583 Correction: Although he says there is no
614 case here now, he has found out that if the
611 bride price is not paid, the children are of
784 the suku of the mother. And the bride price must be paid at marriage. There is no post-marriage payment in order to get the children back. Thus there is real ambil anak here. The man remains a member of his own sib, and the wife a member of hers. Thus she assumes the "married woman" totem taboos of her own sib, not those of her husband's sib, as is the more usual thing.

346 I asked about the rumah berhala of Wolojec.
778 This group has a real house, and in it there
614 are four ana deo, two in bad repair. There is one for each of the four suku. There are no other suku in the kampong. There are also plenty of belongings in the house. It is rather large, about twelve meters on a side. There are baskets and other objects therein. This old kampong is only one kilometer off the road in the hills at kilometer 17. I may go there one day. The four suku are Mbonggi (the kepala kampong is from this), Djo'bi, Soa, and
[769] Woro. The oldest suku is Mbonggi. There is also a grave-bone shrine here, of the suku Djo'bi.

●791 The folk here are now mostly Catholic, but
769 they do have an annual ancestor rite, and the Catholics attend too. The kampong Ratebedi, far off in the hills, has fewer Catholics, as is the case with the far off Bu'ube'i. The distant ones remain pagan longer.

872 Fifty years ago there was no school. It came
178 in 1921. No one went to school before this.
212 They were totally illiterate (this shows how
000 recently the schools came in here). They were

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• 791 178 all pagans then,[1] and all parents of the present adults of about thirty or older were pagan. My assistant's father was.

872 [177] The lower school here consists of three grades. It is a mission school although the government evidently makes a contribution to it. In Ndona (seven kilometers by road, four kilometers across the hills, and the children walk there) there are eight grades. Until the present there is only one from here who has gone as far as class seven, and ten in class six. The school in Ndona is the highest level school around here (and perhaps in all Flores) except for the seminary. The eighth grade qualifies one for the job of guru.

There are two children here who go to school in Ende where there is a connecting or intermediate school and a middle school, I think.

[171] There are few Mohammedans here, and no Koran school. They must go to Ende for this.

871 185 178 Everyone here is very much in favor of education. Formerly, there was a bit of trouble with the oldsters who saw no sense (and I suspect did not like the mission tie-up) in such things. But now everyone wants his children to go to school. They are anxious to have both their girls and boys go to school, although they are perhaps a bit more interested in education for their boys. If a girl is clever, however, they want her to advance too.

888 212 The children do show a bit of a superiority feeling toward the illiterate oldsters, but there is almost always a great show of respect. And the illiterate old folk are not ashamed. They are only farmers, anyway, they say.

798 872 178 When Catholicism came in first, there was much trouble, and the elders scolded hard. After the school came in, in 1921, there was no more trouble. They say and insist that the pagan elders make no trouble at all for the Catholic children

1 [i.e., fifty years ago --Analyst]

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829 that the big radja here is in Ende, and that's all.

The general attitude toward the Dutch has
609 always been one of fear. This is not a speci-
648 fic fear and is not equivalent to the resent-
[197] ment one sees in Larantuka caused by stern rule and frequent jailing. He says that the real reason is that they do not know what they fear, and they can't even talk with or understand the Dutch. The Dutch speak only Malay, and few of the local people here speak Malay. They just tried to avoid the Dutch, and that was easy. As the status of Malay began to rise, there was a bit of a change among the young people, but there was little thought about or contact with or talk concerning the Dutch at any time.

What I have just said is even more true of the mountain areas. Whenever aliens come into the neighborhood they just run away. Thus when Migo goes there for tax work, he sees only the kepala kampong, unless he lures the adat chiefs with tobacco, and other presents. I asked him why he was afraid. After all, he could speak their language. Then he shifted ground and said nothing specific, and stated that they do not even fear taxes, but they have the attitude that any outsider should be avoided.
[515] Also, he says that they are so dirty in the mountains that they are ashamed to meet outsiders. (If this is so, they at least are conscious of dirt.) Their clothes are bad and dirty, and they never bathe. The women and children are especially filthy. He says it is too cold in the mountains to bathe. The water is especially cold, even in midday. This is a queer business.

Religion does not mix in with politics here.
●771 There is no trouble with Mohammedanism either. They don't talk much about such things. Even

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•771 families which are split (e.g., Migo has Mohammedan relatives, including a hadji) talk very little about religion except for such things as how was the trip to Mecca, etc.

582 797 This led to the matter of marriage. Migo said that there might be trouble with religious differences in marriage, but there had not been much fuss yet. There are two or three cases of Catholic men who became Mohammedan in order to marry Mohammedan girls. There is no case yet of a Mohammedan becoming a Catholic in order to marry.

This led to a discussion of a case where a Catholic married a pagan. Usually the pagan agrees to a church wedding, but there are some cases where the pagan will not agree, and then they just live together.

595 183 Then I got some real data: There are Catholic men who have two wives. They marry the first wife in the church, and just live with the second. The second wife is often a pagan. Thus the kepala kampong has a second wife, and she is the young beauty who was among the crowd who got into the jeep one time going to Ende. I tried to speak to her, but she was wide-eyed and said nothing. She looked like a wild animal. She is illiterate and one hundred per cent pagan. Thus he admitted that there are still young pagans (are they mostly men or women?). She was perhaps twenty years old. I asked if the pastors nag about this, and he said no. Evidently the pastors are not concerned about these people. They just preach that it is not right (but evidently they go easy on such cases, because they are afraid that they might turn some of the individuals against the church. Thus, how could they excommunicate the kepala kampong?) As for the children of mixed pagan-Catholic marriages, he said that there are some arguments. Evidently, here again the whole level is so low that it does not amount to much.

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793 The first real pastor was placed in Riang Kamiß in 1926. Before this there was only a guru (a chapel, that is).

●771 About eighty per cent of the population here
162 is Christian. (Note from the partial Leloba census that there are still pagans there too.)

Roy repeats that there were three phases in
797 the Christianization of this area: the easy welcome, the troubled period, and that of resignation. There are two gurus in Wailolong: one from Larantuka town and the other from Bama. This, he says, delays the speed of Christianization, because they are "aliens." It is better to have local gurus. He clearly implies that the reason Leloba became Christian so fast is that he did it, as a powerful local man. He repeats that Laba, the last powerful pagan, argued against him quite a bit.

Leloba now has one guru (the assistant of my assistant). Roy resigned actively in 1940. Nearly all of Leloba is Christian.

Roy says that they are first given instruction in Christianity and then baptized. Thus there are a lot of "aspirants."

771 There are no Mohammedans here. When I
797 asked why, he said it would be impossible, because pig killing and pig eating is so im-
782 portant a part of the ritual life that a Mohammedan could not get along here. (I see clearly in this the real actual importance of the pork taboo in holding back Mohammedanism. I remember this being said in Toradja country, and I think also in Ambon.)

Another deterrent to Mohammedanism is that Mohammedans could not slaughter in accordance with the old rules. They would have to kill according to Mohammedan custom, and this simply couldn't be. Thus it is remarkable to see how strong the old killing theme is here, that is, the ritual and the custom, and how all of this

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771 actually makes Mohammedanism impossible. Mo-
797 hammedanism is out here because it (1) taboos
782 certain kinds of flesh, which Christianity does not and (2) because it requires a special kind of slaughtering, which Christianity does not. This is an amazing case of how a "small" thing can explain why a great religion fails and why another succeeds.

624 Roy went further and said that it is impos-
782 sible to have a radja tuan system or even several radja tuan without pigs and ritual killing. The pig killing rite is thus the very center of the whole social scheme. (I had some
[262] pork here, and it was fat, greasy, and tough. But these folks are always hungry evidently, and even more so perhaps now than ever. Again I see how meat means so much.)

162 Perhaps twenty per cent of the Wailolong
771 population is still pagan (see the census). In Leloba there are perhaps only twenty persons who are still not Christian. But these are, or at least some of them, preparing for baptism. They are mostly old people. However, they burst out, there are plenty of persons in both kampongs who are only partially Christian. They think of them as being half pagan as they do not understand much about Christianity. They are Christians in name only.

797 And, Roy said, when I said that Krol said that Catholicism allowed plenty of ceremonies that if this were not so perhaps Catholicism would lose many adherents. The Catholics must compromise. Thus the gurus agree with the priests. Moreover, just as Krol said, they wouldn't get any more converts if they became too rough on the pagan customs. Thus I see that the way here is to make haste slowly, and to let the pagans keep as much as possible, and to gradually wean the young to the true one hundred per cent faith. This is clever and it

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796 story is clear in their minds.
241 Note also that a Sumba girl was sacrificed
782 for dry springs and fertility. The pieces were sent all over the island. Here we clearly have a pattern. I wonder if perhaps the proto-Malay
[174] strength in Lio may show a Sumba link, and human sacrifice of this sort may not have come into Flores with an eastward migration. There is a fair chance, I think, that they had at least two migrations into Flores: one from the west, the proto-Malay (and thence perhaps the stories in regard to Sina Djawa); and the other from the east, the Negroid migration, and thence the stories in regard to Kroko Putang and other ancestors from Timor, etc.

The tuno wudjo, ideally one for each suku and ama, are still used in ceremonies of all the kampongs here except Leloba and Lewoneda. Wailolong still uses them. The Catholics do not make much fuss about this. The Catholics must allow the rites. The tuno wudjo must fast for half a year or thereabouts, that is, there is a taboo on animals sacrificed for agriculture for them (could it be because they are substitutes for the tuno wudjo themselves, or is this too wild a guess?). It is notable anyway that only two kampongs have discontinued the tuno wudjo so far in this largely Catholic area. It shows how recent and relatively partial the Catholic hold on the population is here. It also shows how strong the agricultural base of paganism is and how important food can be in these terribly poor areas. The people cannot afford to take a chance, even with the old gods.

[771] I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements here at all.

[346] The korke is the kampong temple. In addition,
[614] each suku and each ama has its barn for the "adat" rice, corn, etc. This is like a kind of temple too, and ceremonies such as I saw were

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871 once solely in the hands of the mission, but
658 they are now given government support. This
797 is a curious situation. I see more of the same thing in Roworeke, where the Mohammedan problem enters.

771 There are plenty of debates in Leloba about
798 religion always, and this was especially true in the days when Catholicism was coming in. Roy talked ceaselessly with the last pagan power, Laba. However, there was much less debate in Wailolong. In fact, Roy says that Wailolong is not much interested in religion, and he says that this is largely because the gurus there are outside men. They have little influence. And thus again we see the closed world aspect of this situation. Even when preaching the universal religion, a man has to be from the Belakang Gunung region and even from the very same kampong in order to get much of a hearing. I suppose the pastors are an exception. They are such big medicine that they can even be Dutch. I note, however, that probably Holland is so far off that it is like "a far-off heaven" and there is therefore no friction with the little closed world here. Roy says that Wailolong is not much for Christianity at all. Thus I see what I first saw, that Wailolong is really a pagan kampong with a Catholic name. That is why paganism shows up so clearly. And it may also be why there is no particular love for Leloba here, and why Roy is so much afraid to work there, or at least why he was so afraid at first. He actually feared being snubbed.

Roy predicts that the last pure pagan will have died in another ten years. There is knowledge only of Catholicism and pagan cults here. Hence there is no "comparative religion." Note again that Christianity means Catholic. Protestants are evidently seldom mentioned. How nice for tolerance!

R Roworeke: I started on the last two days,
114 January 21 and 22, and went to work on the schedule.

797 Fifty years ago there were no Christians here at all. In 1922, and the kapitan says that it was in October or November, the Catholics entered. They cannot remember who the first convert was. At first acceptance was very slow (and this may be linked with the wars against the Dutch), but there was no strong resistance. These folk took it, they say. But I note that there are plenty of pagans even today.

771 The assistant says that this area is about
162 sixty per cent Christian. All have been in contact with Christianity, as even the pagans have relatives who are Christians. There are also relations with Mohammedanism, as there are many Mohammedans near here, although few in this kampong. There are no troubles with any religion.

875 There are two school teachers in Watu Roga,
797 and two religious teachers. The school build-
[658] ing belongs to the mission, but the government pays the costs and the salaries of the teachers. Perhaps it is a mere subsidy. There are no real troubles in regard to religion in school, partly because the teachers do not propagandize much, and partly because the people seem not to worry about religion. In fact, they kept on saying that I, as an educated man, might fuss over points of religion, but they knew so little that they would not know if they were being propagandized. Thus, I suspect that the gurus do not ever attack paganism directly, as this might cause trouble. Instead, they just slide in the Christian belief as though it were normal.

They have no trouble with Mohammedan teachers, as there is only one such in the whole Ende area. He is the son of the big kapitan Nggobe. The

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875 reason for this is that Mohammedans are not
797 educated enough to have many teachers yet. Thus, the mission has given Catholicism a big head start, as is the case in Ambon.

771 There are only about ten Mohammedans in Ro-
797 woreke. They had a mosque at kilometer five formerly, but it is gone now. The maximum number of converts in the kampong, to Mohammedanism, per year is from one to two. There is a chapel here, and the priest comes once a month to hear confessions, hold mass, etc. Otherwise, the people here go to Ndona for mass (I see them on Sunday walking; rain means nothing to these people). I get the impression that many people do not go to mass. For example, every Sunday I have been there, the kapitan and the assistant and many others do not go to church so far as I can see. And I don't see many women who look as though they had gone. I should have asked about this.

778 There are two ancestor grave-bone shrines, i.e., one in Roworeke and one in Watu Roga. There are also plenty of stones and the usual graves. There has never been a real rumah berhala here. But Manunggo'o had one.

527 The principal feast time is at planting. The tuan tanah (mosa laki mere) must be there at that time. There is no illness exorcism
[755] feast held any more. Thanksgiving feasts for good crops are held privately, not communally. There is a great feast for rebuilding the grave-bone shrine.

788 There is plenty of private pagan rituals, for example, to ward off illness, to make offerings to trees, and the dukun stuff. In addition, there is the bisa mari. (Having seen the dukun
[753] and how he diagnoses, I understand Migo when he said that he has a personal-family buffalo totem taboo because the dukun said it caused his illness.)

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527 A small feast is given at the birth of a
852 child.

304 There is no supercision, except for Mohammedan circumcision, and this is done only in a few cases. (Evidently, in Indonesia, where supercision was in before, they may continue it under Mohammedanism, for example, in Makassar. But where there was no cutting before, they take on Mohammedan circumcision only.)

They say that they never had any cutting here. However, they say that they know of at least two kampongs in Lio where cutting did take place.

622 The mosa laki are of course religious as well
793 as adat chiefs. The Catholic priest has a house here, but does not reside there. He makes periodic visits. There are two religious teachers.

771 I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements.

798 I wonder if the new bureaucracy, and also the Mohammedan majority, may cause trouble for the Catholic-oriented education of Flores. So far there has been no trouble.

798 There is very little discussion of religion here. They seem to let it slide by, and I get the idea that there is no great trouble in regard to paganism because (1) they never had any real resistance here, and (2) the pagans are too dumb, and so are the Christians, and (3) the Catholics do not evidently attack directly.

782 There was no trouble here in regard to the
797 acceptance of Mohammedanism from the standpoint
[231] of sacrifice, because they have plenty of non-taboo animals, for example, the buffalo, cattle, and goats. Therefore, it is not necessary to have a pig for pagan rites, and even the Mohammedans would get their share at a feast. This is different from Larantuka, where a Mohammedan would go hungry at the largely pork provided feasts. And also, in Larantuka, the all-essen-

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797 tial rites require pigs, but here other animals
782 can be used.

Three religions are known: pagan, Catholic,
771 and Mohammedan. They know little except about the pagan religion, which they probably know better than the others!

● 771 I asked about the religion here as given in
114 my notes from Elbert[1], who was here in the pre-Catholic period. They said that my notes were all right, including the god names, and that
[775] Mt. Iya was the deadland, etc. In fact, I see more and more that Elbert was a good man. The
[776] high god, however, they give the name Ngga'eh Dewa. They say there is no dualism, i.e., no earth mother, here. This doesn't quite jibe with Elbert, but maybe they have forgotten, or they are vague about this. Maybe they are always vague about such stuff as regards the high gods.

778 The tubu musu, indeed, has two stones, and
831 after hesitation they admitted that it is a male-female symbol. I note that in his Lio dictionary, Arndt[1] says (I think tubu) has an "obscene" significance with reference to "male." Thus it seems clearly a sex symbol. They never heard of yoni. They seem to say that there are two stones, one lying and another standing. Like a fool, I did not check this. I will have to look in Elbert[1] and Suchtelen[1] for this.

[789] They have the matakau, and it is called nabe.
776 The term Ngga'eh Dewa means the god above. I guess that ngga'eh means big or high. They say that ata ngga'eh nua means "pembesar kampong."

764 At death, the bodies were formerly placed in big trees, cocooned. This was true for big men. For about a month they were left there while a feast was prepared. When all the animals and other things were ready, the bundle was brought down from the tree and bones cleaned. Then they

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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124 will tell them. He says that the pastors do
[797] not like it if a guru gets too zealous. They
want him to respect the old ways and go slowly.
This is indeed crafty.

771 Among the thirty-nine dalu, about twenty of
565 them are Christian, says the kraeng. About
796 thirty per cent of the gelarang are Christian,
183 says the kraeng, but the assistant says that
this is true only of their heirs apparent.
The trouble in regard to the rites which the
gelarang must lead is still to come. For example, the heir apparent of the Veol gelarang is Serai, who is about twenty-five years old and a Catholic. What will happen? The assistant says that he must lead the rites, but they will have troubles reconciling the old with the new Catholic ways. But so far everyone, including the Catholics, must go through the ceremonies, because they are so closely related to their livelihood. Agriculture, on which everything depends, is unthinkable without the rites!

601 Larantuka: I met Oudehand, "controleur" at
[115] Waingapu in Sumba, and had a talk with him.
He worked in Leloba and is writing an article for "Indonesia" about the adat there. We got onto the subject of kinship terms, and he had this to say. He says that opu is the term for affinal relationships. This goes for both sides. Thus, with the qualifier belake (my term for mother's brother) opu belake means all the relatives with whom a man is related by marriage, that is, his wife's (mother's brother's daughter) group. And on the other side, he says opu wai(ng) means all the relatives-in-law on the father's sister's side, i.e., the man's sister's relatives-in-law. The general term opu, he says, he got for mother's brother, mother's brother's son, and father's sister (all man speaking), and perhaps also father's sister's son (man speaking).

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565 of Flores, so unlike the radjas of Celebes.
582 This is a correction of some of the previous notes, because he had said that radjas, dalu and gelarang intermarried only among each other. The truth seems to be that all except the mendi are intermarriageable.

There is still great feeling against marrying a descendant of a mendi. For example, in Pau, where there are about ten persons descended from mendi, there have been a few marriages of these families with commoners, but never with gelarang families (e.g., the assistant's). The assistant says that he would never want his daughter to marry a mendi descendant. I pressed hard on this, and asked him if he would not be willing to have his daughter marry a mendi descendant if, for example, he became a great man in Indonesia, along with the new democracy. He said absolutely not. This is a Catholic, young and educated fellow. Then I asked about his son, should he want to marry a mendi girl. He said there would be much less resistance in this case.

Among the uppers there is a great deal of inter-district marriage, for example, at the radja, dalu, gelarang and kraeng levels. There is also some inter-district marriage among the commoners.

789 The only magic power known is in the hands
756 of the mbako. They can give magical strength
565 to individuals. Thus again I see how important and powerful are these secret persons. The nobles, however, have no kekuatan adjaib.

797 The only major change in the local religion has been the introduction of Catholicism, and it has been epochal.

● 771 About fifty per cent of the local people are
788 Catholic. Just about every family has at least
183 one Catholic in it. If a Catholic wants to attend community rites, this is all right, but he

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771 should not pray. Also, a Catholic may not
788 initiate ceremonies by himself, for example,
183 house rites. I wonder what happens to a Catholic who lives in a house with the little hanging shelves for the naga. There the shelf is over their heads, and I wonder if they do not give offerings. If I had the time I would like to trail a Catholic around; my guess is that most of them do not worry too much about orthodoxy. There is still a lot of friction here.

875 There is a guru agama for Veol and Ndung,
793 but he lives in Rai. Usually there is a guru agama for each kampong, but these are twins. Usually one pastor serves one or two dalu. Rahong has the Maumere man, who lives in Tjantjar.

797 Most conversions are made of the young through the school. There are no cases of children converting their parents. There are relatively few direct adult converts. The school does the trick. A convert must first be a catechumen and learn the ropes. This lasts for one to two years.

797 The priests worry a lot here about what to
183 do, because adat is so dependent on the old
578 ceremonies. In Larantuka they have tried to
595 Christianize the pagan rites, etc. Right here there is a real problem, as the heir apparent of the big tuan tanah of Veol is Catholic. The assistant says van Bekkum[1] has discussed what should be done with him. Then too there is the matter of polygamy, which is very strong here. Most of the outright opposition to Catholicism comes from men or women who, because of a plural marriage, are not looked upon favorably by the
[783] church. There is no possible idjing (dispensation, according to Oudehand's version)[2] for this. This is a head-on conflict, especially because they desire so many children. The polygamists

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]; [2] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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797 are the ones who most often get lost to the
183 church, and they are the ones who fight bitter-
578 ly against the church. Perhaps here Mohamme-
595 danism might have an advantage, but the pig necessity at ceremonies would stop it cold. These people can get along without more than one wife, but without pigs the whole ritual life would be unthinkable. Thus each church has its weakness.

634 The first Radja of Manggarai, Baruk, was
595 put in by the church, actually. He was a
797 Catholic. The present one has two wives, one
578 of them a Minahasan. The mission is worried.
183 This is why the radja is only a deputy or acting radja and not a full radja. The mission runs Flores and will not agree to let him become a real radja as long as he remains a polygamist. The mission is on the spot. Probably the present man will never get the full status. This is checked by Degens, the Controleur.

Later, in Waingapu, Oudehand, the former Controleur in Larantuka, told me that the Radja of Larantuka also has several wives and keeps them, although he is "Catholic." One of them, the head one, is the daughter of the Sikka Radja.

This is all beautiful material in regard to acculturation and Catholicism. The Catholics are as tolerant as they can be, but they can't accept polygamy.

554 Note: The title nyora (from Portuguese sen-
177 hora) is used here as in Ambon for the guru's
171 wife. I don't know whether it is also used, as in Ambon, for a chief's wife.

● 771 There is no Mohammedanism here, and no tendency toward Mohammedanism. Polygamy would work out all right, but the pig taboo would be very difficult indeed.

162 Degens says that the population of Manggarai is about one hundred and ninety thousand. Of these, about ninety thousand are Christian.

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805 held some time after the planting is done. I think this is it. He says that in other parts of Manggarai they may have twelve moons. The European calendar is seldom used and only by those who have gone to school.

793 The only priests here are the tuan tanah.
622 The tuan tanah of the pusat kampong is the most
614 important. Cornelius[1] agreed that he was like a bishop. The other tuan tanah of the branch kampongs are like parish priests. The tuan panga have certain roles in panga rites. Below the kampong and the panga there are only small rites.

756 Cornelius[1] says that the mbako went secret even before the Dutch came in. He says he doesn't really know why the people keep the mbako identities so secret. Or perhaps he simply will not tell me. He keeps on saying it is because "they do not want to show any pride." Maybe this means that they do not want to appear to "brag" about their special power, or perhaps it is the idea that if they talk about it they may lose it. They are certainly sensitive on this matter. Van Bekkum[2] says that in all the years he has been in Manggarai he has never found out who a single mbako is. This is amazing. There are no dukun apart from the mbako. In a kampong Cornelius says there are usually from one to three mbako.

[754] There are no suwanggi here.

Cornelius[1] says that even though all the people turn Catholic, they must still have a mbako, in the sense of a dukun.

A new point is that in addition to the troubles of the mbako with the police (maybe because of poison? or is it mere suspicion of magic murder?) they have also gotten into trouble with the hospital because of their "practice" of medicine.

771 In terms of religion, the people here are

[1] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]
[2] [pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

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●771 conservative, but not fanatic. Cornelius[1] says that they do not analyze the situation by thinking of what good things Catholicism has brought. Opposition is in the form of criticism, not in terms of a balance of good and bad. Just a-
[871] bout all education is in the hands of the mis-
[797] sion, although schools are paid for mainly by
[658] the government. Even in Mohammedan Reo, I found, the schools are mission run.

The people here do not debate very much
[521] about religious matters, but they do criticize the Catholic opposition to polygyny and feasts. There are no real debates or discussions, however, not even within families.

In regard to other religions, they know only
[829] Catholicism. All they know about Mohammedanism is that they eat no pork and are allowed four wives. There is no knowledge of other cults.

764 Formerly, in disposing of the dead, a mat
[178] was used, not a coffin. Today boxes are used everywhere. The big change in funeral rites has been the addition of Catholic rites, but the old ones are carried out too, as in the case of the wedding. When someone dies, everyone howls, and this includes men and women. Then two or three children carry a spear around the area, telling who has died. A few people from each house come to the house of the dead. They place the dead on a mat, on the floor, with the head toward the door. A cloth is placed over the whole body including the face. Thus the body remains on the floor for one day. A coffin is made. The dead is dressed in fine clothes. A few carefully saved silver coins are usually put in the mouth of the dead.

At the cemetery a man hits the ground five times with a stick before the grave is dug. When the grave is ready, they bring the coffin and bury the body. The reason for hitting the ground five times is in hope that in this way

1 [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

5: Kennedy--412 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
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624	Djurutulis (scribe)	475
614	Mandur	382
	Guru sekolah (school teacher)	94
	Mandur sekolah	313
	Molang	616
	Marang besar (prayer leader)	616
	Marang besar	626
	Radja tua (Lewodoreng) of Riang Epu Kohule	672

624 162 871 771 212

Examining the ranks by age, education, and religion, we find the following (and not all information is in yet; see letter to him):

(1) Of the 5 kelake suku, 1 is in his 30's, 3 are in their 50's, and 1 is in his 60's;
1 has finished 3 grades of school, 4 are illiterate;
1 is Catholic and 4 are pagan.

(2) Of the 13 kelake ama, 1 is in his 30's, and 4 are in their 40's, 5 are in their 50's, and 3 are in their 60's;
2 have finished 3 grades of schooling, 11 are illiterate;
2 are Catholic and 11 are pagan.

(3) Of the 3 kepala kampongs, 1 is in his 30's, 1 is in his 40's, and 1 is in his 50's;
2 have finished 3 grades of schooling, and 1 is illiterate;
all 3 are Catholic.

(4) The djurutulis is 36;
he has finished 3 grades of schooling;
and he is Catholic.

(5) The mandur is 40, illiterate, and Catholic.

(6) The guru sekolah is 30; he finished 8 grades

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162 of schooling; and he is a Catholic.
624
871 (7) The mandur sekolah is 37; he finished 3 grades,
● 771 and he is Catholic.
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(8) Molang is 48; he is illiterate, and pagan.

(9) Of the 2 marang besar, both are in their 40's;
1 has finished 3 grades, the other is illiterate;
1 is Catholic (!!), the other is pagan.

(10) The Radja tua of the Riang is 40, illiterate, and pagan.

(11) Of the 7 ne'a luka, 1 is in his 40's, 4 are in their 50's, 2 are in their 70's;
1 has finished 3 grades of schooling, 6 are illiterate;
1 is Catholic, 6 are pagan.

(12) Of the 5 tuno wudjo, their ages are 3, 4, 5, 6, 54; all are illiterate;
4 are Catholic (small childre); 1 is pagan.

Note the large percentage of offices still held by pagans. This is far out of proportion to the actual numbers involved in the local population.

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ROWOREKE

621 Sections are:
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I.	Ae Uta	VII.	Nua Mere
II.	Ae Bou	VIII.	Bita
III.	Puu Djambu	IX.	Ae Mura
IV.	Kopo Edo	X.	Wolo Mere
V.	Pau Dari	XI.	Tana Ri
VI.	Rowo Reke Asal	XII.	Ndetu

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	Pagan	Moham-medan	Chris-tian	% Pagan	% Moham-medan	% Chris-tian
162 771 I	60	3	90	39	2	59
II	15	6	37	26	10	64
III	22	0	27	45	0	55
IV	6	0	15	29	0	71
V	10	4	17	32	13	55
VI	17	0	20	46	0	54
VII	14	0	26	35	0	65
VIII	7	4	30	17	10	73
IX	18	5	7	60	17	23
X	26	4	45	35	5	60
XI	0	65	0	0	100	0
XII	8	18	19	18	40	45
Total	203	109	333	31	17	52

	Schooled	Illiterate	% Schooled
162 871 I	54	99	35
II	18	40	31
III	11	38	22
IV	7	14	33
V	7	24	23
VI	4	33	11
VII	12	28	30
VIII	9	32	22
IX	1	29	3
X	26	49	35
XI	10	55	16
XII	4	41	9
Totals	163	482	25

Schooled by age-periods:

Under 10	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and over
32	75	19	18	17	2	0

5: Kennedy--416 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
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162 871 [771]	Schooled:	Christian	146	44%
		Mohammedan	14	13%
		Pagan	3	1.4% (all 1 grade only)
[562]	Schooled:	Male	111	35%
		Female	52	16%

Schooled above 3 grades:

Grade 4: three: (ages) 40 (Christian, male), 25 (Christian, male), 15(Christian, male).

Grade 5: six: (ages) 40 (Christian, male) /Assistant/, 40 (Christian, male) /Mandur/, 15 (Christian, male), 15 (Christian, male), 12 (Christian, male), 10 /?/ (Christian, male).

Grade 6: five: (ages) 50 (Christian, male) /Ceram/, 15 (Christian, male), 15 (Christian, male), 14 (Christian, male), 9 /?/ (Christian, female).

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565 ranks. There is really no nobility here, only persons who are in line for posts. As for slaves, the assistant gives only the following: No. 183, male, 40, a Gusa, and a pagan. Something is probably queer here.

624 614 ●771 871 The only offices the assistant gives are:

1. Ata nggaeh nua: No. 1, 60, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
2. Giri tumba: No. 62, 45, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
3. Guru agama: No. 81, 25, Odja, Christian, 4 grades.
4. Kepala kampong: No. 135, 40, Odja, Christian, illiterate.
5. Kapitan: No. 350, 30, Odja, Christian, 3 grades.
6. Djurutulis: No. 509, 40, Odja, Christian, 5 grades.
7. Mandur djalan: No. 532, 40, Ndoru, Christian, 5 grades.
8. Hadji: No. 554, 40, Bangova (Nggobe), Mohammedan, 3 grades.

Odja has the most posts. The pagans seem to keep the adat posts.

Wa

VEOL--NDUNG

162 621 592

	Male	Female	Total	Houses	Households	Children	Children under 15
Veol	70	70	140	6	25	82	69
Ndung	89	117	206	9	44	111	105
Total	159	187	346	15	69	193	174

5:Kennedy--426 E-5 (1949-1950) 1955 OB1 Indonesia
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162
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	Pagan	Christian	% Pagan	% Christian
Veol	74	66	53	47
Ndung	72	134	35	65
Total	146	200	42	58

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	Schooled	Illiterate	% Schooled	Males Schooled	Females Schooled
Veol	20	120	14	13	7
Ndung	22	184	11	14	8
Total	42	304	12	27	15

[771] (all Christian)

Ages of Those Schooled

	Under 10	10--19	20--29	30--39	40--49	50--59	Over 60
Veol	-	14	3	3	-	-	-
Ndung	9	6	2	5	-	-	-
Total	9	20	5	8	-	-	-

Above 3 grades

Veol: 1 (16 years old, male, 6 grades)
Ndung: 1 (15 years old, male, 4 grades)

CLASS

162
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	Dalu	Gelarang	Leke	Mangko Pitu	Sekontu	Lempang
Veol	21	109	0	5	1	4
Ndung	20	177	3	1	0	5
Total	41	286	3	6	1	9
(Women	14					

(All these married in)

5: Kennedy--430 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

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Officers: Veol

	No.	Clan	Age	Religion	Education
162 Tuan tanah	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
624 Tuan panga lambar	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
614 Tuan panga Rimbeng	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
●771 Tuan panga Rundu	62	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
212 Tuan mbaru 1	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 2	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 3	127	Papang	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 4	122	Leko	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 5	80	Veol	35	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 6	99	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Kepala kampong	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate

Officers: Ndung

Tuan tanah	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan panga Rosong	168	Veol	30	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan panga Nggurus	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 7	304	Tjarep	30	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 8	324	Senda	20?	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 9	347	Leko	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 10	214	Veol	25	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 11	186	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 12	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 13	285	Leko	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 14	260	Manong	45	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 15	151	Veol	60	Christian	Illiterate
Kepala kampong		(Lives in Meler)			
Tuan panga Rosong (helper)	151	Veol	60	Christian	Illiterate

5: Kennedy--431 E-5 (1949-1950) 1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

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614 Size of Pangas: Veol: 25, 30, 37--62
592 Ndung: 36, 44-80

The houses are usually mixed as far as clans are concerned.

Polygyny: Veol (3 cases)

595
771 (Numbers refer to ages)
614
212 Case No. 1 50: 46, 45, 30, 25, 20, 20.
The 5th is Catholic, the others are pagan.
2 are of the same clan, the others from different clans.
1 is sekontun, 1 mangko pitu, 1 lampang, 1 dalu, and 2 gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 7 50: 46, 30
The 2d is a Catholic, the first pagan.
They are from different clans.
1 is mangko pitu, 1 dalu.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 12 45: 40, 40.
Both are pagan.
They come from different clans.
One is dalu, 1 gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Polygyny: Ndung (4 cases)

Case No. 27 50: 47, 30.
Both are pagan.
They are from different clans.
Both are gelarang.
All are illiterate.

5: Kennedy--432 E-5 (1949-1950) 1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

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595 Case No. 207 40: 37, 30, 25.
771 The 2d is a Catholic, the others are pagan.
614 All three are from different clans.
212 All are gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 235 30: 27, 30, 30.
The 1st is Catholic, the others pagan.
All three clans are different.
1 is mangko pitu, the others are gelarang.
The husband has finished three grades; the wives are illiterate.

[587] (Note: The 2d wife lives in another house with her children. Because the children are of the same clan as her present husband, and she is a widow, this is perhaps a case of levirate.)

Case No. 307 30: 25, 25.
Both wives and husband are Christian.
Both clans are different.
Both are gelarang.
The husband has finished 3 grades, the wives are illiterate.

614 are somewhat moved around, however, and are even scattered, so that one may find parts of a suku in entirely different areas. I must check on this.

624 As for the four adat chiefs, aside from the mosa laki mere, who sits in the center when judging, the giri tumba (whose name means "spear running around") stands or sits to the right of the mosa laki mere. The ndeto au, who is an [791] expert on making adat stuff which I judge to be ordeal material or magical divining, sits or stands to the left of the mosa laki mere. The sike sani acts as a watchman or policeman. I must get the full account of the functions of these men.

701 Then I asked if they had had war leaders formerly and they said yes. They are called "brave men" or atambani (ata-m-bani or orang brani). They said that they were fierce and feared.

793 Then I asked about the priests, and they said
789 that they still have plenty of them. They are called bisa mari. I got the usual story of how
171 they prove their powers of second sight, and it sounded just like the Ambonese talking about guna-guna. These priests are not hereditary, and never were, but the sons usually learn their lore from their fathers.

648 There is much talk here about war with the
175 Dutch and I am told that there were uprisings all over Flores in the year 1907. I was also told of the stern methods of suppression used in those times and how afterwards there was wholesale jailing of the Florenese. They seem to have lost their nerve then and today they no longer rebel.

● 773 I asked about the old myths concerned with
769 ancestors. The Kapitan Gunung Rodja, who is descended from Djari Djawa, the Madjapahit man who came here on a whale, told a different version

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773 from van Suchtelen,[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst] but in general the same ele-
769 ments were present. However, he said, for example, that the girl was not really in the form of a lontar leaf but rather that she came wrapped in a leaf. He also said that Toni, one of the sisters, had no children; and Soru, the other, after having a child in Sikka who produced the ancestors of the radjas there, came to Ende and had children there who became the ancestors of the Ende radjas. Her Sikka husband was killed in Timor, and his name, Djau, was given to her Ende son. Thus from the start Ende and Sikka radjas have a common female ancestor. I can see that the myths here have many versions. The Java-Madjapahit stuff is definitely there. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja was quite enthusiastic in telling about these myths, and it always seemed that his ancestors figured largely.

778 I asked if they have a negri lama here, and
361 they at once pointed to the high hills behind both kampongs and said that they are located there. And on them, as in Ambon, are the batu pemali! The Dutch forced them to move to the lowlands as they did in Ambon. Evidently they go to these places from time to time, and I must find out if feasts are linked with them. They
[578] said there is no real open conflict between the new and the old religions.

535 They said that there are still plenty of the old dances and old adat costumes here. They will put on this ceremonial dress for photographing later.

764 I asked about funerals and they said that the
565 nobles used to be cocooned on a tree branch (not on the trunk, as Körner[2] says for Rea Ndona) until they rotted. Then there was a great feast with
(231) the killing of many buffalo, and the bones and skulls of the deceased were taken and cleaned and put in a chest which was then put in the slab-
[177] covered cist tombs. The Dutch forbade the tree burial as unhygienic.

[2] [See p. 21 of Körner & p. 189 of Elbert as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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000 the loss of time in such slow questioning.

632 578 634 614 624 There has been much fighting in the past over the election of a kapitan. In the case of a deadlock the radjas have stepped in and settled it, but this is dangerous because sometimes the people have refused to accept such an imposed choice. Again I see the troubles and feuds around here. The rivalry seems to be between suku. For example, they said that Reandona suku has always been trying to get into the kapitan position, but has never succeeded. I wonder if perhaps the mosa laki were not once actually suku chiefs. I asked the old giri tumba about this and he agreed but probably didn't understand me. And yet there seems to be a connection. Be-
[178] fore the Dutch came, they say that the mosa laki mere was the kapitan and the giri tumba the kepala kampong of Roworeke. Thus the mosa laki mere was the top man and the giri tumba was the kampong chief. As for the other two (ndeto au and sike sani) they said that there were these offices too in the old days.

773 173 614 Then I tried to get onto the subject of the old origin legends in Roworeke. They said that long ago before the Dutch came the mosa laki mere here was of the suku Rewarangga; the giri tumba was of the suku Odja; the ndeto au was of the suku Nggonggora'ba, and they did not know the suku of the sike sani. This mention of Nggonggora'ba led me to ask about the whole business.

The kapitan started the story. In the beginning there were five siblings who came from Java, four brothers and one sister. The four brothers were Rewarangga, Reandona, Nggonggora'ba, and Gasiradja. The sister was Djedjedjo. The last went to Nggobe. Gasiradja went to a mountain kampong in the gemeente of Nggobe. The kampong was named Woroapo. Rewarangga settled in Roworeke, and he was the eldest brother and the most powerful of the siblings. Reandona took over authority in

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773 Manunggo'o (where this suku still remains the
173 principal suku). Nggonggora'ba took over
614 authority in Worowai, and there are still members of this suku there. Then the Odja suku entered the area from Rabu (at present three kampongs; 9, 10, 11 in the above list on page 29). Then the Tibo suku entered from Koavena and settled on the hill Wolowaru above Roworeke. This was later abandoned, and they came down and settled in the sections of Roworeke called Aibou and Kopoëdo. Thus at that time there were five main suku (maybe only these five) in the area: Rewarangga in Roworeke; Reandona in Manunggo'o; Nggonggora'ba in Worowai; and the two new suku, Odja in Roworeke and Tibo in Wolowaru. The posts
[624] held by these suku were:

1.	Rewarangga:	Mosa laki mere of Roworeke.
2.	Reandona:	Mosa laki mere of Manunggo'o.
3.	Nggonggora'ba:	Mosa laki mere of Worowai.
4.	Odja:	Giri tumba of Roworeke.
5.	Tibo:	Ata nggaeh nua of Roworeke.

The other officers were also present, but it is unclear as to what suku they came from.

It can be seen that the kapitan descended
632 from the mosa laki mere of Roworeke, and this is
624 in the suku Rewarangga (probably when the kapi-
614 tanschap was created, Roworeke was made the capital and the mosa laki mere of it was made the kapitan of the new district). Later on, when Rewarangga nearly died out, Odja, the suku of the old giri tumba of Roworeke, took over the kapitan position. The giri tumba is still from Odja. The Reandona suku, descended from the second of the four brothers, is one of the eligible. What has happened, however, to the Nggonggora'ba suku seems to be a kind of eclipse. I must look into this later in Worowai.

We
000 trols this atomism.

124 The next day we went to the kampong, stopping
212 at Mudakaputu, and Watuwiti, and other places on
115 the way. These all seemed less good than Wailolong. For example, Riangkamië had only two suku; others had none or only one korke, etc. At Leloba, the guru had another guru with him, and said that we must use him as he was not so good at writing. Then I asked about whether or not it might not be a good idea to use an assistant who lives in Wailolong, but they said nobody there can write well because most of them have attended only three grades of schooling. Then we went to the district chief, the kakang, who was formerly in Boschwesen, and who is a man with good authority. He said he would order the Wailolong folk to help and would put at my disposal a lad from Wailolong. Also, he said he would order them to let us use one of the rumah pemuda, or boys' houses, in Wailolong. We talked at length about the situation and it seems that there are really no people in Wailolong who are able to write well.

773 We talked about the way the old stories are
178 dying out and the young people won't listen any
872 more. The guru Roy and a few old men only are the ones who know very much. The guru is the best, and he knows all of the ancestors back for nineteen generations. He also complained about how the schools do not have books about Indonesia and the local affairs, but rather about Europe, which the children cannot understand.

632 We had taken in the jeep a lot of kepala suku
622 and kepala kampong of Wailolong to the kakang
693 where they were to have a case hearing. It is
614 evidently a case concerned with marriage. The kepala suku are clearly old style fellows. Several
[30] of the old men had long hair and necklaces and one had a tattoo on his chest. The kakang gave a
614 speech ordering them to help us. Then we went to

Weo

614 All the people in Weol gelarang are of va'u
166 Weol. There is one exception, the va'u Tjepang. These folk came in before from Boleng, in North Manggarai. They settled in kampong Weol, but when things became crowded, they went below to kampong Tjantjar. The latter alone has many people who are not of the va'u Weol, except for real newcomers, such as the Ruteng folk in Ndung, who came to work in the gardens (evidently as coolies) and settled down. There are many outsiders in the mixed and new kampong Tjantjar.

614 The original ancestors of the va'u Weol came
773 out of a bamboo at a spot near the present spring
824 below Weol. There are bamboo trees there de-
784 scended from the original one. The original ancestors were a pair: Vako Dangka and Ine Karas. Not only is the bamboo taboo but also the lusa (red beans). For example, if a child eats these unwittingly, a fowl must be killed. They do not "cut off" the tongue symbolically with a leaf as is done in some other areas.

614 Women from other clans marrying into Weol
784 must take on the taboo of their husbands. A
562 Weol woman marrying into another clan may eat
783 lusa, but only after performing the rite called ela penteng pitak, which means "to clean off the mud." She must take on the totem taboos of her husband's clan. The woman marrying into Weol gives up her own taboos, but must also do the ela penteng pitak. This ceremony involves a pig sacrifice. Thus every woman marrying into another clan must do this rite to give up her own totems. The name of the totem taboo is tjek'ki.

565 There is a nobility which applies to the
632 radjas, dalu, and gelarang. The gelarang are
624 the tuan tanah (and kepala kampong) of the cen-
622 tral kampongs of the gelarang districts, for
[634] example, Weol. Thus Weol has two gelarang, and Ndung has only one, because the kepala kampong

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614 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and
778 broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive. It is located a little to the side of the path and in a rather inconspicuous place.

[773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about this: it is a woman turned to stone with her child because she bathed naked) is located four kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong Bangkavelo.

231 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,[1]
241 they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the
782 garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connec-
114 tion with agricultural rites. They do this in the kampong. In the garden itself they kill only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent, Coolhaas is right.

565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The term kraeng is used for all three levels of nobles.

114 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 336,[1]
632 the people here still give tribute to the dalu
651 when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls,
466 etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now
624 wants a new house he may no longer expect free
476 labor. Now he must pay for such service. If, however, there is need of a new tuan tanah house, labor is given without pay. And if there is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps, although other kampongs may assist in some way or other.

567 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi).
Their descendants are still known. It is also
565 true that new slaves were put in stocks (lam-
114 pang) until it was certain that they would not run away. It is also correct that slaves who had been in a family for a long time might even marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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784 dants of suku". (Evidently related to the
262 adat kepala kampong, the ata ngguäh nua ["man
614 suku descendants kampong."]) I must ask what
562 the suku membership variation in adat kepala kampong are; here he is an Odja. These taboos apply not to men nor to children of the suku but to women who marry into the suku only. This is very unusual, in ethnography. In the Odja suku these apply to the tomato, dog, eggs, and four other kinds of food. The males of Odja and the children may eat everything, but the wives may not. Thus if a Wanda woman marries into Odja, these are her taboos. If she eats
[753] any of these, she gets terrible sores, and they always point to their arms, just as the Ambonese say that sores on their arms are caused by the same thing. The Wanda taboos are the tomato, eggs, a kind of maize (djagung Solor), and ripe coconut.

784 (2) Family or household taboos. These are called pire sa'o teenda (sa'o teenda means
262 family). These are set by the father (and by
753 the mother too?) on all the members of the
592 household, including the man, wife and children.
614 Thus the assistant had bad sores two years ago and asked the dukun why. The latter diagnosed the cause as buffalo meat (the horns stuck through the skin). Whereupon Migo declared that buffalo meat was taboo to himself, wife, and children. Such a taboo stays in the direct line (thus a kind of lineage totem) until some head of a line decided it is needed no longer, and then a feast is given together with an animal sacrifice to lift the taboo. Thus Migo
●[773] has started a taboo, and perhaps fifty years hence, unless it is lifted, they will have a story in his family about the origin of the taboo. The suku taboos have more ancient legends to explain their origins. These taboos of household restrictions are thus a kind of assumed taboo.

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614 barn rites, with only the ama tuno wudjo and
796 members present. All of this is done in order
241 to make the rice in the fields perfect. The
343 other great ritual complex of an agricultural nature is at harvest time, and they may have a third type if there is an especially good harvest (like the thanksgiving feasts of the Toradja).

778 I asked about the saoniwang, the magic stones
789 which are in front of the houses of all suku
342 and ama chiefs. Some have disappeared in Le-
614 loba and have not been replaced, but most of
823 them are still there. For example, the guru has the mother stone before his house, and one child stone, but other child stones are used for foundations of houses. They are inserted with many other stones in the masonry, but he pointed to the specific ones. These saoniwang, like the nubanara, which are placed in front of the korke, are the big ones in the heap, the mother, and the little ones, her children. They hold the magic power of the chiefs, and without them there is no power. Nevertheless, in Leloba, even when the chief has no more stones, he still holds some power, as if they were still there. The guru has three for his house, for war power, marriage power, and power among suku, respectively. One of these is in the hills behind. This, he says, has tremendous power. He says such things seriously.

•[773] These stones suddenly appeared long ago. They came down from heaven after, or rather with a heavy rain. Thus they are like the descendance stones of, for example, Goa. Sao means anchor and so does niwang. Thus the meaning is that the power and with it the group or man holding it are firmly and inextrically tied to this land. However, all sorts of stones are believed to have power. Many of them are very little. Thus the kakang has a

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578 children). There are no Ili Djadi descendants
621 in Riang Kamië at all. The folk are mostly
614 descendants of Kroko Putang, although there are
173 some from Sina Djawa. Among the kampongs which
united to form Riang Kamië were Lamalewa, Beluwela, and Lamaliang. There are now fifteen suku in Riang Kamië. The old kampongs are still used for the sections (as is so often the case in Indonesia).

[211] The Kroko Putang origin (Tenemau) is symbolized by the wooden prau model in the korke of Riang Kamië.

621 The Sina Djawa folk were liked by the Ili
614 Djadi people, however, because when they entered
173 they brought iron, flint and steel and other
177 "high" things. Many suku were taken into the
●773 kampongs from the Sina Djawa. They brought
with them good weapons. Riang Kamië is the largest kampong here. Its population is about
[161] one thousand three hundred (Wailolong and Leloba have about seven hundred each). There is a lot of material on the legendary relationships between the ancestors as seen now in the kampongs. Thus, the two original Ili Djadi were a brother and sister, covered with hair. They came out of the mountain and a Padji girl on the shore saw a fire on the mountain. They were then discovered, and the Padji girl, Hadumboleng (a different person from the Ama Hadumboleng in the suku list), married Lenurat. Thus the Ili Djadi are Padji on the mother's side. The girl, however, sister of Lenurat, married a Timor man, Pategolo. The Radja of Larantuka is descended from the latter union. Thus Timor is involved in the male origin and Ili Djadi in the female origin. Also, the kampongs which are descended from the Pategolo-Watuwele (this was the name of Lenurat's sister) union are on the beach side of the mountain, and they are Waibalun, Balela, and Lokea. The last is the Radja's kampong.

Wa.

693 of the three kepala kampongs, the kepala suku,
614 and the kelake. For intra-suku cases, the court consists of the kepala suku and the kelake.

608 They have blood brotherhood bonds between
721 kampongs like the pela darah of Ambon. They call this umbadja or bela badja. Badja means pledged. The bond is formed by the chiefs of the kampongs cutting their fingers and drinking each other's blood mixed in a drink. They take only a little blood. This means that the two kampongs will not wage war against each other and that there will be no infringement of recognized boundaries. It means perhaps that they will help each other in war, but this is not necessary. It is a peace bond rather than a war alliance.

About every year the umbadja kampongs (there are none here as they are brothers anyway) have a get-together like the "bikin panas pela" in Ambon. The one kampong here which they know has a bela badja is Watuwiti, which has one with the district Lewotala.

773 The whole organization and everything else
796 here has a story about it, and these stories are endless. One could fill many books with the underlying legends about one kampong here. Every single rule, relationship, rank, etc., has its legendary rationalization. And ritual keeps the belief alive. Ritual is the acting out of past events which explains and justifies the present order. The ancestors are called upon to attend these rituals.

609 To be foreign in the local sense is a matter of great concern. Anyone they do not know is treated as a foreigner. This includes anyone from another kampong, and even though they may know another kampong person, if he enters they all ask him what he is after. The communities are really closed. Persons of another district are really alien. The word for stranger is

582 mother's brother's daughters; they were the eldest sons of their respective families. Perhaps this shows that formerly this was just about an invariable rule.

582 178 The reasons why several do not do it today are: (1) the church taboo (but they can get dispensation), (2) absence of a mother's brother's daughter of the proper age, (3) refusal of a son to marry a mother's brother's daughter or of a girl to marry father's sister's son because of a lack of affection, and (4) propaganda via education (I think it is this, but he says "government") that inbreeding is bad (this is possibly a neat trick of the church, which can insert this into the schools and thus beat down the mother's brother's daughter rules indirectly.)

614 773 784 I got onto totemism and origin legends. The Veol folk must clearly be the original people here, because they came out of bamboo right on this spot. The Pau va'u original ancestors came out of a stone which still stands in the kampong Pau. It is more than a meter high, flat on top, and is called vatu Pau.

Cornelius's wife's va'u came from Rintja Island. The va'u is called Manong.

Radjong va'u (kampong Radjong in East Manggarai) also originated out of a stone which is there now and is called vatu Radjong. Another va'u set of ancestors was born of a buffalo and therefore its members cannot eat buffalo.

If the totem is an animal (i.e., ancestors came from animals), the members of that va'u cannot eat the ancestral animal. If a va'u came from a tree, its members today cannot use that wood. If a va'u is from a stone, they simply must keep and cherish the stone.

The Veol taboos are three: (1) bambu belang: because the ancestors came therefrom; (2) the lusa bean: I don't know why yet, but I will

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614 ask; and (3) the latung pesi corn: this is
784 true of the firstborn only (I will ask about
773 this too).

Note the firstborn theme here too. This is also found in Sikka totemism. The Pau va'u
[764] has only one taboo aside from the custom that the stone must not be used for anything, and it is that the members must be buried naked. The story is that once, when the dead were still dressed, a child was ordered to get clothes for a dead person. The child refused, and an old man who was angry said, "All right, from now on our descendants cannot be buried in clothes." It is a kind of curse.

Manong taboos are mice and dogs. They cannot be eaten. I don't know the story, but I can ask the assistant's wife. Now, however, the assistant's wife can eat these, because she has married out. But she has taken on a taboo (tjek'i) of Pau and will be buried naked. He asks, "What about the Catholics?" I said there was no trouble, I thought, because there is no rule in the Church that a person must be buried with clothes on! Each taboo has a story of rationalization behind it. Usually there are two or three taboos per va'u.

[262] I found out that cats are eaten here.

These kampongs have long since been separate,
621 but once they were one. There was a man named
[361] Pong Ndung who came from Veol, but didn't want to live in the kampong, so he moved down to lower land and settled under a tree. The Veol people got angry and asked him to come back, and he said all right, but moved only into the present Ndung area, which was then vacant. He thus founded the new kampong, and since then it has been called Ndung.

Before 1870 to 1880 they had only kampongs and va'u. Then, under Bima, came in the dalu and gelarang divisions. The line between gela-

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865 young, in regard to the propriety of their behavior.

346 As usual, the church at Tjantjar has no
778 windows. There is no rumah pemali here. The tuan tanah house is the cult center. At each feast all gather here, unless it is a smaller, house or panga feast. The gongs and drums are located here, and also the main post (and in each house is a lesser main post) and the pusaka. The last, however, does not consist of very much--clothes, knives, etc., from the ancestors, and heirlooms of the group.

778 The cult places are: (1) the tjompang with
614 the tree, and (2) the stones. Here it is the
769 Vatu Veol, in the form of a human male with
●773 arms akimbo, but "someone" broke off the arms.
532 It is near the high hill where the original kampong was located. It was placed there by an ancestor named Padja (thus like the named stones of Ngada). Padja is invited to the feasts at the stone. If there is a war, ceremonies are held there. Any kampong of the va'u Veol may come there and use it. Thus it is a va'u stone. Most kampongs have such a holy stone. Vatu Runtu is the one in Ruteng kampong, whence came the original ancestors of va'u Runtu. Vatu Pau in kampong Pau is where the original ancestors of va'u Pau came out. This was about fifteen generations ago, he says, and he is a member (this is thus quite recent, and curious, but maybe these family trees get foreshortened; or perhaps the period represents a new immigration of "stone people"? It seems to be about three hundred years ago or perhaps a bit less). Vatu La'o is in the gelarang La'o of dalu Rahong. He doesn't know the story about it.

778 It is notable that outside of Rahong, as far
769 as he knows, there are no stone images. Indeed,
776 the only one I know of is the Vatu Veol. And
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526 face as well as on their body. In regard to girls who like men who have hit the eye of an opponent, he says that one should merely say that girls admire clever whippers (like athlete lovers in the United States).

The only sports followed are soccer and raga.
524 Card games are new and rare. (I noted that he bought a pack recently.) Also, there is a stone in a hole game. There are many children's games.

[595] Dances here are only local dances. There is
532 no sculpture, but they do have the old images. In regard to these old carvings, they do not know who made them. Note the petrifaction myth
● 773 regarding Ine Amba. I don't know the story about the Vatu Veol, but I think he has it in his notes.

778 Note: On the map there appears the high little hill near the tjompang. This is called "the place of sunning selves before." Here the people used to sit for sunning themselves, and many still do. However, there are no rites connected with this. It is probably impossible to link this with a sun cult, as in Ambon. It is in the right place for it, as it is a bit off from the old site of the kampong, and on a nearby hill, as in Ambon, where the sun mound is a bit off from the kampong on a hill. Note also that it has the "sun" element in it. And its name was "bangka" ("former") which also applies to the old kampong site, which is called "Bangka Veol."

531 There is quite a bit of wood carving on the houses, especially on the decorations on top. Ordinary, clever men do this. The only real
534 musical instruments are the drum and the gong (and they are amazingly good at them). Bamboo flutes are for individual amusement only; they are not festive instruments. Thus the drum and the gong are the only instruments with any "standing".

[i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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754 a message that they then have the power. After
756 that the person tries out his dreamed cure on a sick person. If it works, he begins to build up a reputation, and if he continues to have good results, he then becomes a molang. As for the medicine the molang makes, it does not require any formal training. He observes how some practiced molang makes it. There is no "theorie" (and the guru used this word) to be learned. Also, they get prescriptions in dreams. Thus dreams may be the crux of the affair. It is all pretty informal.

I forgot to ask whether the molang may have familiars. Bugis, the molang of Wailolong,
[774] got the call when he was already an adult. A molang can recapture the errant soul of a person who is ill. To make the recapture, the molang rubs betel on the head and joints of the patient and thinks that this replaces the soul. A now discontinued trick of the molang was to discover who did some wrong, for example, in the case of a theft, by looking in his magic mirror. It is quite common to say, "Let's got see what the mirror shows," and then go to a molang. Thus the molang is a person who receives his post through dreams which give him medicine, the ability to recapture souls, and the ability to be a seer.

759 In addition, there are dukun. These are
844 mostly women, but may also be men. They give medicines. The women may also be midwives.
462 They get their medicines from others, for example, from their mothers, or invent them, or obtain prescriptions in dreams. Although Leloba has no more molang, it does have at least one dukun, and there are quite a few in the area.

793 The Catholic priests have magic power too,
789 but it comes from God rather than ancestors or other pagan sources. They can even make rain, by prayer.

000 of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

582 583 237 614 621 The next day I questioned the guru about this, and after a long talk about kinship, which revealed that the mother's brother's daughter type of marriage is a regular type of thing, he came out with the classic statement that usually the tusks come back to the original payer in three moves. Thus, ideally this is a three-class, mother's brother's daughter, rotating system. However, the route of the tusks may be longer, involving up to twenty moves before they return to the original giver. But they try to make the circle as fast as possible, doing it in three moves if they can. Naturally, this is not always possible. We examined some cases of possible long routes, and he said it might be true that it would take up to twenty moves before the tusks returned. They try never to let the tusks go outside the kampong, and this may be why probably there is not much extrakampong marriage. But even if they did, they could close the circle by careful planning. He said, just as Wouden[1] might, that the mother's brother's daughter marriage and the bride price and the sib system are all part of a complete system. We will have more of this later.

114 Today, Friday, December 23, we started in on the Vatter[2] book which the mission lent to me. It is amazingly correct.

Among the corrections, etc., are the following: [304] tattooing against illness is not done in Leloba; [775] a tattoo mark is needed to be recognized on entering the deadland; [301] feather decorations are used only festively; [302] the special woman's horsetail coiffure is not used here any longer; [755] cotton is not placed in the ears for illness (55)[2]; [614] one of the sibs from Sina Djawa is Lewonuhah; [784] the term suku wung is used here (74)[2] wung having the sense of taboo.

[1] [See pp.19-21, 85-88 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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797 tial rites require pigs, but here other animals
782 can be used.

Three religions are known: pagan, Catholic,
771 and Mohammedan. They know little except about the pagan religion, which they probably know better than the others!

I asked about the religion here as given in
771 my notes from Elbert[1] who was here in the pre-
114 Catholic period. They said that my notes were all right, including the god names, and that
● [775] Mt. Iya was the deadland, etc. In fact, I see more and more that Elbert was a good man. The
[776] high god, however, they give the name Ngga'eh Dewa. They say there is no dualism, i.e., no earth mother, here. This doesn't quite jibe with Elbert, but maybe they have forgotten, or they are vague about this. Maybe they are always vague about such stuff as regards the high gods.

The tubu musu, indeed, has two stones, and
778 after hesitation they admitted that it is a
831 male-female symbol. I note that in his Lio dictionary, Arndt[1] says (I think tubu) has an "obscene" significance with reference to "male." Thus it seems clearly a sex symbol. They never heard of yoni. They seem to say that there are two stones, one lying and another standing. Like a fool, I did not check this. I will have to look in Elbert,[1] and Suchtelen[1] for this.

[789] They have the matakau, and it is called nabe.
776 The term Ngga'eh Dewa means the god above. I guess that ngga'eh means big or high. They say that ata ngga'eh nua means "pembesar kampong."

764 At death, the bodies were formerly placed in big trees, cocooned. This was true for big men. For about a month they were left there while a feast was prepared. When all the animals and other things were ready, the bundle was brought down from the tree and bones cleaned. Then they

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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764 in a new place and have children there, a tjompang, etc. (thus the Tjepang do not go back to their old home in the west).

764 614 823 Also, all women who marry out become members of their husbands' va'u and are buried there. If it is impossible to take the body back to the kampong of origin, they at least get a bit of dirt from the cemetery there and take it to the far-off grave (a spot of land that is forever Veol!). This is a real duty, and they may travel very far to get it. Thus, if a Veol man dies in a far away kampong where there is no tuan tanah and no privilege, a bit of earth from the Veol cemetery (near the road here) is taken to his grave. A small feast is given, at which time only a fowl is sacrificed. This is done in the far-off kampong at the burial. However, then the family travel to Veol, no matter how far off it may be, and there they have the really big funeral feast. This is [775] because the soul of the deceased always returns to the home kampong, that is, unless the clan section is already settled in a new place and has its own cemetery.

775 769 782 The souls of the dead live around the graves. There is no special deadland here. Thus, whenever there is a feast in the kampong, people go to the cemetery and invite the souls to attend. The assistant sang a song which they use. Also, they kill a fowl there, in order to give a little food in advance (he said "voorschot"). [776] Also, they go to the spring and invite the water spirits, and give them a fowl too. (Now I see why they have the cry, "Who will feed me when I am dead?")

161 769 The real population of Veol--Ndung is not three hundred and fifty, but thousands, as the dead live there too. The ancestor cult is thus tremendous in regard to the stature of the kampong.

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162 Here in Veol the Christians and pagans are also about fifty-fifty. It is notable that here in Veol many of the young people are still pagan. There is plenty of paganism still, and the Catholics, I am sure, are largely pagan. The [578] main conflict is over polygyny. But there is also plenty of general friction. It is especially bad if a man has a barren wife. He must remarry. Who will feed him when he is dead? Also, what about the ceremonies? It is all right for the Catholics to say that Christians may attend community rites, if they do not pray in pagan style, but what will happen if all of them turn Catholic? Who will be there to do the rites?

797 Note also that the last of the rites means
769 the end of relations with the thousands of dead
● 775 inhabitants of the kampong. The Catholics try to fix this up. For example, Roy tried to do
788 this by saying that they are probably not around the graves but have flown off to heaven. But this is revolutionary, and changes the whole character of the settlement into a kind of "empty" place, with only living persons living in it. He told how his father's father, when his father was a boy and the guru tried to convert him, had ordered the boy not to change. And the boy didn't. He now has four wives, one of whom is the assistant's mother. Note the [771] similarity with Toradja Protestant rules. Catholics may not pray in pagan style and may not hold private rites, and they may not officiate at the rites, but they may attend.

865 Note: At the Sunday singing performance I was impressed by the good behavior of the children. This always seems to be true here in Indonesia. They are amazingly unmischievous. The guru says that almost never is there a disciplinary problem. I can see this all over. The children are adults really while still very

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764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I must find out how the funerals are run now. Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.
[797] The assistant has finished five grades of schooling in Ndona.

291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
178 men (old style) although this is changing fast, a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
[302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
286 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
531 looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the designs are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
124 I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan. Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they have a holiday whenever there is the slightest excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I must find out about later, is how the kepala kampong is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some re-
624 marks about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan and others are not. I must get this kepala kampong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

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291 for sarongs and slendangs [shawls worn over the
286 head or the chest]. I see plenty of tooth fil-
304 ing here. And nearly all the women, young and
276 old, have the awful looking betel teeth. The
older men have the same betel teeth. The younger
men seem to chew betel less, and I can see that
their teeth are evened but are not filed down.

304 I saw a tattoo on the back of a woman and was
178 told that it is fairly common all over here. (I
later noticed a young girl in Roworeke with an
initial tattooed on her arm.) This tattooing,
however, is no longer significant here. The de-
sign I saw looked like a kind of anchor design

291 Many of the women here, mainly the old but
several of the young, go about with bare breasts.
When working this seems to be quite common.

252 I saw several women pounding corn. They use
412 a small round tree trunk mortar, and for a pestle
462 a mere pole. The corn is small and brownish.
They call it djagung Solor or mata kuching, and
it does look like small cats' eyes [the meaning
of the latter term, in Indonesian].

231 This area is full of goats. There are also
many pigs and a fair number of buffaloes, but I
saw no cattle. There are many small horses here
too. High in the mountains I saw an amazing
band of fine looking horses who had gone wild
after escaping. They can never be recaptured.
I was told that there are deer, wild pigs, and
wild buffaloes here.

At the lakes I asked if it might not be a
•176 fine place for nitu and suwanggi, and they looked
sharply. They reverted to this cautiously and
asked me if I could see the spirits. They are
going to be cagey about pagan ideas, but when
they are caught off-guard they agree that there
are probably spirits in this mysterious place.

361 The plazas are of pounded earth, bare, with
houses scattered about and the most conspicuous
things being the stone graves.

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584 true no more for the Christians in Leloba. Here
184 they have only adult betrothal. In Wailolong,
however, there is still plenty of this child
betrothal business. This may take place at
the age of three to four years. They are told
of this when they are from five to six years old.
As children they think nothing of this until
584 they become older. Sometimes the tusks are paid
583 early; at other times they wait until actual
marriage. If the boy's father agrees to pay for
a girl and later the boy refuses, he must pay the
bride price anyway. In the old days, however,
a boy never refused, or almost never. The
younger brother of the guru hated the girl he
was betrothed to as a child and ran away to
Badjawa. His father paid the tusks anyway and
they were lost by so doing. Later the brother
married a woman from Roti.

621 The guru was the first man from the Belakang
582 Gunung [behind the mountain] area (consisting
of eight kampongs) who married a Larantuka woman.
His wife was from Balela. Later, the present
kakang (who is a Leloba man) married a woman from
Balela too. Balela is a foothill kampong now a
part of Larantuka town.

595 A man may have up to three wives, but no more.

The guru's father had much magic power. He
789 was the panglima perang [war leader] here. He
776 had familiar spirits who helped him and usually
178 he alone saw them. Other people would see them
825 sometimes. Thus the guru heard a noise like a
horse in front of the house one night when he
was young. He looked out and there stood a
buffalo. There are no buffaloes in this area.
He called his father and the latter told him to
shut up. This buffalo was one of his father's
familiars. Another time the guru was in the
fields with his father and heard stones rattling.
He saw a crocodile. There are no crocodiles here
either. He called his father, and again his

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789 father told him to shut up. This was another
● 776 of his familiars. He also had a seven-headed
179 snake as a familiar. I asked what ever happened
[825] to these familiars, and he said that they do not appear any longer because the people do not feel the need for them. But if one called them, they could come to the old guru. That is, the familiars are inherited from father to his successor son. This is amazing, and shows clearly that the old guru, at least, and indeed the young one and the kepala kampong, still take seriously much of the old belief despite Christianity. I eased
[123] into this by talking like a kafir myself, as usual, and they came along to a stage of talking in a way that would horrify the priests. At one point the guru stopped and said, "My, we're talking like Kafirs [unbelievers, infidels]." There is plenty left here of the old paganism, and I can see why the priest said it would be easy for them to slide back into their former habits.

241 People must keep quiet when the crops are
824 growing as they would scare away the food spirit in the plants otherwise. When there is a harvest there are feasts and many gatherings. This may be the reason for the harvest feast pattern.

361 Wailolong was originally located in the hills. Then they moved down to the coast where there is a crossroads at Okka. After that they moved only about thirty years ago to their present location. The first move was the result of the government pressure to make them come down out of the hills. The second move was halfway back to the hills. Leloba has moved only once, that being the original move down from the higher hills. Wailolong and indeed other kampongs here have grown fast in recent years because of cleaner conditions, better medicine, etc. They know this well. Wailolong has grown apace and keeps grow-
000 ing. The houses in the oldest negri lama were

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●776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 Kraeng here is the original title for high
554 nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

796 At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is
614 done by families or pangas. Each man in the
782 group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck
231 with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunt-
[887] ing.) Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say
535 here) is done at many feasts. Each house has
574 some costumes, and the men may use them. They
555 say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 In the afternoon we went to see some fine
527 dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part
526 of the week long independence festival. The
533 lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and sing-
[276] ing. Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertain-
[887] ment was complicated and good. Most drummers
200 and gong players seem to be old women. These

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776 In regard to Manggarai religion: The poti-
782 potiwolo live in trees; the giants have one leg and one eye; if a tree is cut down an offering is given to them.

The ine weu are dwarfs with long breasts. They strangle men with the latter. They live in forests.

The darat are in the forests too. They assume the shape of relatives and lure children so that they can kidnap them. If a child disappears, the people go out with drums and gongs to scare the darat into yielding. The poti empo are ghosts of the dead. Offerings are made to them in all rites. These ghosts hang around their graves and the kampongs. Wakar are higher spirits. Of these the good spirits are wakar dia, bad spirits are wakar daat.

The name of the high god is Mori Kraeng.

241 There are two kinds of gardens: lingko
776 randang and lingko umah. The former are under
782 the aegis of ghosts of the dead tuan tanah.
231 The latter are under the aegis of ordinary poti. Each gelarang must have at least one of the former (lingko randang). For the lingko randang there are more and greater prayers. And at ceremonial rites for that type of garden buffa-
[526] loes must be killed and the whip fighting must be done at its harvest festivals.

241 The agricultural feasts are:
782 (1) Leas ose, when the garden is divided. A
624 pig is sacrificed.

231 (2) Bentio ratji, when the land is ready.
527 Pigs and fowls are sacrificed. The people go around the lodok five times, led by the tuan tanah, in order to chase the setan. Planting is done two days after the feast. Then, for two and a half months nothing is done in the garden, not even weeding.

(3) Kalok, to drive away the mice. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok

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241 five times. Then two men imitate mice and run
782 around, while others pelt them with clods of
231 earth. This part is called mburu pusu. After
624 this weeding can be done.
527 (4) Tege rego, when the crops are ripening. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok five times. (The tuan tanah always leads the procession of the people who have shares in the garden being rited.)

(5) Tjepa, just before the harvest. Each family concerned gives a pig, rice, etc. If the garden is a lingko randang, a buffalo must be sacrificed. The animals are assembled in the kampong, and the crowd, with one of the pigs, goes to the garden. Each one plucks a stalk and a hair. The pig is killed. Then they go back to the kampong and go around the "adat house" five times and then go inside to dance. Then all the other beasts are killed and the
[195] whipping starts. While harvesting, special words are used for animals and aliens.

•776 At all feasts the poti empo are called and
769 the setan are chased. Therefore, the dead are never buried far from the kampong, and perhaps inside the kampong. Thus it is easier to call them. They live at their graves.

124 We talked with the assistant Sunday and then
[524] took him home. (We discovered in Ende later that the bamboo clapping game is also practiced there.) Then we set out for Badjawa, which we reached in the evening. The next morning a lad named Alfons appeared and said that the Radja Kedua had told him to show us the Soa area when we were in Badjawa. He is the former guru agama [religious teacher] and had taught Malay and Ngada to many priests. He is good looking and intelligent and wears leather puttees.

361 Then we went to Soa, but first stopped at a
621 spectacular kampong named Lekedjere, on the side
614 road to Soa. It is pure Ngada, really a double

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 237 224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him 776 784 about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh 124 tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must 824 have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read 769 that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo [789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

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484 are afraid to sleep outside, even today. They
152 fear evil spirits (they say setan) of the out-
186 side. This is a real and vivid fear to them.
[776]

Roworeke does not have a telephone, telegraph
20 or radio. Mail is brought by people who happen to go to Ende, and letters are mailed by the same means. A letter is first sent by the Post Office to the office of the Radja. It may take a long time to get here.

There is a gong used for signaling (it is located near the kapitan's house) on the occasions of the death of a noble, a tax meeting, and the like. News is spread fast by rumor, and the gossip here is uncanny. Everyone in the area knew when the kapitan went with us to Kilimutu.

There are no "local authorities" on the news front. The only people who would approach this are the two police. News bulletins from the Information Service are practically never delivered here. Such things simply do not get this far. There are no traders who give news.

There are markets and there is a market sys-
443 tem. The district markets are located at:

1. Kilometer 14. An empty place, merely. (Friday)
2. Kilometer 24. The same thing. (Saturday)
3. Kilometer 33. In Lio (Monday)
4. Kilometer 52. In Lio. (Tuesday)
5. Kilometer 66. Wolowaru. Lio. (Wednesday?)

Thus there is a circuit, and the Ende traders (papalele) go by truck, day by day, up to the mountains and then down to the start and then over again. Sunday is evidently out (Christian influence, evidently). These traders make little
[563] money as they are mere tools of the Chinese who
[426] lend to them at high rates or merely pay them salaries, or let them buy and sell on a commission basis.

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621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are still formed partly of suku or suku sections coming in and joining the old settlers from the negri lama.

443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series as in Celebes. These wheels run in different directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru, and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The traders follow the pasar week from market to market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kam-
583 pongs, although there is gift exchange in
562 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male" things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a woman gives in return "female" things (cloth, mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere, and said that many had drowned there recently. The water is deep, he said, and there lives a "head" of a human being. It is still living and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has seen it several times, in daylight. It moves around as though on short legs. It is just a human head, with hair. They don't know what it is or where it came from. However, the people are now scared to bathe here. The victims have been sucked under. He asked me my opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
[123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith, because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere. They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head alone").

622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

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797 tial rites require pigs, but here other animals
782 can be used.

Three religions are known: pagan, Catholic,
771 and Mohammedan. They know little except about the pagan religion, which they probably know better than the others!

I asked about the religion here as given in
771 my notes from Elbert[1] who was here in the pre-
114 Catholic period. They said that my notes were all right, including the god names, and that
[775] Mt. Iya was the deadland, etc. In fact, I see more and more that Elbert was a good man. The
[776] high god, however, they give the name Ngga'eh Dewa. They say there is no dualism, i.e., no earth mother, here. This doesn't quite jibe with Elbert, but maybe they have forgotten, or they are vague about this. Maybe they are always vague about such stuff as regards the high gods.

The tubu musu, indeed, has two stones, and
778 after hesitation they admitted that it is a
831 male-female symbol. I note that in his Lio dictionary, Arndt[1] says (I think tubu) has an "obscene" significance with reference to "male." Thus it seems clearly a sex symbol. They never heard of yoni. They seem to say that there are two stones, one lying and another standing. Like a fool, I did not check this. I will have to look in Elbert[1] and Suchtelen[1] for this.

[789] They have the matakau, and it is called nabe.
776 The term Ngga'eh Dewa means the god above. I guess that ngga'eh means big or high. They say that ata ngga'eh nua means "pembesar kampong."

764 At death, the bodies were formerly placed in big trees, cocooned. This was true for big men. For about a month they were left there while a feast was prepared. When all the animals and other things were ready, the bundle was brought down from the tree and bones cleaned. Then they

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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582 the previous talk of the tuan tanah that there
614 are preferred clans. I will clinch this when I get the va'u membership of the inmarriers.

The next day I started in on some more question in regard to social organization.

[103] Note that the name of the kampong below is
346 Tjantjar, not as I have spelled it above [Tjantsia]. I went there halfway through the morning as I heard drums and gongs. There were girls (looking very Hawaiian) sitting on the porch of the house next to the new one of the tuan tanah now being built. The timbers are up. It will be a rectangular house, although the one it replaces was round (I made a photo of the latter only a month ago, which shows how fast the old type is vanishing). The drums and gongs were being beaten because this is necessary when a new tuan tanah house (rumah gong-gendang) is being built.

346 There were several drums and several gongs
533 (and I found that each tuan tanah house has
●776 several of each). They must be beaten all the
824 time, with short pauses, and the girls take
[562] turns. The men may help too (for garden beating, only men may play the instruments). This has to go on all the time while the big house is being built. The reason is that the wood (always spirit-ridden here) must be constantly kept pacified and told that it is being used for a great purpose, a big house. For ordinary houses this is not necessary. (I wonder if the idea is also in order to get the wood used to being in a rumah gong-gendang?) Before the trees are cut for the wood, they are told that they are being cut for a high purpose. Each grove of trees has a local spirit called darat. These are tree spirits. The generic word for spirit is ro.

778 I notice each day on my way here that there is
776 a grove of fine trees standing isolated on a
824

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778 high hill, which is otherwise bare, like most
●776 of the land here. It is taboo, as special
824 darat dwell here. And now I see many such sacred groves in the hills, carefully left when the land was cleared. It is as though they have to leave places here and there for the darat whose trees have been largely cut away. One has to watch out for feelings of the spirits always. The assistant also uses the word roro for spirits in general.

As the big timbers are carried in, the bear-
346 ers sing all the time, moving about slowly, and
776 telling the setan not to sit on the timber and
533 make it heavy. A small girl, elaborately
824 dressed, sits on the timber, showing the setan that someone is already sitting there, so that they won't. A flag is set on the timber (now usually a merdeka, red and white flag) to show the kampong folk from two to three kilometers away that they are coming. In the kampong, they begin to beat gongs and drums "to receive the wood" into the kampong. They may not be quiet as the wood enters. There is much singing, etc.

[335] While the carpenters are at work with modern tools on the house, the gongs and drums are beaten constantly (technology and adat). There has been trouble here in Tjantjar with the tukang from Ruteng. The timbers were already set
[578] when an argument started over the contract, etc. Tempers rose, and the carpenters picked up their tools and left for Ruteng. I saw them on the road two days ago. Now the kampong folk are worried stiff because there lies the wood and there is the wood in the half-finished house, and nothing is being done. The wood may get impatient or angry, and if so they will always have trouble with the house. And this is important, as it is the main house, the cult house,
[753] of the kampong. Also, if the wood gets angry, there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.

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346 there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.
824 They beat the gongs and drums to keep the wood
533 satisfied and I suppose to make it think that
776 the work is going on. Also, I notice that a
few men carry planks up now and then to the rafters, perhaps making as though they were carrying on the work. Meanwhile a delegation is in Ruteng to persuade the carpenters to return. The situation is desperate, and perhaps the folk regret having argued with the tukang in the first place. They must "make the wood cool," they say. This is dramatic.

I also noted that a pig was being skinned in the shed nearby. This is for the workers, but it had been ritually killed with prayers, etc. The drum and gong rhythms constantly changed, and the girls are really clever. This
[562] is beautiful stuff. There are beats which are peculiar to men and women, and also some which are used by both. These people are really virtuosos. All day the women sit thus, doing their duty by the wood spirit.

There is a main post in the rectangular house too, and when it is set in, animals are killed and blood is placed in the hole.

Until about ten years ago all houses here
342 were round. Today there are very few of the
178 old round houses left. Cornelius[1] says there is
346 scarcely a single tuan tanah round house left, because everyone must contribute to the cost of a new one, and when they build one they want one that will be a strong rectangular type so that it will last for a long while. The cost of this new type tuan tanah house is nearly fl.
[435] 3000.00 in addition to the free labor contributed. Each family contributes to the cost and also gives animals for the workers, ceremonies, etc. It is a big thing.

342 I went into one of the two round houses left
178 in Tjantjar. It is a bit different from the

[1] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

Wa.

166 will give me food when I am dead?" This is
578 exactly like the ancestor cult of China, in
614 that there must be descendants to make sacri-
769 fices for the soul of the deceased. And there is the same mournful asking by a pagan father whose sons turn to Christianity and therefore probably will not keep up the rites for the dead ancestors: "Who will feed me after I am dead?"

776 This led to a discussion in regard to the
361 guardian spirit of the kampong. Each kampong
778 has such a re, called naga, and its abode is
[166] in the stone heap and the tree thereon in the pusat of the kampong. This is called the tjompang. If there is a great deal of trouble, e.g., illness, a succession of bad crops, etc.,
[756] the mbako may say that the naga is no longer any good, and if all the people so agree, the whole kampong is moved en masse. When this happens, the old tjompang and tree are left there in the old place and are abandoned. Thus it happens that a naga which for a long time has been benevolent may turn to be malevolent. This may be because the people have not pleased him, or just because he got wicked. He is no longer a good naga, and the people had better get out and get a new place and a new naga (how do they get a new naga? There is a very big feast for a new kampong, so perhaps a new naga is then installed).

Veol moved about two to three generations ago from the place noted on the map (c) on higher ground above the vatu Veol. I thought it was strange that the stone was there, outside of Veol and above Ndung, and also strange that the highest spot was empty. This is where Veol used to be, but the naga became so bad that Veol was moved about one hundred meters below. Also, I noted when I first entered that the tree was small, and when I asked why, they said it was

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776 because it was new. This is because it was
778 planted when they moved (or maybe it was a
361 second new one, as they said the old one died).
Anyway, there is no tree on the old site, just
an empty place and some stones. The old tree
has evidently died, as he says they do not cut
them down. No one would dare live in that
place again. They may go there occasionally
if there is a reason to do so, but they do
not remain there. It is a cursed spot. The
vatu Veol is a man, but he does not yet have
the story. When the kampong moves, they get
a new stone heap and tree (tjompang).

[166] Many kampongs have moved because their naga
have turned bad. Aside from Veol he mentioned
Meler and Ladja. They must keep the naga
happy, or the situation may become dangerous.
Thus the rites held at the tjompang have real
meaning. They are for the kampong naga.

342 The house naga lives in each house. His
776 place is the main post. High on this is a lit-
782 tle shelf hung from strings. On this place
from time to time the occupants place eggs,
rice, and bits of meat. Also, each family
apartment or section has a little hanging shelf
for the house naga's food. The main post is
especially important, and that is why at cere-
monies they must give it blood from animals,
etc. (There must be a link here with the giv-
ing of food to the posts of the Larantuka korke;
note that Roy said they must "feed" the posts.)

342 If there is much trouble in the house, the
776 mbako may say that it is because for one reason
[756] or another the house naga is no longer any good.
Then they must dismantle the house and build a
new one. Many and many a house has been torn
down and the folk have then built a new one for
this reason. And when they do this, a great
expense is entailed, because they may not use
the old wood. They sell it to another family

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342 or another va'u, who will not carry the naga
776 with them. They buy entirely new wood, even to the very small pieces. They can use no part of the old house. I can see a house built with modern tools being torn down because the naga had turned bad (here again is an interesting case of technique and adat, the new and the old).

This is all good information, but it came
124 entirely through questioning, and I had to drag things out a bit, because he is very slow in giving information on his own. Here again I see the secrecy, the reluctance, and the fear which is exhibited so often here. He is under a strain, I think. He sets his jaw and almost groans as the information is pulled out.

This is all new material. I doubt that much of it if any has been published.

In the past fifty years I do not know how
166 many people have come to live in this kampong area, but right now the entrants are as follows:

Ndung: 29 women have married in.
9 men have married in.
14 couples have moved in from the outside.

Veol: 27 women have married in.
4 men have married in.
4 couples have moved in from the outside.

None of the people who have come into these kampongs from other areas has come from far away. The farthest that any of them has come from is Todo. I made a list of every case, but there is no use to keep it, because there is no pattern. They are all from nearby places. The suku information is more important in order to see what suku have married in.

The incomers are of three types: women who normally marry in; men who abnormally come to live matrilocally, either because they have paid

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[493] [492] The fact that there are no buses here is a big hindrance. However, the horses help for short runs. The assistant gives the travel
481 178 times on foot in the old days and now. It shows that they walk much faster now than before. The world is speeding up! It used to take a day to walk to Ruteng; now they do it in three hours!

829 789 609 In general there is no fear of the outside. In the old days they feared robbery and murder, as outsiders were fair game for such. Magical danger is only encountered in certain places which are well known.

● 776 784 There are many kinds of roro, or spirits, e.g., darat (tree), naga (house and kampong), potiwolo (woods). Although the others may be good or evil, the potiwolo are always wicked. They live in woods. For example, they live in the taboo grove on the way to Ruteng. Darat live there too. The potiwolo sneak up and hit their victims. Thus it is dangerous to go into the woods in such an area, and they never enter such a grove alone. The assistant tells that as a boy with his father he was afraid to enter this wooded area. These potiwolo look like men but have goat bodies. They have two arms but only one leg. They either run on all three, or hop along on the one leg. There are other local spirits, and the places where they live are avoided.

20 Formerly no letters were sent in this area at all, and even today, nearly none is written. There is no telephone here and no telegraph. There is a telephone and there are phonograms in Ruteng. There is no radio here. Letters come to Ruteng and stay there until the post office sees a man who happens to be going the right way. Then he passes the word along. A letter may take three months to be received. Even the phonogram I sent was delayed for two

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764 in a new place and have children there, a tjompang, etc. (thus the Tjepang do not go back to their old home in the west).

764 614 823 Also, all women who marry out become members of their husbands' va'u and are buried there. If it is impossible to take the body back to the kampong of origin, they at least get a bit of dirt from the cemetery there and take it to the far-off grave (a spot of land that is forever Veol!). This is a real duty, and they may travel very far to get it. Thus, if a Veol man dies in a far away kampong where there is no tuan tanah and no privilege, a bit of earth from the Veol cemetery (near the road here) is taken to his grave. A small feast is given, at which time only a fowl is sacrificed. This is done in the far-off kampong at the burial. However, then the family travel to Veol, no matter how far off it may be, and there [775] they have the really big funeral feast. This is because the soul of the deceased always returns to the home kampong, that is, unless the clan section is already settled in a new place and has its own cemetery.

775 769 782 The souls of the dead live around the graves. There is no special deadland here. Thus, whenever there is a feast in the kampong, people go to the cemetery and invite the souls to attend. The assistant sang a song which they use. Also, they kill a fowl there, in order to give a little food in advance (he said "voorschot"). [776] Also, they go to the spring and invite the water spirits, and give them a fowl too. (Now I see why they have the cry, "Who will feed me when I am dead?")

161 769 The real population of Veol--Ndung is not three hundred and fifty, but thousands, as the dead live there too. The ancestor cult is thus tremendous in regard to the stature of the kampong.

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865 young, in regard to the propriety of their behavior.

346 As usual, the church at Tjantjar has no
778 windows. There is no rumah pemali here. The tuan tanah house is the cult center. At each feast all gather here, unless it is a smaller, house or panga feast. The gongs and drums are located here, and also the main post (and in each house is a lesser main post) and the pusaka. The last, however, does not consist of very much--clothes, knives, etc., from the ancestors, and heirlooms of the group.

778 The cult places are: (1) the tjompang with
614 the tree, and (2) the stones. Here it is the
769 Vatu Veol, in the form of a human male with
773 arms akimbo, but "someone" broke off the arms.
532 It is near the high hill where the original kampong was located. It was placed there by an ancestor named Padja (thus like the named stones of Ngada). Padja is invited to the feasts at the stone. If there is a war, ceremonies are held there. Any kampong of the va'u Veol may come there and use it. Thus it is a va'u stone. Most kampongs have such a holy stone. Vatu Runtu is the one in Ruteng kampong, whence came the original ancestors of va'u Runtu. Vatu Pau in kampong Pau is where the original ancestors of va'u Pau came out. This was about fifteen generations ago, he says, and he is a member (this is thus quite recent, and curious, but maybe these family trees get foreshortened; or perhaps the period represents a new immigration of "stone people"? It seems to be about three hundred years ago or perhaps a bit less). Vatu La'o is in the gelarang La'o of dalu Rahong. He doesn't know the story about it.

778 It is notable that outside of Rahong, as far
769 as he knows, there are no stone images. Indeed,
●776 the only one I know of is the Vatu Veol. And
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778 note that the removed Vatu Ine Amba was in the
769 gelarang Veol too. However, outside Rahong
●776 there are plenty of regular cult stones which
[532] are not images. Where did these images come from? This is peculiar for Flores, and would bear checking profitably.

(3) The house of the tuan tanah, and to a lesser extent the main pillars and individual family naga shelves in each house.

(4) The lodok in the center of the gardens. When it is first placed there, it is made of wood, and only later is it replaced by a stone.

(5) Cemeteries, where the ghosts live. On each grave there are two stones, one at the head and one at the foot.

(6) Places in the woods which are known to be the abodes of spirits. The people go there to make offerings when they think illness has been caused therefrom. Some of these places have stones and others do not. They are known frequently without markers. As I remember, he said that in this area there were no such places, but I had better not mention this, because I am not sure.

(7) Locally, the bamboo grove where the ancestors of va'u Veol emerged from bamboo.

(8) The kampong spring. This is the usual thing, and here they hold ceremonies. Here there are nitu as well as ancestral ghosts (empo).

(9) The tree of Ndung. People may go there if they are afflicted by illness.

(10) The Bangka Veol ("former Veol"), the abandoned higher site, where the naga was not good. No rites are held there, and it is avoided.

(11) Pong Noang, a grove of trees. The name means "place of the dog bark noise." There were trees here once, but they have all been cut down now for gardens (showing the desperate need of

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769 more land here). However, the darat (tree spir-
778 its) who lived in the trees are still there on
● 776 the spot. When such a grove is cut (and most kampongs have a grove), elaborate rites must be given. It is evidently quite dangerous. Therefore, in addition to the darat in all groves, almost every kampong has its own private darat, who live in the kampong grove.

778 This is important: The assistant says that
769 whenever and wherever they have a ceremony they must set a stone in the center of the place
273 where the rite is held. This stone has palm
782 wine poured over it as a libation. The libation is indispensable, and therefore the stone is also indispensable. It evidently represents the ancestral ghosts, who must always get a drink at every rite. And they pour the drink carefully, as though they were pouring it into someone's mouth. Palm wine is hard to get here, but they will go great distances to get it for a ceremony, even though they may obtain only a little, as it is essential. I note the tremendous importance of alcohol all through here. They drink a lot, as I saw in Anam at the New Year feast (see later), and they like it. It seems to be a perfect case of giving the ancestors what they liked best in life.

I noticed another amazing thing, though it
[533] may be unconscious. When the singing teacher at the mission at the Sunday performance for me arranged the boys for a round singing dance (sanda), he put a stone in the center of the place! It was probably just a marker, but note how easily he set a stone there.

527 I do not know if I got information on all
241 the feasts, as the time was getting short, but
574 he gave them as follows:

(1) New Year. This usually comes in October or November or December. It may be later, but may not be held in the summer. It takes place when

Flores OF9
Javanese OF5
Bali OF7
Lombok OF12
Gorontalo OG4

[414 cont.]

important festivals and the ancestors.

F 361 Finally, we wish to mention, as examples of the orderly village arrangement in the more easterly areas of the archipelago, the villages of the Ngada (central Flores), which are notable for their regularity. The houses stand in strict alignment around a square; on sloping terrain, the square has several terraces which are carefully tended. Pigs are kept out by means of a bamboo fence along the front of the houses. Clumps of bamboo are found around the village, while the rice and maize granaries are built outside the villages. Furthermore, in every village there are one or more copies of the nadoe and the baka, dedicated to, or the symbol of, respectively, the ancestral father and the ancestral mother of a noi, or family [familie] unit.

F [351 231 343]

F [778 532]

The nadoe is a heavy wooden pole, often artistically worked, ending in a fork at the top, with a circular excavation between the prongs, and covered with a cone-shaped alang roof. The baka is a little house, commonly made of finely worked planks and like the ordinary house in form, but usually without the front veranda. The villages here, too, cover only a small area, since practically nothing is planted inside the village.

I 361 The third type of village in the archipelago is completely different and is found, as a rule, in the more highly developed areas where wars are far in the past, and hence the village no longer needs to be a complex of dwellings huddled together as closely as possible and surrounded by walls and barricades. An outstanding example of this type of village is the Javanese dèsa. Every house is surrounded by a yard, which in many cases is quite large, where all kinds of fruit trees and other crops are planted, so that such a "village cluster," as Veth calls it, [415] rises out of the sawah sea like a kind of island. Even though the number of inhabitants may be small, such a Javanese dèsa covers quite a large area.

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Similar villages are found on Bali and Lombok, in central Sumatra, among the Minahasa (northeastern Celebes), and, more recently, under the influence of the Government and the

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764 kampongs with plazas and tombs all over. The latter are usually rectangular stone piles with flat covers, which are evidently lifted in
342 order to put in more bodies. Some of the houses have high pitched roofs coming down to the floor on all sides. They appear to be hooded, and are rather ragged inasmuch as they use alang-alang grass for thatch. Some houses are simpler and follow a more usual design, but all have a different look from those in, for
[531] example, Celebes or Ambon. I saw no gaba-gaba here, but rice stalks are used in the same way and they look like narrower gaba-gaba strips. I
●[778] asked at one kampong if they had pusaka houses, and the answer was yes.

[782] I have seen no offering posts yet. I stopped
797 to talk with the priest at Ndetosoko. He was named Nalles and has a church and school and is starting to plant coffee for the church. The nearby kampongs look pagan to me, but he says that about half of the population in these villages have been converted. It is the usual story: the older ones stay pagan. I talked
121 quite a while with him and he advised my choos-
124 ing a kampong near Wolowaru. We then went back toward Ende, and at 7 km. out we stopped at Roworeke. It is on the side of the road, and then we stopped at another kampong, Watu Roga. The whole place looked ideal, with old style houses, tombs in the plaza, primitive looking folk, etc., and it is all very near Ende. We talked with a couple of the men, and they said that the kapitan (district chief) was in the garden at kilometer 10. We said we would come back later. I decided to take this kampong, or rather this double kampong.

634 In the afternoon we went to see the Ende radja.
124 There was a large gathering there including five Chinese, two hadjis (one kapitan of Nggobe, the northern half of Ende town, and the other from

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773 from van Suchtelen,[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst] but in general the same ele-
769 ments were present. However, he said, for example, that the girl was not really in the form of a lontar leaf but rather that she came wrapped in a leaf. He also said that Toni, one of the sisters, had no children; and Soru, the other, after having a child in Sikka who produced the ancestors of the radjas there, came to Ende and had children there who became the ancestors of the Ende radjas. Her Sikka husband was killed in Timor, and his name, Djau, was given to her Ende son. Thus from the start Ende and Sikka radjas have a common female ancestor. I can see that the myths here have many versions. The Java-Madjapahit stuff is definitely there. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja was quite enthusiastic in telling about these myths, and it always seemed that his ancestors figured largely.

778 I asked if they have a negri lama here, and
361 they at once pointed to the high hills behind both kampongs and said that they are located there. And on them, as in Ambon, are the batu pemali! The Dutch forced them to move to the lowlands as they did in Ambon. Evidently they go to these places from time to time, and I must find out if feasts are linked with them. They
[578] said there is no real open conflict between the new and the old religions.

535 They said that there are still plenty of the old dances and old adat costumes here. They will put on this ceremonial dress for photographing later.

764 I asked about funerals and they said that the
565 nobles used to be cocooned on a tree branch (not on the trunk, as Körner[2] says for Rea Ndona) until they rotted. Then there was a great feast with
(231) the killing of many buffalo, and the bones and skulls of the deceased were taken and cleaned and put in a chest which was then put in the slab-
[177] covered cist tombs. The Dutch forbade the tree burial as unhygienic.

[2] [See p. 21 of Körner & p. 189 of Elbert as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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764 It is done in one day now, because the body be-
178 gins to smell otherwise.

The physical types in the mountains, the Lio
144 folk (who speak the same dialect as the Ende
361 coastal dwellers but with a different accent,
[197] and they are really only a mountain branch of
the Ende-Lio tribe) are mainly proto-Malay, or
at least that's the way it seems to me. One
can see this especially in the women, but also
in many of the men. It seems that the more
Melanesian and Papuan types are settled along
the coast, which makes me wonder if maybe there
might not have been a reverse movement of the
black people from the Timor area into Flores,
pushing the proto-Malay people back into the
hills. There are plenty of Melanesian types, and
Papuans, and even Australoid types in the hills,
however, just as on the coast. I get the impres-
[181] sion that the mountain people are nicer, better
looking, more polite, and perhaps even a little
cleaner than the coastal dwellers.

609 I notice that these Roworeke lads, especially
197 the guru, order the Lio folk around. They seem
771 to be regarded as hillbillies. However, they
speak the same language, and many mountain kam-
pongs are one hundred per cent Catholic. In fact,
I really wonder if maybe there might not be more
pagans in Roworeke itself than in many if not
most of the mountain kampongs. Certainly there
seem to be more obviously pagans in Roworeke
than I saw offhand in the mountain kampong. I
778 asked if the mountain kampong has a rumah pemali.
They said yes, but that it is quite far off, near
the main road. I didn't have time to see it.
291 Much of the clothing here is in the form of ikat
286 work, and I can see some of this material woven
on the local back bar looms (horizontal).

Much of the cloth is plain, unattractive, dark
material. The ikat work, and also much of the
plainly woven cloth, is dark and is used mainly

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778 Theyagreed that Ndoeria had rebuilt many rumah pemali. I must go there sometime.

574 Back in Roworeke, the kapitan gave us sweet soft drinks and port wine (Chinese). Then he put 291 on his adat dress, including a batik headcloth 386 which was winged in front, and a fine ikat slen- [287] dang, and a woven sarong. There seems to be no more tapa around here. The colors of the woven and ikat stuff are dark, including blue, black, and dull red. They are not very attractive, and the cloth is quite heavy. I saw women with baskets full of leafy stuff (small leaves) and I asked what was inside. They said tarum [indigo] and that it is used to make the blue and black dye. Thus they still use locally made dyes, but in Roworeke the red dye is bought in a store.

126 I took a picture of the kapitan and his wife and family including the fine type old mother. 621 We then started on a tour of the kampong. We went first across the road to Watu Roga. It is small and evidently most of the Wanda suku are. 342 There is one large house, but most of the others 178 are rather small. They are not of the high pitched roof type. I was told that before the war there were more of the old high roof type, but the Japanese leveled many of them to make the people move into the hills as they said the population was too dense near the town. I can't quite get the point, but new houses tend to be low, four sloped roofed, rather long and squat in type, but still look primitive because of the alang-alang thatched roof and many with the coconut leaf midrib walls. The walls, however, are usually low or invisible because they are under the low-hanging roof. Hence they are hooded.

349 In Watu Roga there is a high concrete struc- 769 ture looking something like a watchtower with 614 steps leading up. It has a four-sloped tin roof. 766 There is a low wall around a small rectangular space under the roof. The flooring is of tile,

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621 Nuamere (the kapitan's house is located here), Pudjambu, Aibod, Aiutu, Roworeke proper (the original kampong after they moved down from the negri lama), Kopoëdo (all Tibo suku, and small), and Wolomere. Thus there are seven. To the south, below Aiutu and Wolomere, is an open land stretching out toward Ende, on which various mixed folk have settled sparsely. The Roworeke [778] sections run up hill gradually from the road to the west, and the negri lama is located high above. All are on the west side of the road except the far south Wolomere, where the secretary lives. Wolomere is on the Watu Roga side of the road. There is an offshoot of Watu Roga on the Roworeke side. This is Paudari, and most, if not all, here are of the Wanda suku.

764 In Nuamere there is one high-roofed house, near the kapitan's. And here is a large concrete tomb set high above the houses. In the upper part, and alone, is the body of the kapitan who died in 1939. In the large lower part are tens of bodies of the Odja suku. When a new body is to be put in, an earthen section is dug up, which exposes an opening in the concrete tomb. The bones are pushed back and the body placed in and the earth replaced (are these bound in the knee-to-chest position?). There are many other rougher stone tombs which the kapitan said contain tens of bodies also. They do not know how many are contained in some of them as they are so old and have been used for so long.

621 Then we went to Pudjambu, the next place, and
766 it is like a small separate kampong by itself.
349 Then we went to another, rather farther off and
769 up on the rising stone-faced levels. It was fine.
614 This was the Roworeke proper, the ancestral kampong whence all others spread after moving down from the negri lama. It is a very fine place and I took a photograph. Here there is a high-set roofed tower like the Wanda one, and on planks

R I asked if there were no rumah pemali here.
•778 They then called it rumah berhala and said that there was none in either Watu Roga or Roworeke. They said there is one at kilometer 17, two kilometers up on a hill. It is the rumah berhala of Wolofea. They said that in it are many pictures painted by the ancestors and that it is big. The people who care for it live nearby. I would like to see this and may have the time to do so.

142 On this tour we saw plenty of good looking folk, especially the proto-Malay female type. Some were handsome. Many were bare to the waist.
736 Many were children. The kapitan said there are many orphans here, perhaps ten per cent of the children, because so many die. They are taken care of by others.

721 They said there used to be lots of wars here.

Then we went back to the kapitan's house and
342 thence took the secretary along the road to Ende, and along this road are Aibou and Aiutu. The latter is a magnificent place with high houses. They said that this is because the Japanese did not level them in this place. This is the best
634 house area. The secretary went to his section,
621 Wolomere, on the Watu Roga side of the road.
578 Just beside the kapitan's house is an upright stone. It is said to be the boundary marker between Watu Roga and Roworeke. However, it is in from the road on the Roworeke side. Evidently, from his statement, although the road is the boundary of Lio and Ende states, Watu Roga has a slice on the Roworeke side of the road in Ende territory. This shows again the senselessness of putting any of Watu Roga in Lio. He said that there were many disputes, and when he ascended to the kapitan post he would put a marker up and then put his house half in Watu Roga territory and half in Roworeke. Thus he is "neutral." This again
[181] seemed to show up rivalry and the disputatious nature of these people.

159 wherein the kepala kampong is a Kottang. This is
[622] all right according to adat, he says. The guru is
an old fellow, sick with a cough. He was not there,
and his daughter, who might be any age from eighteen
to thirty, talked with us. She seems to be a queer
type, and it is strange that she is not married. I
get the idea there is some friction between her and
her father. She had five years of schooling at the
sisters' school in Larantuka. A son of the guru is in
Makassar as a clerk (I think in a church office),
and he married a Leloba girl recently. The guru
[582] married a woman from the same suku, but the daugh-
ter says this is all right as she was from Laran-
tuka. If she were from any kampong behind the moun-
tain, this would have been impossible. The house
was adorned with holy pictures. The guru said he
[797] was converted in 1907, and as he is now perhaps
771 sixty, that was when he was about eighteen. There
198 are no more pagans in Leloba, a change from Vatter.
The old pagan stuff in a material form is all gone.

124 After our talk we decided that perhaps Wailolong
121 was the best community in which to work, because
Leloba is entirely Christian. In addition, Leloba
was done by Vatter. Wailolong is about the same
size as Leloba and at the crossroads below. We
talked a great deal about adat and then came back
to Larantuka with the guru, who wanted to visit
the children in the school there.

In the afternoon we picked him up and went to
312 Wailolong. On the way we picked up the kepala kam-
pong Leloba and a few others. They were at the
[515] other crossroad near the spa, and here there were
many women bathing (there is no water in the kampong
for this). Women were also hauling water from this
place. The guru said they had to go even farther
● 778 for water originally. It seems as though all of the
kampongs have a higher negri lama, as in Ambon.
There are holy stones here too.

361 Wailolong is along the main road and is located
161 on both sides of this highway. It may have as
many as one hundred houses and a possible population
of seven hundred.

[See bibliography, Cat. 113 - Analyze]

Wa

614 giving the first fruits to the masters; (c) owing
567 certain duties to the masters; (d) respect shown
423 to the masters; and (e) not being in a good
582 place at feasts. They may intermarry, however, and the bride price for them is the same, etc. He said that even in the beginning they intermarried; in fact as soon as they got into the area they integrated into the marriage system. So strong is the need for these marriage rules that even slaves must be put into the system.

The Ama Rere is a peculiar case too. They
[727] are descendants of war captives brought back from the Maumeri area eighteen generations ago. They too have no ritual standing, as can be seen above in their lack of chance to do any of the duties of the Datong suku. They do not have their own land either. They have to work for
[796] Ia and Ib. That is, they have no ritual standing, no land, and they must do certain duties. In the marriage system, however, they are equal.

614 Also peculiar in the Wailolong setup is the
554 Ama Hurint. They do not have a full position
423 in the kampong, because their ancestors came in from Leloba. They have no land of their own in Wailolong. Each year they receive land for their use during the next year.

721 Then we got onto the schedule and learned a number of incidental things. For instance, right now the Leloba folk are scared to walk along the road near Waibalun because there is a state of war. Thus this is a real war and not play, and there is real danger of death. The "big houses,"
●778 i.e., the houses of the radja tuan and the kelake,
789 have holy stones before them. It is not proper
171 to call them nubanara but rather saoniwa(ng). The nubanara proper are the holy stones of the kampong in front of the korke. The saoniwa(ng) hold the magical power of the radja tuan and the kelake. The power of these stones invigorates the respective chiefs, and this is why the folk

Wa.

778 must give them respect and why the folk are scared
789 not to obey them. (Thus it is like the aradjang
171 in South Celebes.)

789 The guru really got going on magic power. He
721 said that they call on magic power especially
778 when they are going to war (and right now too).
769 If, for example, Wailolong were going to war tomorrow with Riang Kamiß as they did only some fifteen years ago, the respective radja tuan, kelake, and maybe even the molang would get to work the night before doing the magic stuff. Among the other things they would call on the ancestors for magic power and also go through the betel rubbing on face, bodies, etc. They would also kill animals and use gin, because blood and alcohol have power. Then, on the next morning, they would be full of magical power and would go to war. All the men would come to the "big houses" to be "treated."

778 These "big houses" of the suku and ama also
614 have sacred objects, including tusks, plates,
237 etc.

422 These tusks, all of them, are ama property.
583 If any member gains possession of one, he places it in the big house of his ama. Any man in need of some tusks for a bride price may take them. If the tusks of the ama are exhausted, he may draw on the tusks of the suku. Thus Kassi, who Vatter said had no tusks of his own, could not use any tusks because his ama no longer had any. He happened to be a member of the Hurint suku, and the guru, the kepala suku, gave him some finally from the suku store and thus he was able to get married.

583 The minimum price for any girl is five units
237 of tusks (I think this is a matter of length, that is, the small and large are reckoned up). One may pay more without limitation. It is not a matter of beauty.

584 Child betrothal is common here, but this is
184

609 We
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
437 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has magical power, but we didn't get into the full
[778] story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

R

614 here the process has gone much further and they
124 are slower in general to respond. Anyway I got
to the point where they said that there are
really only two "native" suku here in Roworeke,
[622] Odja and Rewarangga. Only an Odja can become
kepala kampong.

622 Incidentally, they agreed that in the old
624 days they had only four adat chiefs. The kepala
[177] kampong were superimposed by the Dutch. They
know this. I asked who were really higher in
rank, the mosa laki mere or the kepala kampong,
and they said that they were just different.
614 Other suku than the main two here are for example, Wanda, Ndoru, Songo, Soa, Fongi; all of which are from Lio, and are represented here by women who have married in mostly. Then there is Djawa, which has been here for a long time. Also there is Meo, from Nggobe; Gusi, from another Ende gemeente; Gusa (or Tibo), from Koavena; another Rewarangga kampong; and Woro (same).

● 778 Koa is the negri lama of the Gusa suku, and there the rumah berhala is located. It is the one that has the images. Many of the oldtimers live there. It is one kilometer uphill from the km. 10 mark on the road, just above the kapitan's garden. There is a rumah berhala in Worowai, where rites are held. I must get to see this.

There is no question here but that the
614 Rewarangga suku has the greatest power in all the gemeente. It may also have been the original suku. Next in order is Odja, and evidently next in line comes Reandona, whose native kampong is Manunggo'o, in the hills above Roworeke.

527 On December 27, after the ceremony of independence, came the same sort of thing as on flag day, but now for nearly a week there will be no
487 work. We left for Badjawa, the capital of Ngada. The road went along the coast through a number

487 of dirty, mixed kampongs, and then went up along
the cliffs over the sea to Nangapanda. Then
the road headed into the mountains, and after
[361] a long stretch which appeared to be practically
uninhabited (as usual between the coast and
mountain folk, here as in the Toradja country),
and finally we arrived in Badjawa. Before we
797 reached Badjawa we saw a large mission station
at Todabelu, where there were many modern
buildings, a seminary, and a model farm as well
as a trade school. All of these were notably
advanced over anything else we have seen in
Flores. As usual, it is connected with the
526 mission. In Badjawa there was a great crowd
for the day, and football games were held.
These are the great sport all over Indonesia
now, and it is coming even into the remote kam-
pongs. It is the national sport [i.e., soccer].

We saw here the dirty but spirited Ngada,
291 with dull clothes. The adat dress, however, is
striking, especially that of the men. It con-
sists of a dark blue cloak and a red headcloth.
304 We also noted that a lot of the people had filed
teeth, and in addition many had blackened them.
Earboring is a general practice here, but as
usual the younger men may have the holes but no
rings. (For example, the assistant in Roworeke
is like this and so is the younger guru in Le-
[771] loba.) This is a pretty primitive looking lot,
although most of them are Christian.

361 The Ngada kampongs are hard to see as they
342 are nearly all behind bamboo thickets. Ngada
houses are rectangular with low hanging hooded
roofs. They are built on piles definitely,
unlike Ende (or at least most of the houses in
[778] Ende) and Larantuka. In these kampongs there
are not many stones that I could see, but as
769 yet I have not seen a kampong fully. Notable
346 are the inverted pyramid-like ancestor houses
built on a single post. They are called nadu

Weo

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[798] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here, and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

771 the young folk are Christian. Most of the old
[624] people are largely pagan however. There are
no other obvious signs of pagan religion in
the lower kampong. The same goes for Weol.
342 Here there are more round houses, but the new
ones are all rectangular. At the entrance of
778 the kampong there is a mound which I must ask
about. It looks as though it might have been
a cult hill. Then there is the holy tree and
the stones around it. The photo of the stone
figure, Ine Amba, which Vroklage gives as from
Weol, is really from a kampong which can be seen
across the rice fields.

621 There are many old people here, including two
[624] remarkable old men, one of whom is one of the
two tuan tanah in the kampong. This is a double
kampong, with two main parts, and it has there-
fore two tuan tanah. The children here are
[515] dirty and so are the adults, for the most part.
[231] There are pigs all over. However, the houses
[361] are better spaced than, for example, in Laran-
tuka kampongs. The people here have poor clothes,
[291] and many, especially the women, were seen with
304 filed teeth and some of them with teeth beauti-
fully blackened. We noticed no tattooing nor
cutting.

243 Looking off from the high kampong one can see
the wet rice fields below. These are in wedge
shapes with a common center. There are many
adjacent, star-shaped arrangements. This is
unique in Indonesia. The priest says this is
because it is easier to fence them in this fashion,
but I suspect there is some cosmological signifi-
cance, perhaps reflected in the circular houses
too. The houses have all sorts of decorations
342 on top of them. The round ones seem to have an
531 upright wooden thing on them. The rectangular
ones have at the ridge ends a stylized pair of
wooden horns, often with a bird in the middle,
and some with two birds, one at each horn tip.
[See pp. 390-91 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography
cat. 113--Analyst]

We

592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more people in many of the houses. The complex ar-
243 rangement of rice fields stretches out far below and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but perhaps this is done merely by flooding. I must ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
● 778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly situated on rises and they are small, for example, Weol has only about thirty houses in it. The priest says that there are many of the stones in kampong Ruteng located about 1½ km. outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each day, and the guru will bring the table and chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel. The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary, which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
197 houses were introduced here by a priest. The guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the
55 folk here, including the priests. Bathing is not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the relationship between partners is distant enough. Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans, called panga, and one may marry within these in the same way, according to the guru. I must find out more about this and also get the kin system. We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in the center of the town where they were playing football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

614 maybe it is a matter of the older and younger
582 lines. I must check on this. The mandur said
[624] there was no tuan tanah in Ruteng kampong.
Later the assistant said they must have one.

124 In the evening the assistant came to the pasanggrahan and talked with us. He seems to be the best one yet. He knows plenty about the old customs, and Christianity has not caused him to scorn the old ways. He is so enthusiastic that it was hard for us to stop him. We got onto the question of Weol.

178 He said that in the old days there was only
342 one large round house per kampong. The diameter
614 was perhaps twenty meters. If you saw two
624 houses, it meant that there were two va'u. And
582 up until twenty years ago (1927) all tuan tanah
778 lived in round houses. After that, however, a
801 change took place. For example, the tuan tanah of Weol now lives in a rectangular house. In the old clan house there were nine posts, in rows of three. The very center pillar was the main one and here sat the tuan tanah at religious rites. Others ranged around the walls in the front half of the house. The rear section of the house was for the tuan tanah and his family. Other panga had sections around the walls. In the center, behind the main post, was the kitchen. Later, when more than one round house was built in a single kampong, the tuan tanah occupied the main house, and here the main pillar of all was located. This pillar is especially holy, and the setting of it in place requires certain rites, sacrificial animals, etc. Other round houses had nine pillars too. Each house was inhabited usually by one panga, and in each there was a kepala panga, and smaller rites were held at each main pillar.

243 The circular rice field arrangement shows
782 certain similarities here. He says that even
778 now when they begin planting or have some other

Wae

243 agricultural rite, they must make a sacrifice
782 at the very center. The main post is the place
778 for house and kampong offerings, and it is called pusat. I think the center of the circular rice field complex is also called the pusat.

115 The assistant's name is Cornelius Lawang.
624 He is from the va'u Pau, which is also the name of a kampong about one kilometer outside the town. His father is the tuan tanah there, and there he will spend tonight. He is his father's successor. Will he take the post? He said just about all tuan tanah (tua' tano') are pagan. But evidently they could be Christian, although a bit of trouble may rise when it comes to the ceremony.

582 I forgot to say that the mandur said it is possible to marry with one's mother's brother's daughter, but not with the other cousins, including father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and father's brother's daughter. If so, this is interesting. He said that
[184] the Catholics forbid mother's brother's daughter marriages now. I must check on this.

567 We got onto the census matter with the assistant. This led to some new points. He said that they do have slaves here and said that he would indicate them in the census, but I must never tell, as this is never mentioned although
842 everyone knows about it. He said that they like
583 to have many children here, and if they have many they give a feast of thanks. (Evidently the more daughters the richer the family may become because of the bride prices. If the family consists of all boys, there is considerable trouble in getting enough goods for the bride prices. These bride prices are reckoned in terms of animals mostly. The mandur said there is trouble often in getting the price and that men who can't marry on this account are not

000 only technical changes have occurred here.

592 I noted that as we were walking out of Weol, and I asked the priest how many families there were per house, he asked a man and the fellow said there were five in one of the big round houses nearby. Another man rebuked him and said no, there were only three in it. The priest said this is because the government has the law that only three families may live in a house, for health reasons. However, the folk secretly manage to have more. The first man was giving the folk away.

541 I forgot to say that at the whip fights (main
697 tjatjih)[1] there was a band of extra gay fellows who did a lot of the sideline chanting and chorusing. They had red and white banners and at one time when we were taking photographs they came dancing en masse and singing across the field like a slow moving army. At 5 P.M. they raised the banners, singing lustily, and marched off. I asked who they were, and the Radja said that they were the prisoners of the jail, who had been given the day free, and that they were now marching back to jail!

463 The assistant says that all or nearly all
462 men in Weol are farmers. Some, but very few,
231 have specialist skills, but even those farm too. Not one woman has any other job than that of helping in the fields and making mats or weaving in her spare time. Nearly every man has a few to many horses, and some have other animals.

354 A bad feature of the old houses is the smoke from the fire which coats everything with soot and makes for additional darkness, but on the good side is the warmth which comes with the smoke.

769 Theory on reading Coolhaas:[2] The Ngada nadu
718 which is for the male ancestors is a small
342 replica of the conical houses of Manggarai. The
173 small bhaga houses of the female houses are
614

[1] [See pp. 91-92, cat. 116 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

769 778 342 173 614 rectangular. Now, Coolhaas[1] says that in Manggarai there are two native forms, and he gives the native terms. One is conical and the other rectangular, or perhaps a bit oval in shape. However, the latter is not related to the former. There are areas of the one and the other, and evidently some areas have both. Now, the conical ones seem older, and on any surmise because round houses are simply older in Indonesia. Note then, that Ngada legends say that Djawa had seven daughters who became the ancestral mothers of the seven main voi. And they married men of the land, aborigines, here. The men are the ancestral fathers of the bhou. Could it be that [124] the conical male ancestor houses reflect the patrilineal aboriginal culture and the population stratum which lived in round houses, and the rectangular bhaga represent the incoming, matrilineal population and culture? If so, this says much about the double descent of Ngada, the peculiar legend, and the strange double ancestor houses. Now I think I know why there are those amazing conical male ancestor posts in Ngada.

173 611 342 563 The legends of Minangkabau immigration may be foolish, and the priest says he thinks it is built up more recently, by the younger folk who hear a name of an ancestor who came in and it sounds like "Minangkabau." But the surface evidence looks as though Manggarai and Ngada are a mixture of aborigines and immigrants. And there are also many evidences of double descent. I remember now that the priests talk much of enclaves of "autochthonous" folk in East Manggarai and East Nageh. They say that the people in these places are neither Manggarai nor Nageh. The Nageh enclave is originally from Soa, says Mommersteeg. I wish I knew whether these enclaves were patrilineal. Anyway, I doubt that they were unmixed. This may be a pretty good theory and may explain the umbrella houses.

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

614 We get larger and split. Thus there are many panga
173 in the va'u Weol (are they grouped under the original seven sons?).

614 The three panga of Weol kampong are: Lambar
621 (the tuan tanah is chief of this), Rinteng (the
592 kepala kampong is chief of this), and Rundu. It happens that there are two houses in each of the three panga in Weol, making six houses in all. Thus each tu'a panga has two houses under
342 him. The houses of the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong are built in the new style, as
178 are two of the others. There are then two old round houses, one with old non-wood walls. Most of the present round houses have wood walls and are built with nails. The roof does not reach the floor as in the real old time houses. The new style houses are all the same pattern, which was introduced by a certain priest. This is the only new style they know, and all new ones are exactly the same.

592 Often the whole panga will live in one house.
621 Ndung, which originally was linked with Weol, is
614 now a separate kampong and is even located in
624 another gelarang. The border is the mound above the small house area of Weol. They are
[778] continuous, but each has its own sacred tree. The kepala kampong of not only Ndung and Meler, but of the other four kampongs in the gelarang as well, lives in Meler. Thus there is only one kepala kampong for all the six kampongs. But each kampong must have a tuan tanah. The tuan tanah besar, however, lives in Ndung, just as the tuan tanah besar of Weol gelarang lives in Weol (this is our host). The big kepala kampong and the big tuan tanah of each gelarang has the rank of gelarang. In the gelarang Weol there are three kepala kampongs only, for the seven kampongs. Thus the Weol kepala kampong is also kepala kampong of Tjantjar.

614 The Ndung folk are all of the va'u Weol and
784 have a taboo on lusa.

We

624 In the house of the tuan tanah of Weol there
342 are four households. The tuan tanah has a sec-
592 tion to one side, since the old place in the
554 rear, as in the round house, is impossible be-
534 cause the rear door is located there. He keeps
the gong-gendang, which is the symbol of his
being tuan tanah. One might even call the tuan
tanah house the drum house. These drums are
important, as they are used in agricultural
rites.

778 There are no holy stones (yet see later) in
the kampong here. I hear that there are some in
kampong Ruteng, which I must see. In each kam-
pong there is a tree (the Weol one died some
time ago and was replaced; the new one is rather
small). Around these trees (the assistant knows
nothing of the significance of the tree) are
placed stones. He says they have no magic power,
but in sacred rites animals are sacrificed there
below the tree. In the cleansing of the kam-
pong rite these stones are rearranged nicely.

178 Nowadays it is possible to marry in or out
582 of the clan. It is also possible to marry
614 within or without the kampong, and the kampong
[621] usually consists of one clan. But even now one
may not marry in the same panga. Thus there is
lineage exogamy.

Formerly clans too were exogamous, but in
special cases one might marry in, for example,
if the girl became pregnant. Evidently there
were other cases too. But since about fifty
years ago endogamous marriages within the clan
have been possible. Nevertheless, most marriages
are outside of the clan. The first case of clan
endogamy in Weol kampong involved the parents of
the present tuan tanah. This occurred fifty
yeargs ago. He said that they cannot remember
what trouble was caused if any. The assistant
has heard tales of evil following such cases of
endogamy. I must follow this up. What has

Wee.

614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and Rundu.

784 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol
824 clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The
614 other kinds, for example betong, which is thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung pesi is also tabooed for the members of the Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only on the first-born of each family. The first-born is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his
114 material. There are now two more kampongs in
624 the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas is in error in stating that Ladja is the fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung. Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung. The Manggarai
624 name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Teno is the
824 kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post
796 which is set in the center of the star of fields for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a
[533] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum.
[562] Some of the beats are the same for the men and for the women, but others differ by sex. Another term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to
423 the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which
651 are basically the property of the tuan tanah. Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay tribute for his house space. This tribute is used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus
● 778 this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in
[104] kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on the side of the highest hill. It is in the form of a rough human figure, which used to have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Wee

614 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and
778 broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive. It is located a little to the side of the path and in a rather inconspicuous place.

[773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about this: it is a woman turned to stone with her child because she bathed naked) is located four kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong Bangkavelo.

231 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,[1]
241 they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the
782 garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connec-
114 tion with agricultural rites. They do this in the kampong. In the garden itself they kill only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent, Coolhaas is right.

565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The term kraeng is used for all three levels of nobles.

114 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 336,[1]
632 the people here still give tribute to the dalu
651 when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls,
466 etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now
624 wants a new house he may no longer expect free
476 labor. Now he must pay for such service. If, however, there is need of a new tuan tanah house, labor is given without pay. And if there is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps, although other kampongs may assist in some way or other.

567 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi).
Their descendants are still known. It is also
565 true that new slaves were put in stocks (lam-
114 pang) until it was certain that they would not run away. It is also correct that slaves who had been in a family for a long time might even marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 10 --Analyst]

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
361 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
515 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
574 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
●778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

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632 8. Nangapanda (km. 28 on the way to Badjawa).
9. Tana Djea (km. 31 on the way to Badjawa).

632 173 Thus Rewarangga is the easternmost of the gemeenten, on the border with Lio. It is half surrounded by Nggobe. I asked about the ancestor stories which make Rodja and Nggobe the first and greatest gemeenten. The kapitan said that this was because of the manner in which Suchtelen[1] got his stories. The people who gave him his information were nearly all illiterate townsfolk. I retold the story of the five siblings from Java. He agreed that every area had [186] its own version in order to make themselves appear greatest.

632 He said he got along all right with the Mohammedans and that the former Christian Rukuramba kapitan was merely inefficient. Arriens said so too, and that the present Mohammedan kapitan there is the best of all.

Then I checked the place of origin of the 614 suku in the census and got the following information. Odja came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Meo came from Ndetuko'u (Nggobe). Djawa came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Ndoru came from Ndungga (Lio). Reandona came from Woropau (Nggobe). Wanda came from Waturoga (Lio). Tibo (Gusa) came from Koavena (Rewarangga). Ndosi came from Wolotole (Lio). Rewarangga came from Worowai (Rewarangga).

Note: This suku (Rewarangga), the real old one of this region, originally lived in an even higher kampong, Wawotonda. It was located two kilometers above here on the road into the hills. Worowai is only a half to one kilometer above the road. A few people live in the Wawotonda area, but it is no longer a kampong. It is in the territory of the kampong Worowai. In Wawo- [778] tonda there are stones and cannon. But the [346] ruma berhala of Rewarangga suku (a bone house like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now.

[1 See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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443 basis. They obtain products by purchase in the backland and sell them in Ende. They also sell gewgaws which they bring along with them.

186 829 Interest in local, foreign or international news is at a very low level. They insist that nearly everyone here knows just about nothing in regard to anything outside of the kampong. They are even ignorant of Rewarangga.

614 621 They said that originally each kampong consisted of only one suku. Then others moved in. Thus, at one time Wawatonda was the kampong of suku Rewarangga. Then they came down to Worowai. Here today there is a rumah berhala, [764] but it is a mere bone-grave hut, like Odja in Roworeke.

Rabu is now in three kampongs. It was one at some former time. It is ten kilometers from here. This is the place where the original kampong of the Odja suku was located. But they have now lost contact, and indeed, so complete was the move to Roworeke that probably no Odja folk are left in Rabu today.

124 829 The kapitan said an interesting thing when I was pressing him to give information in this regard. He said that only since I came here had he learned very much about the culture and the past of Rewarangga.

● 778 614 346 764 These rumah berhala, with images and a real house, or merely with the grave-bone shrines, are suku shrines. There are four real rumah berhala houses in Rewarangga. These are as large as a real old style high roofed house, [759] and in them there are images (ana deo) and per- [782] haps bone bundles too. These run as follows: (and anyone who visits them and looks into them must leave an offering, for example, money or cigarettes, etc.; otherwise he may get sick):

1. Volofeo has a real house and in it there are four ana deo, wooden images. There are no bones. This house was used by all four suku

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346 here, and perhaps each ana deo is of one of
614 the suku. They are uncertain about this, but
●778 thought that this was perhaps right. They
764 did know that the house was used by all four
suku. It is a kind of cooperative venture in
the ancestor cult. They got together and
built it. It is at kilometer 17, one kilometer's walk up.

2. Bu'ube'i, the most remote of the Rewarangga kampongs, is at kilometer 17 plus a ten kilometer walk. There is a real house there, but the kapitan does not know if there are any bones. They do not know what suku it belongs to. He was there, but was afraid to
[753] look inside. They fear illness. I asked why
[782] he didn't give a gift and thus insure his safety. He said it would be no use to take
[152] the chance. Thus he is a Catholic and thus he fears both outside magic and ancestral ghosts at the same time. It does have an ana deo.

3. Ratebedi has an ana deo, and bones too. The suku is unknown. This is at kilometer 13 plus a four kilometer walk.

4. Vavoëd has an ana deo, but with no bones. The suku is unknown. It is at kilometer 13 plus a one kilometer walk.

All others have either nothing or merely a grave-bones shrine.

5. Worowai has a shrine of the suku Rewarangga.

6. Roworeke has a shrine of the suku Odja. It is in a section of Roworeke Asal.

7. Worowaku does not even have a shrine.

8. Arereke has a shrine of suku Urureva.

9. Pu'uperi has a shrine of suku Rea (a different suku from Reandona).

10. Information is lacking for Kekawi'i.

11. Koavena has a shrine of the Gusa suku.

12. Kekamberu does not even have a shrine.

13. Nioreko has a shrine, but the suku is

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614 unknown. Nioreko also has a rumah berhala, an
●778 actual house, but it is merely temporary and
346 lasts only seven to eight years. Then it is
764 rebuilt. It has no ana deo. This is a kind of intermediate type of situation.

14. Mamunggo'o has no shrine. Thus suku Reandona evidently has none.

15. Pu'umbindi has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

16. Mbago has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

17. Pemodjera has a shrine, but the suku is unknown. Also, like Nioreko, Pemodjera has a temporary rumah berhala house, which is rebuilt when it collapses.

18. Sokopedji does not even have a shrine. It is a new kampong.

614 This is interesting and goes to show that
178 the suku were localized before. I asked why
829 there were so many in the census for which the suku were unknown. They said that if their parents did not tell them, they never learned this information. It shows a breakdown in the system, but it is still very important. Real disintegration is just beginning. I scolded them to the effect that they as government men of Rewarangga did not even know the suku of the kampongs in their district. I said that the people in the United States would think that they were poor administrators. They said that this suku business was adat only and that they were concerned with government only. I pointed out that even the giri tumba besar seemed vague about all of this outside of his own kampong, and he is a leader of adat. They begged off saying that perhaps he didn't understand what I was after.

778 It is notable that only the four kampongs
769 with real rumah berhala (Volofeo, Bu'ubedi,
346 Ratebedi, and Vavoëü) have annual ancestor
574

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778 feasts. Thus it is like Barupu in Toradja.
769 (Ratebedi is one of the Rabu kampongs.
346 Vavoëd is another, and so is the non-shrine
574 kampong Kekamberu. The others which have merely the grave-bone shrines have a feast only when they need to fix up a shrine.

632 The next day we went to Roworeke again. Note an error in the preceding notes: The sikesani besar, who lives in Worowai, is of the suku Nggonggora'ba. Thus the Big Four are as follows: Mosa laki mere of Rewarangga, Giri tumba of Odja. Ndeto au of Rewarangga, and Sikesani of Nggonggora'ba. The names of these posts mean: mosa, male (animal); laki, male (human); mere, big; giri, around; tumba, spear (he walks around with a spear); ndetu, many colored; au, bamboo; sike, here; sani, there.

181 I am always impressed by the combination of
124 lack of courtesy and the cringing servility of
576 these Endenese. They constantly talk to each other when I am talking, pass remarks about me in Endenese, etc. At the same time they keep on "tuanning" and bowing. They are grasping too. For example, the kapitan looks steadily at my gold watch and band and asked me to sell him U.S. gold pieces. The assistant asked me to give him personally a ring-spiral notebook such as used for the work. He can't answer questions on the schedule, so I have to do it all. The kapitan is a bit better, and the guru is smarter, but I get the idea that these folk are a rather poor lot.

784 Again we got on to the subject of totemism.
262 The word for such taboos is pire. I doubt that
614 I got the whole story, but as far as I can see
562 there are three kinds of totem taboos and they apply to foods:

(1) Suku or pu'u taboo. This is called pire ngguäh, the latter term meaning "descen-

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609 has a friend-bond with the kampong of Ndona;
582 and he married a Waturoga woman. The Maumere
608 teacher has a somewhat harder time, but he
married locally and this helps. (I think he
married locally, although I am not sure now.)

632 In the district, the "pusat" kampongs are
624 Roworeke and Worowai. The latter is the older
621 and the kampong of the real prime suku, that
●778 of the oldest of the original brothers,
Rewarangga. There live three of the Big Four
(mosa laki mere, ndetu au, and sikesani), and
it is thus a sort of adat center. Roworeke
is newer, and it is the administrative center,
where the kapitan lives. Here also, however,
is the big giri tumba. Formerly, these two
were one kampong. In the kampong, the section
or hamlet Roworeke Asal is the oldest, and there
the grave-bone shrine of the Odja suku is lo-
cated. It is the adat center. There also is
the tubu musu. Nuamere means the big village,
and this hamlet is where the kapitan lives.
Thus it is the administrative center. Still,
the ata nggaëh nua, the adat kepala kampong
(Bapa Ketjil) and his adi, the administrative
kepala kampong, live in Ae Utu (I think).

361 The present Nuamere was newly established
621 here in 1907. There had been a previous ham-
632 let Nuamere up the hill. The Dutch, however,
[648] as usual made most of the hamlets move down to
the road. Thus there is a general pattern here
that in each district there is a kind of
original kampong, and in each kampong there is
a sort of original hamlet. But it is not a
constellation arrangement as in Toradja coun-
try, where all the kampongs and hamlets spread
out from the center like a star. This is
truer of the kampongs than of the districts,
because the latter here are coming to be more
and more a coming together of independent
kampongs, some old and some younger. Thus

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614 barn rites, with only the ama tuno wudjo and
796 members present. All of this is done in order
241 to make the rice in the fields perfect. The
343 other great ritual complex of an agricultural nature is at harvest time, and they may have a third type if there is an especially good harvest (like the thanksgiving feasts of the Toradja).

● 778 I asked about the saoniwang, the magic stones
789 which are in front of the houses of all suku
342 and ama chiefs. Some have disappeared in Le-
614 loba and have not been replaced, but most of
823 them are still there. For example, the guru has the mother stone before his house, and one child stone, but other child stones are used for foundations of houses. They are inserted with many other stones in the masonry, but he pointed to the specific ones. These saoniwang, like the nubanara, which are placed in front of the korke, are the big ones in the heap, the mother, and the little ones, her children. They hold the magic power of the chiefs, and without them there is no power. Nevertheless, in Leloba, even when the chief has no more stones, he still holds some power, as if they were still there. The guru has three for his house, for war power, marriage power, and power among suku, respectively. One of these is in the hills behind. This, he says, has tremendous power. He says such things seriously.

[773] These stones suddenly appeared long ago. They came down from heaven after, or rather with a heavy rain. Thus they are like the descendance stones of, for example, Goa. Sao means anchor and so does niwang. Thus the meaning is that the power and with it the group or man holding it are firmly and inextrically tied to this land. However, all sorts of stones are believed to have power. Many of them are very little. Thus the kakang has a

We.
778 notable little stone with lots of agricultural
789 power. The objects which are possessed by the
614 suku and ama have no magic power; they are
823 only a form of wealth.

The eight kampongs of the Mudakaputu ge-
621 meente are:
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1. Leloba
2. Wailolong
3. Lewohala
4. Lewoneda
5. Mudakaputu
6. Watuwiti
7. Riang Kamiß
8. Riang Kanali

237 Economic note: The tusks are like the stone
583 money of Yap. They are the basis for the local
436 economy, but have little intrinsic value. The
452 non-existent tusks of Larantuka are even better, and the folklore concerning them is fantastic. They are reckoned with and theoretically exchanged when they don't even exist. They keep the marriage system going. They are parallel to pure paper credit--something like international balances.

621 The first six kampongs are the old time kam-
173 pongs. They were founded by the five sons of Lenurat or their descendants, who came out of Ili Mandiri. Thus the situation runs something like this:

Sons: (1) Belawaburak founded Leloba. (2) Keweluk founded Wailolong. (3) Kewaka founded Lewohala and Lewoneda. (4) Bampowa founded Mudakaputu. (5) Mado founded Watuwiti.

Daughters: (6) Emma married a man of Tandjung Bunga (and the folk there call the people of the Blakang Gunung region "blake," i.e., mother's brother). (7) Hingi married a man of Adonara (perhaps the people there would also

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624 like the marinyo of Ambon. I asked what the
465 secretary got, and he said cigarette money only. The pay is evidently very little.

583 Correction: Although he says there is no
614 case here now, he has found out that if the
611 bride price is not paid, the children are of
784 the suku of the mother. And the bride price must be paid at marriage. There is no post-marriage payment in order to get the children back. Thus there is real ambil anak here. The man remains a member of his own sib, and the wife a member of hers. Thus she assumes the "married woman" totem taboos of her own sib, not those of her husband's sib, as is the more usual thing.

346 I asked about the rumah berhala of Wolopeo.
● 778 This group has a real house, and in it there
614 are four ana deo, two in bad repair. There is one for each of the four suku. There are no other suku in the kampong. There are also plenty of belongings in the house. It is rather large, about twelve meters on a side. There are baskets and other objects therein. This old kampong is only one kilometer off the road in the hills at kilometer 17. I may go there one day. The four suku are Mbonggi (the kepala kampong is from this), Djo'bi, Soa, and
[769] Woro. The oldest suku is Mbonggi. There is also a grave-bone shrine here, of the suku Djo'bi.

771 The folk here are now mostly Catholic, but
769 they do have an annual ancestor rite, and the Catholics attend too. The kampong Ratebedi, far off in the hills, has fewer Catholics, as is the case with the far off Bu'ube'i. The distant ones remain pagan longer.

872 Fifty years ago there was no school. It came
178 in 1921. No one went to school before this.
212 They were totally illiterate (this shows how
000 recently the schools came in here). They were

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778 The negri lama of the suku Odja is about one-
753 half kilometer outside Ratebedi in the distant hills. No one lives there now, but there are stones, etc. (I think he said images too.) The Ratebedi folk give offerings there. This was the kampong of the great ancestor Odja Djata (the father of Odja was Djata). There are many such old places which are dangerous, for example, the assistant went to one such place near Pamudjera, and he got sick at once.

[784] There is always talk of danger in fooling around with old places and old rules. Thus, not long ago two men of Watu Roga set a stone boundary marker in the earth, but this is taboo. In three days one was dead and in three months the other died.

174 If I could get all of the information about each kampong and suku I could rebuild the whole history of migrations, etc. And although most of the people have lost these stories, there are a good number of old men in Volofea and Bu'ube'i who could tell everything.

115 The assistant says he will try to get information on all these things as he does his "control" work in his job as secretary of the gemeente. He asks for a good notebook and a briefcase to do this work! I don't trust him, that's all. He plots, and the story is that when I come back years from now he will have all the facts. Thus he put together my interest in these things, my statement that I might return to do more work here, and out of hopes to get a notebook and case fabricated his plan.

423 The land is family-owned (maybe lineage-
614 owned is a better way of phrasing it). The eldest son is the manager of the family land.
592 Others work on it. If there are no sons, the
428 eldest daughter runs it, or maybe the deceased father's brother. The father may split up his estate among his sons, or give each one of his

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796 held under the ama kebang.
241 Note the food symbolism in these most impor-
782 tant rites. They take place under the barn.
[887] There are present at these ceremonies the old women (in the old days young virgins) who act as tuno wudjo and food divider. The high point is the killing of a pig, and the meat is mixed with the rice and the blood and the four posts are smeared with this food. Everyone eats. The whole thing is completely linked with fertility. And the ancestors are summoned in the litany and are invited to come and eat.

● 778 There are plenty of holy places, such as the
[346] kampong lama, the place where the tuno wudjo is (what does this mean?), the place where they used to assemble before a war (did they do this before the recent war against Waibalun? Perhaps the few who did the active part of the warfare did). Then there are also holy stones: nubanara, and saonivang. There is also a church or rather a chapel!

The stones are especially important, and this is a real stone cult area. He admits this, and if I had time I could get much about the stories, beliefs, etc., in regard to these stones. I told him about the Stonehenge, the dolmens, etc., and he caught onto this fast.

241 The festival calendar is largely one of agri-
527 cultural feasts. The main ones are at planting and harvest. There are other agricultural feasts too, at all stages. For example, there are festivals at the time of burning the fields, clearing the fields, etc. In all, the agricultural cycle includes thirteen rites. At the thirteenth the harvest comes, and a big time is had by all. Everyone eats and there is a lot of noise. During the growing period everything
[824] is quiet in order not to disturb the spirit of the crops. This is a period of danger and much

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875 reason for this is that Mohammedans are not
797 educated enough to have many teachers yet. Thus, the mission has given Catholicism a big head start, as is the case in Ambon.

771 There are only about ten Mohammedans in Ro-
797 woreke. They had a mosque at kilometer five formerly, but it is gone now. The maximum number of converts in the kampong, to Mohammedanism, per year is from one to two. There is a chapel here, and the priest comes once a month to hear confessions, hold mass, etc. Otherwise, the people here go to Ndona for mass (I see them on Sunday walking; rain means nothing to these people). I get the impression that many people do not go to mass. For example, every Sunday I have been there, the kapitan and the assistant and many others do not go to church so far as I can see. And I don't see many women who look as though they had gone. I should have asked about this.

●778 There are two ancestor grave-bone shrines, i.e., one in Roworeke and one in Watu Roga. There are also plenty of stones and the usual graves. There has never been a real rumah berhala here. But Manunggo'o had one.

527 The principal feast time is at planting. The tuan tanah (mosa laki mere) must be there at that time. There is no illness exorcism
[755] feast held any more. Thanksgiving feasts for good crops are held privately, not communally. There is a great feast for rebuilding the grave-bone shrine.

788 There is plenty of private pagan rituals, for example, to ward off illness, to make offerings to trees, and the dukun stuff. In addition, there is the bisa mari. (Having seen the dukun
[753] and how he diagnoses, I understand Migo when he said that he has a personal-family buffalo totem taboo because the dukun said it caused his illness.)

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797 tial rites require pigs, but here other animals
782 can be used.

Three religions are known: pagan, Catholic,
771 and Mohammedan. They know little except about the pagan religion, which they probably know better than the others!

I asked about the religion here as given in
771 my notes from Elbert[1] who was here in the pre-
114 Catholic period. They said that my notes were all right, including the god names, and that
[775] Mt. Iya was the deadland, etc. In fact, I see more and more that Elbert was a good man. The
[776] high god, however, they give the name Ngga'eh Dewa. They say there is no dualism, i.e., no earth mother, here. This doesn't quite jibe with Elbert, but maybe they have forgotten, or they are vague about this. Maybe they are always vague about such stuff as regards the high gods.

● 778 The tubu musu, indeed, has two stones, and
831 after hesitation they admitted that it is a male-female symbol. I note that in his Lio dictionary, Arndt[1] says (I think tubu) has an "obscene" significance with reference to "male." Thus it seems clearly a sex symbol. They never heard of yoni. They seem to say that there are two stones, one lying and another standing. Like a fool, I did not check this. I will have to look in Elbert[1] and Suchtelen[1] for this.

[789] They have the matakau, and it is called nabe.
776 The term Ngga'eh Dewa means the god above. I guess that ngga'eh means big or high. They say that ata ngga'eh nua means "pembesar kampong."

764 At death, the bodies were formerly placed in big trees, cocooned. This was true for big men. For about a month they were left there while a feast was prepared. When all the animals and other things were ready, the bundle was brought down from the tree and bones cleaned. Then they

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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167 651 486 men to leave, as the tax is on each household headed by an adult man (fl. 12.50 annually), and thus the radja would lose income if they emigrated.

266 681 754 There was head-hunting here before. They say that the only cannibalism was the eating of the hearts of enemies in order to gain additional strength. There was no human sacrifice, they say, but they have heard[1] of the Lio stuff (and I checked with Arriens and noted that de Bruine[2] in a report on Lio did not list this as among the crimes of the executed Radja of Lio--whose alias was Pius!--but Arriens says that he did it anyway). The only way a person could be given the death punishment was to be proven a suwanggi.

778 831 178 More about the tubu musu. They say that "musu" means "two become one." If so, this is perfect, and indeed the tubu musu is similar to the linggam-yoni. Indeed, they say that it consists of an upright stone, less than a meter high, standing on a flat one. "Tubu" they say means "stone," but I note that Arndt gives it an "obscene" meaning (or is it the musu part that is obscene? check Arndt's Lio dictionary).

They have a rather vague idea that this tubu musu may represent male and female. And it can have children. Thus it is like many such stone-bearing stones in Indonesia, including the stones of Larantuka and some on Ambon. I asked if the tubu musu still had children, and this is beautiful, "no more." It is like Roy saying that the familiars of his father appear no more (but they are there and he could call them: "I can call the spirits from there, etc." "Yes, but will they come?") He has no doubt that they would come. I should have asked if the stones still could have children. Anyway, both they and Roy are completely serious about what used to happen. There are no more rites held at the tubu musu, but plenty were held formerly.

[Analyst]

1 [Controleur at Ende--Analyst]; 2 [Probably Controleur at Lio--Analyst]

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601 does so. So much for the kinship system.

Then, incidentally, he said that an indis-
273 pensable item at each sacrifice must be palm
769 wine (tuak). Even if they have to travel for
● 778 some distance to get some (and it is hard to get in the Veol area, as not much is made locally), they must do so; and the reason is that the stone, which is the central point of all rites, must have a libation poured over it. The ancestors are explicitly called, and then the tuak is poured over the stone as though into the mouth of a person which the stone is. Thus I think these stones are the ancestors. They are real idols. Note that the Vatu Veol, and the removed Ine Amba too, are, (or were) in human form. I think that perhaps the popularity of statues in Java after the Hindu influx may have been due to the pre-existence of human form stone images. The point is, in this libation business, the stones are treated as though they were really human.

In regard to the mother's brother's daughter
582 or tungku marriage, this was formerly required,
578 at least for one son. He might be forced
835 brutally into such a marriage if he was reluc-
[753] tant. It should be the eldest son too. If this is not done, the family may be afflicted with illness. And it is wicked anyway. This rule still holds, although force is no longer used to back it up. A good case is that of the assistant himself. He didn't like his mother's brother's daughter, as he said, "she lived in the house" (what psychological overtones are there here?). So he refused, and married his wife. However, he has two other brothers, who are still unmarried, and his whole family is watching anxiously until one of them marries the mother's brother's daughter. He says that they talk about this all the time. It is true that they are still pagan. His father indeed

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582 the previous talk of the tuan tanah that there
614 are preferred clans. I will clinch this when I get the va'u membership of the inmarriers.

The next day I started in on some more question in regard to social organization.

[103] Note that the name of the kampong below is
346 Tjantjar, not as I have spelled it above [Tjantsia]. I went there halfway through the morning as I heard drums and gongs. There were girls (looking very Hawaiian) sitting on the porch of the house next to the new one of the tuan tanah now being built. The timbers are up. It will be a rectangular house, although the one it replaces was round (I made a photo of the latter only a month ago, which shows how fast the old type is vanishing). The drums and gongs were being beaten because this is necessary when a new tuan tanah house (rumah gong-gendang) is being built.

346 There were several drums and several gongs
533 (and I found that each tuan tanah house has
776 several of each). They must be beaten all the
824 time, with short pauses, and the girls take
[562] turns. The men may help too (for garden beating, only men may play the instruments). This has to go on all the time while the big house is being built. The reason is that the wood (always spirit-ridden here) must be constantly kept pacified and told that it is being used for a great purpose, a big house. For ordinary houses this is not necessary. (I wonder if the idea is also in order to get the wood used to being in a rumah gong-gendang?) Before the trees are cut for the wood, they are told that they are being cut for a high purpose. Each grove of trees has a local spirit called darat. These are tree spirits. The generic word for spirit is ro.

● 778 I notice each day on my way here that there is
776 a grove of fine trees standing isolated on a
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778 high hill, which is otherwise bare, like most
776 of the land here. It is taboo, as special
824 darat dwell here. And now I see many such sacred groves in the hills, carefully left when the land was cleared. It is as though they have to leave places here and there for the darat whose trees have been largely cut away. One has to watch out for feelings of the spirits always. The assistant also uses the word roro for spirits in general.

As the big timbers are carried in, the bear-
346 ers sing all the time, moving about slowly, and
776 telling the setan not to sit on the timber and
533 make it heavy. A small girl, elaborately
824 dressed, sits on the timber, showing the setan that someone is already sitting there, so that they won't. A flag is set on the timber (now usually a merdeka, red and white flag) to show the kampong folk from two to three kilometers away that they are coming. In the kampong, they begin to beat gongs and drums "to receive the wood" into the kampong. They may not be quiet as the wood enters. There is much singing, etc.

[335] While the carpenters are at work with modern tools on the house, the gongs and drums are beaten constantly (technology and adat). There has been trouble here in Tjantjar with the tukang from Ruteng. The timbers were already set
[578] when an argument started over the contract, etc. Tempers rose, and the carpenters picked up their tools and left for Ruteng. I saw them on the road two days ago. Now the kampong folk are worried stiff because there lies the wood and there is the wood in the half-finished house, and nothing is being done. The wood may get impatient or angry, and if so they will always have trouble with the house. And this is important, as it is the main house, the cult house,
[753] of the kampong. Also, if the wood gets angry, there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.

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166 will give me food when I am dead?" This is
578 exactly like the ancestor cult of China, in
614 that there must be descendants to make sacri-
769 fices for the soul of the deceased. And there is the same mournful asking by a pagan father whose sons turn to Christianity and therefore probably will not keep up the rites for the dead ancestors: "Who will feed me after I am dead?"

776 This led to a discussion in regard to the
361 guardian spirit of the kampong. Each kampong
778 has such a ro, called naga, and its abode is
[166] in the stone heap and the tree thereon in the pusat of the kampong. This is called the tjompang. If there is a great deal of trouble, e.g., illness, a succession of bad crops, etc.,
[756] the mbako may say that the naga is no longer any good, and if all the people so agree, the whole kampong is moved en masse. When this happens, the old tjompang and tree are left there in the old place and are abandoned. Thus it happens that a naga which for a long time has been benevolent may turn to be malevolent. This may be because the people have not pleased him, or just because he got wicked. He is no longer a good naga, and the people had better get out and get a new place and a new naga (how do they get a new naga? There is a very big feast for a new kampong, so perhaps a new naga is then installed).

Veol moved about two to three generations ago from the place noted on the map (c) on higher ground above the vatu Veol. I thought it was strange that the stone was there, outside of Veol and above Ndung, and also strange that the highest spot was empty. This is where Veol used to be, but the naga became so bad that Veol was moved about one hundred meters below. Also, I noted when I first entered that the tree was small, and when I asked why, they said it was

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776 because it was new. This is because it was
●778 planted when they moved (or maybe it was a
361 second new one, as they said the old one died).
Anyway, there is no tree on the old site, just
an empty place and some stones. The old tree
has evidently died, as he says they do not cut
them down. No one would dare live in that
place again. They may go there occasionally
if there is a reason to do so, but they do
not remain there. It is a cursed spot. The
vatu Veol is a man, but he does not yet have
the story. When the kampong moves, they get
a new stone heap and tree (tjompang).

[166] Many kampongs have moved because their naga
have turned bad. Aside from Veol he mentioned
Meler and Ladja. They must keep the naga
happy, or the situation may become dangerous.
Thus the rites held at the tjompang have real
meaning. They are for the kampong naga.

342 The house naga lives in each house. His
776 place is the main post. High on this is a lit-
782 tle shelf hung from strings. On this place
from time to time the occupants place eggs,
rice, and bits of meat. Also, each family
apartment or section has a little hanging shelf
for the house naga's food. The main post is
especially important, and that is why at cere-
monies they must give it blood from animals,
etc. (There must be a link here with the giv-
ing of food to the posts of the Larantuka korke;
note that Roy said they must "feed" the posts.)

342 If there is much trouble in the house, the
776 mbako may say that it is because for one reason
[786] or another the house naga is no longer any good.
Then they must dismantle the house and build a
new one. Many and many a house has been torn
down and the folk have then built a new one for
this reason. And when they do this, a great
expense is entailed, because they may not use
the old wood. They sell it to another family

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865 young, in regard to the propriety of their behavior.

346 As usual, the church at Tjantjar has no
●778 windows. There is no rumah pemali here. The tuan tanah house is the cult center. At each feast all gather here, unless it is a smaller, house or panga feast. The gongs and drums are located here, and also the main post (and in each house is a lesser main post) and the pusaka. The last, however, does not consist of very much--clothes, knives, etc., from the ancestors, and heirlooms of the group.

778 The cult places are: (1) the tjompang with
614 the tree, and (2) the stones. Here it is the
769 Vatu Veol, in the form of a human male with
773 arms akimbo, but "someone" broke off the arms.
532 It is near the high hill where the original kampong was located. It was placed there by an ancestor named Padja (thus like the named stones of Ngada). Padja is invited to the feasts at the stone. If there is a war, ceremonies are held there. Any kampong of the va'u Veol may come there and use it. Thus it is a va'u stone. Most kampongs have such a holy stone. Vatu Runtu is the one in Ruteng kampong, whence came the original ancestors of va'u Runtu. Vatu Pau in kampong Pau is where the original ancestors of va'u Pau came out. This was about fifteen generations ago, he says, and he is a member (this is thus quite recent, and curious, but maybe these family trees get foreshortened; or perhaps the period represents a new immigration of "stone people"? It seems to be about three hundred years ago or perhaps a bit less). Vatu La'o is in the gelarang La'o of dalu Rahong. He doesn't know the story about it.

778 It is notable that outside of Rahong, as far
769 as he knows, there are no stone images. Indeed,
776 the only one I know of is the Vatu Veol. And
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778 note that the removed Vatu Ine Amba was in the
769 gelarang Veol too. However, outside Rahong
776 there are plenty of regular cult stones which
[532] are not images. Where did these images come from? This is peculiar for Flores, and would bear checking profitably.

(3) The house of the tuan tanah, and to a lesser extent the main pillars and individual family naga shelves in each house.

(4) The lodok in the center of the gardens. When it is first placed there, it is made of wood, and only later is it replaced by a stone.

(5) Cemeteries, where the ghosts live. On each grave there are two stones, one at the head and one at the foot.

(6) Places in the woods which are known to be the abodes of spirits. The people go there to make offerings when they think illness has been caused therefrom. Some of these places have stones and others do not. They are known frequently without markers. As I remember, he said that in this area there were no such places, but I had better not mention this, because I am not sure.

(7) Locally, the bamboo grove where the ancestors of va'u Veol emerged from bamboo.

(8) The kampong spring. This is the usual thing, and here they hold ceremonies. Here there are nitu as well as ancestral ghosts (empo).

(9) The tree of Ndung. People may go there if they are afflicted by illness.

(10) The Bangka Veol ("former Veol"), the abandoned higher site, where the naga was not good. No rites are held there, and it is avoided.

(11) Pong Noang, a grove of trees. The name means "place of the dog bark noise." There were trees here once, but they have all been cut down now for gardens (showing the desperate need of

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769 more land here). However, the darat (tree spir-
778 its) who lived in the trees are still there on
776 the spot. When such a grove is cut (and most kampongs have a grove), elaborate rites must be given. It is evidently quite dangerous. Therefore, in addition to the darat in all groves, almost every kampong has its own private darat, who live in the kampong grove.

778 This is important: The assistant says that
769 whenever and wherever they have a ceremony they
273 must set a stone in the center of the place
782 where the rite is held. This stone has palm wine poured over it as a libation. The libation is indispensable, and therefore the stone is also indispensable. It evidently represents the ancestral ghosts, who must always get a drink at every rite. And they pour the drink carefully, as though they were pouring it into someone's mouth. Palm wine is hard to get here, but they will go great distances to get it for a ceremony, even though they may obtain only a little, as it is essential. I note the tremendous importance of alcohol all through here. They drink a lot, as I saw in Anam at the New Year feast (see later), and they like it. It seems to be a perfect case of giving the ancestors what they liked best in life.

I noticed another amazing thing, though it
[533] may be unconscious. When the singing teacher at the mission at the Sunday performance for me arranged the boys for a round singing dance (sanda), he put a stone in the center of the place! It was probably just a marker, but note how easily he set a stone there.

527 I do not know if I got information on all
241 the feasts, as the time was getting short, but
574 he gave them as follows:

(1) New Year. This usually comes in October or November or December. It may be later, but may not be held in the summer. It takes place when

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526 face as well as on their body. In regard to girls who like men who have hit the eye of an opponent, he says that one should merely say that girls admire clever whippers (like athlete lovers in the United States).

The only sports followed are soccer and raga.
524 Card games are new and rare. (I noted that he bought a pack recently.) Also, there is a stone in a hole game. There are many children's games.

[595] Dances here are only local dances. There is
532 no sculpture, but they do have the old images. In regard to these old carvings, they do not know who made them. Note the petrifaction myth
773 regarding Ine Amba. I don't know the story about the Vatu Veol, but I think he has it in his notes.

Note: On the map there appears the high
778 little hill near the tjompang. This is called "the place of sunning selves before." Here the people used to sit for sunning themselves, and many still do. However, there are no rites connected with this. It is probably impossible to link this with a sun cult, as in Ambon. It is in the right place for it, as it is a bit off from the old site of the kampong, and on a nearby hill, as in Ambon, where the sun mound is a bit off from the kampong on a hill. Note also that it has the "sun" element in it. And its name was "bangka" ("former") which also applies to the old kampong site, which is called "Bangka Veol."

531 There is quite a bit of wood carving on the houses, especially on the decorations on top. Ordinary, clever men do this. The only real
534 musical instruments are the drum and the gong (and they are amazingly good at them). Bamboo flutes are for individual amusement only; they are not festive instruments. Thus the drum and the gong are the only instruments with any "standing".

[i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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538 but many are still remembered. I get the idea that the decline here is not so great as in many other areas.

484 There is practically no desire here yet to go to places which are "happier."

721 There was no head-hunting here at any time,
266 nor was there any cannibalism, although they did drink blood for revenge pleasure in war. There was no human sacrifice and no torture.

681 The death punishment was given for murder, a slave having sex relations with a kraeng woman, primary incest (but more distant incest was punished by a purifying rite only). The way the death punishment was carried out here and in Pongkor was to throw the victim down into a river from a high point.

411 Note: To kill a beast the people here use
231 a spear or a long knife. It is nearly always the latter.

778 The tjompang tree may be only either waringin
824 or dadap.

515 I see plenty of lice-plucking here. The pretty wife of the head guru I saw plucking the head of another woman. And I see this all over. And here, judging by the smell, they seldom bathe. I see no bathing places. Toilets are evidently holes in the ground enclosed by a screen. I don't remember seeing lice-plucking in Makassar or Buginese areas, but perhaps they do it too. I also do not remember seeing it in Ambon. The Toradja certainly do it. Note that the Endenese and people in Larantuka bathe. The Toradja don't. I think it is probably mountain people (especially the dirty Ngada) who do not bathe and also who have more lice. In this regard, note the Manggarai Ngada, Toradja, and Batak. The Minangkabau, although living in the mountains, bathe (a sign of former coastal life?).

124 Thus ended the Manggarai work, and the as-

764 kampongs with plazas and tombs all over. The latter are usually rectangular stone piles with flat covers, which are evidently lifted in
342 order to put in more bodies. Some of the houses have high pitched roofs coming down to the floor on all sides. They appear to be hooded, and are rather ragged inasmuch as they use alang-alang grass for thatch. Some houses are simpler and follow a more usual design, but all have a different look from those in, for
[531] example, Celebes or Ambon. I saw no gaba-gaba here, but rice stalks are used in the same way and they look like narrower gaba-gaba strips. I
[778] asked at one kampong if they had pusaka houses, and the answer was yes.

●[782] I have seen no offering posts yet. I stopped
797 to talk with the priest at Ndetosoko. He was named Nalles and has a church and school and is starting to plant coffee for the church. The nearby kampongs look pagan to me, but he says that about half of the population in these villages have been converted. It is the usual story: the older ones stay pagan. I talked
121 quite a while with him and he advised my choos-
124 ing a kampong near Wolowaru. We then went back toward Ende, and at 7 km. out we stopped at Roworeke. It is on the side of the road, and then we stopped at another kampong, Watu Roga. The whole place looked ideal, with old style houses, tombs in the plaza, primitive looking folk, etc., and it is all very near Ende. We talked with a couple of the men, and they said that the kapitan (district chief) was in the garden at kilometer 10. We said we would come back later. I decided to take this kampong, or rather this double kampong.

634 In the afternoon we went to see the Ende radja.
124 There was a large gathering there including five Chinese, two hadjis (one kapitan of Nggobe, the northern half of Ende town, and the other from

582 be straight exchange. They must have one inter-
583 mediate move because of the mother's brother's
614 daughter marriage. He sees this clearly, and says that if one could marry a father's sister's daughter they could have a straight exchange. He says that they do this in Tandjung Bunga. Vatter[1] says this is not so. If they do not want to give the tusks or they do not have them, they can work out the bride price in a deal with two other sib groupings so that A will give a girl to B, B a girl to C, and C a girl to A. Thus no tusks are needed, but they act as though the tusks had actually made the rounds. It is all done in their heads. They must plan this, as not every combination will bring the exchange back to the original sib grouping in three moves. Of course, a more complicated deal can be made with many moves leading the fictitious tusks around and a girl back to the group that starts the whole thing.

836 The premarital sex relations with the arrange-
583 ment that leads to marriage which Vatter[1] calls penara is properly called penaga(ng). The guru prefers to call it bride-service, but it is not so according to Vatter[1].

The guru says there are three kinds of marriage here: capture, service (or premarital sex relations leading to marriage), and payment. He calls the last the respectable type. It requires tusks, either real or according to bookkeeping.

192 Vatter[1] makes a bad error on page 83. Kelen
114 does not mean "heaven," but only foot. The word for heaven, on which he was confused, is klng, with almost no vowels.

782 Prayer is not carried out by the Marang. The
788 word marang means to pray, and this has led to
614 the confusion that the ritual prayers at the animal killing were always done by the Suku Marang. The latter merely hands the betel around. The oldest man who is an expert, from whatever

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

782 suku, does the praying, as the Kottang, Kelen,
788 and Hurint do their jobs. The guru has seen old
614 men of all suku do the praying, but has never
happened to see a Marang doing it. This is conclusive. He agrees that perhaps some relation exists between the term and the function and the suku, but he doubts it.

I read how Vatter, shortly after he left
721 Leloba, heard that there was a war between Le-
682 loba and Waibalun. And right now while we are here, after nearly twenty years, there is a war between Leloba and Waibalun. They ask whether aliens here bring the wars. At present there are several Leloba men in jail because they have killed a Waibalun man (just the other day).

I read the passage in Vatter which tells that the guru's father, when he was kepala kampong, killed (I think) fourteen suwanggi in one day. The guru said that this was true and that nowadays even though there are still suwanggi the government will not allow them to be killed. The kepala kampong said that it happens once in a while that a man, plagued by the wickedness of a suwanggi, kills someone and is then sent to jail.

Then we started to work on the social organi-
614 zation of Wailolong. What is happening is that
621 I am getting material on the two kampongs and maybe that is the way to present it, not explicitly, but with emphasis on Wailolong. There
[184] are noticeable contrasts with the one hundred per cent Christian community.

Ama Datong, Leworita, Ama Hurint, and Lewato,
[788] and Lewodoreng are the suku. The first plays the part of Kottang in ceremonies. Kottang is not found here. Leworita plays the part of Kelen, which is not here. Hurint is O.K. The Datong are the original settlers here.

I. Ama Datong

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

614 maybe it is a matter of the older and younger
582 lines. I must check on this. The mandur said
[624] there was no tuan tanah in Ruteng kampong.
Later the assistant said they must have one.

124 In the evening the assistant came to the pasanggrahan and talked with us. He seems to be the best one yet. He knows plenty about the old customs, and Christianity has not caused him to scorn the old ways. He is so enthusiastic that it was hard for us to stop him. We got onto the question of Weol.

178 He said that in the old days there was only
342 one large round house per kampong. The diameter
614 was perhaps twenty meters. If you saw two
624 houses, it meant that there were two va'u. And
582 up until twenty years ago (1927) all tuan tanah
778 lived in round houses. After that, however, a
801 change took place. For example, the tuan tanah of Weol now lives in a rectangular house. In the old clan house there were nine posts, in rows of three. The very center pillar was the main one and here sat the tuan tanah at religious rites. Others ranged around the walls in the front half of the house. The rear section of the house was for the tuan tanah and his family. Other panga had sections around the walls. In the center, behind the main post, was the kitchen. Later, when more than one round house was built in a single kampong, the tuan tanah occupied the main house, and here the main pillar of all was located. This pillar is especially holy, and the setting of it in place requires certain rites, sacrificial animals, etc. Other round houses had nine pillars too. Each house was inhabited usually by one panga, and in each there was a kepala panga, and smaller rites were held at each main pillar.

243 The circular rice field arrangement shows
● 782 certain similarities here. He says that even
778 now when they begin planting or have some other

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243 agricultural rite, they must make a sacrifice
782 at the very center. The main post is the place
778 for house and kampong offerings, and it is called pusat. I think the center of the circular rice field complex is also called the pusat.

115 The assistant's name is Cornelius Lawang.
624 He is from the va'u Pau, which is also the name of a kampong about one kilometer outside the town. His father is the tuan tanah there, and there he will spend tonight. He is his father's successor. Will he take the post? He said just about all tuan tanah (tua' tano') are pagan. But evidently they could be Christian, although a bit of trouble may rise when it comes to the ceremony.

582 I forgot to say that the mandur said it is possible to marry with one's mother's brother's daughter, but not with the other cousins, including father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and father's brother's daughter. If so, this is interesting. He said that
[184] the Catholics forbid mother's brother's daughter marriages now. I must check on this.

567 We got onto the census matter with the assistant. This led to some new points. He said that they do have slaves here and said that he would indicate them in the census, but I must never tell, as this is never mentioned although
842 everyone knows about it. He said that they like
583 to have many children here, and if they have many they give a feast of thanks. (Evidently the more daughters the richer the family may become because of the bride prices. If the family consists of all boys, there is considerable trouble in getting enough goods for the bride prices. These bride prices are reckoned in terms of animals mostly. The mandur said there is trouble often in getting the price and that men who can't marry on this account are not

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776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 Kraeng here is the original title for high
554 nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

796 At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is
614 done by families or pangas. Each man in the
782 group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck
231 with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunt-
[887] ing.) Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say
535 here) is done at many feasts. Each house has
574 some costumes, and the men may use them. They
555 say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 In the afternoon we went to see some fine
527 dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part
526 of the week long independence festival. The
533 lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and sing-
[276] ing. Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertain-
[887] ment was complicated and good. Most drummers
200 and gong players seem to be old women. These

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614 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and
778 broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive. It is located a little to the side of the path and in a rather inconspicuous place.

[773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about this: it is a woman turned to stone with her child because she bathed naked) is located four kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong Bangkavelo.

231 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,[1]
241 they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the
782 garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connec-
114 tion with agricultural rites. They do this in the kampong. In the garden itself they kill only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent, Coolhaas is right.

565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The term kraeng is used for all three levels of nobles.

114 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 336,[1]
632 the people here still give tribute to the dalu
651 when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls,
466 etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now
624 wants a new house he may no longer expect free
476 labor. Now he must pay for such service. If, however, there is need of a new tuan tanah house, labor is given without pay. And if there is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps, although other kampongs may assist in some way or other.

567 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi).
Their descendants are still known. It is also
565 true that new slaves were put in stocks (lam-
114 pang) until it was certain that they would not run away. It is also correct that slaves who had been in a family for a long time might even marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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776 In regard to Manggarai religion: The poti-
potiwolo live in trees; the giants have one
●782 leg and one eye; if a tree is cut down an
offering is given to them.

The ine weu are dwarfs with long breasts. They strangle men with the latter. They live in forests.

The darat are in the forests too. They assume the shape of relatives and lure children so that they can kidnap them. If a child disappears, the people go out with drums and gongs to scare the darat into yielding. The poti empo are ghosts of the dead. Offerings are made to them in all rites. These ghosts hang around their graves and the kampongs. Wakar are higher spirits. Of these the good spirits are wakar dia, bad spirits are wakar daat.

The name of the high god is Mori Kraeng.

241 There are two kinds of gardens: lingko
776 randang and lingko umah. The former are under
782 the aegis of ghosts of the dead tuan tanah.
231 The latter are under the aegis of ordinary poti.
Each gelarang must have at least one of the former (lingko randang). For the lingko randang there are more and greater prayers. And at ceremonial rites for that type of garden buffa-
[526] loes must be killed and the whip fighting must be done at its harvest festivals.

241 The agricultural feasts are:
782 (1) Leas ose, when the garden is divided. A
624 pig is sacrificed.

231 (2) Bentio ratji, when the land is ready.
527 Pigs and fowls are sacrificed. The people go around the lodok five times, led by the tuan tanah, in order to chase the setan. Planting is done two days after the feast. Then, for two and a half months nothing is done in the garden, not even weeding.

(3) Kalok, to drive away the mice. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok

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241 five times. Then two men imitate mice and run
●782 around, while others pelt them with clods of
231 earth. This part is called mburu pusu. After
624 this weeding can be done.
527 (4) Tege rego, when the crops are ripening. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok five times. (The tuan tanah always leads the procession of the people who have shares in the garden being rited.)

(5) Tjepa, just before the harvest. Each family concerned gives a pig, rice, etc. If the garden is a lingko randang, a buffalo must be sacrificed. The animals are assembled in the kampong, and the crowd, with one of the pigs, goes to the garden. Each one plucks a stalk and a hair. The pig is killed. Then they go back to the kampong and go around the "adat house" five times and then go inside to dance. Then all the other beasts are killed and the
[195] whipping starts. While harvesting, special words are used for animals and aliens.

776 At all feasts the poti empo are called, and
769 the setan are chased. Therefore, the dead are never buried far from the kampong, and perhaps inside the kampong. Thus it is easier to call them. They live at their graves.

124 We talked with the assistant Sunday and then
[524] took him home. (We discovered in Ende later that the bamboo clapping game is also practiced there.) Then we set out for Badjawa, which we reached in the evening. The next morning a lad named Alfons appeared and said that the Radja Kedua had told him to show us the Soa area when we were in Badjawa. He is the former guru agama [religious teacher] and had taught Malay and Ngada to many priests. He is good looking and intelligent and wears leather puttees.

361 Then we went to Soa, but first stopped at a
621 spectacular kampong named Lekedjere, on the side
614 road to Soa. It is pure Ngada, really a double

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565 order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase
554 his fame. However, a common man cannot do this.
769 Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions.
346 Also, buffalo sacrifices are needed for putting
574 a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger"
[782] mori ndaru who lives on the other side of the plaza. This has some relation to the elder and younger brother stuff mentioned in the manuscript report on Soa by a priest. Mommersteeg[1]
342 has lent me this report. The mori ndaru house
624 has a wood post in front, on either side be-
532 side the steps. They are rather thin and low and are carved in a human form. This is known as the ata deo, or rather these are the ata deo.

342 Also, beside the door of the house and on the
531 porch are two richly carved wooden rectangles measuring about 3x2 feet. This looks like the
[171] Balinese stuff and consists mainly of scrolls so far as I could see.

237 Not only on the houses of the mori ndaru
342 but also on others, we noted many lower jaws of
531 pigs, wild pigs with tusks, deer horns, and buffalo horns. These are partly ranged along a rack under the roof eaves and partly, especially true of the buffalo horns, stuck in beside the wall of the porch. We later found out that the ata deo may be used by others than the mori ndaru, but evidently the carved wood slabs are only for him. I saw some especially elaborate lower jaw carvings on a barn in Brova.

346 In the lower kampong, Lodo, which has a low
231 stone wall between it and Naru, there is the
[624] house of the mori ndaru (thus each suku, voi, has a mori ndaru, and there may be more than one per kampong) and the rest of the things just mentioned. The ndaru there, however, has a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had been no renewal they said that they would do so, but they would have to get the buffalo first.

[1] [pastor at Soa--Analyst]

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 237 224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him 776 784 about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh 124 tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must 824 have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read 769 that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo [789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

000 bands under their knees formerly.

R Roworeke: On the next day we saw some pro-
582 gress made in making out the census. There are a couple of cases of endogamy, but they are seven "layers" distant.

782 I asked about the oro pesangga, which Such-
346 telen says are offering posts set before each house in Ende. They said that oro is merely a more polite word for ata, man. And pesangga means merely to stab. Thus it means only a man who stabs, i.e. the one who does the sacrifice. This is very unclear. I got no further with it. Perhaps it is only in the mountains.

The central offering post, tubu musu, mentioned by Suchtelen, is found in Roworeke Asal. I must see it. Suku Gusa has one in Wolowaru,
[361] the deserted kampong lama above here. There the original settlers were Odja and the Gusa folk came in later. Then they both moved down to the present Roworeke.

166 The Ende folk who live in the border areas
361 of Ndetu and Tana Ri are papalele, i.e., people
[441] who have no land generally but who buy and sell. They have mere huts to live in, and they come for awhile and then leave. However, many of them have been in their huts for four to five years, so all of them will be entered in the census. They are not full members of the kampong, and indeed are regarded as mere "people who have arrived."

632 The list of gemeente in Ende is as follows (and the proper spelling is Rewarangga):

1. Nggobe (town and inland).
2. Rodja (town and peninsula).
3. Rewarangga (five to eight kilometers).
4. Pulo Ende (island).
5. Rukuramba (km. 8 on the way to Badjawa).
6. Berai (km. 6 on the way to Badjawa).
7. Numba (km. 18 on the way to Badjawa).

[See p. 133 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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443 basis. They obtain products by purchase in the backland and sell them in Ende. They also sell gewgaws which they bring along with them.

186 829 Interest in local, foreign or international news is at a very low level. They insist that nearly everyone here knows just about nothing in regard to anything outside of the kampong. They are even ignorant of Rewarangga.

614 621 They said that originally each kampong consisted of only one suku. Then others moved in. Thus, at one time Wawatonda was the kampong of suku Rewarangga. Then they came down to Worowai. Here today there is a rumah berhala, [764] but it is a mere bone-grave hut, like Odja in Roworeke.

Rabu is now in three kampongs. It was one at some former time. It is ten kilometers from here. This is the place where the original kampong of the Odja suku was located. But they have now lost contact, and indeed, so complete was the move to Roworeke that probably no Odja folk are left in Rabu today.

24 829 The kapitan said an interesting thing when I was pressing him to give information in this regard. He said that only since I came here had he learned very much about the culture and the past of Rewarangga.

778 614 346 764 These rumah berhala, with images and a real house, or merely with the grave-bone shrines, are suku shrines. There are four real rumah berhala houses in Rewarangga. These are as large as a real old style high roofed house, [753] and in them there are images (ana deo) and per- [782] haps bone bundles too. These run as follows: (and anyone who visits them and looks into them must leave an offering, for example, money or cigarettes, etc.; otherwise he may get sick):

1. Volofeo has a real house and in it there are four ana deo, wooden images. There are no bones. This house was used by all four suku

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346 here, and perhaps each ana deo is of one of
614 the suku. They are uncertain about this, but
778 thought that this was perhaps right. They
764 did know that the house was used by all four suku. It is a kind of cooperative venture in the ancestor cult. They got together and built it. It is at kilometer 17, one kilometer's walk up.

2. Bu'ube'i, the most remote of the Rewarangga kampongs, is at kilometer 17 plus a ten kilometer walk. There is a real house there, but the kapitan does not know if there are any bones. They do not know what suku it belongs to. He was there, but was afraid to [753] look inside. They fear illness. I asked why [782] he didn't give a gift and thus insure his safety. He said it would be no use to take [152] the chance. Thus he is a Catholic and thus he fears both outside magic and ancestral ghosts at the same time. It does have an ana deo.

3. Ratebedi has an ana deo, and bones too. The suku is unknown. This is at kilometer 13 plus a four kilometer walk.

4. Vavoëü has an ana deo, but with no bones. The suku is unknown. It is at kilometer 13 plus a one kilometer walk.

All others have either nothing or merely a grave-bones shrine.

5. Worowai has a shrine of the suku Rewarangga.

6. Roworeke has a shrine of the suku Odja. It is in a section of Roworeke Asal.

7. Worowaku does not even have a shrine.

8. Arereke has a shrine of suku Urureva.

9. Pu'uperi has a shrine of suku Rea (a different suku from Reandona).

10. Information is lacking for Kekawi'i.

11. Koavena has a shrine of the Gusa suku.

12. Kekamberu does not even have a shrine.

13. Nioreko has a shrine, but the suku is

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578 land disputes, head-hunting, and women. Or
721 perhaps the latter two should be reversed. Another cause was molesting a child if done by a neighboring kampong. There were also radja wars, in which the people served, but this was involved in high politics. Finally, there were also the early wars against the aborigines, the Padji folk.

721 The reasons for head-hunting were linked
346 with the new korke (this is still a reason for
796 the largest feast, when all kampongs come together. Nowadays, the feast for the new church
●782 takes over this function). When a new korke is built, if the six posts do not fit into the rafter posts, it is a sign that the posts are not happy because they are in need of food, so they are pledged food. Formerly the people then went out and got a head and hung it in the korke. Then everything was all right. Note that nowadays at such rites they give food to the posts. For example, yesterday they smeared rice on the four barn posts. The korke must have six posts.

346 The korke was the center of the war cult and
769 the ghost cult (ancestor cult). The barns were
343 the center of the agricultural cult. The little
241 kebang (barn) of the suku and the ama is called sebua.!

582 Relations between villages are kept up by
621 marriages. In fact, they are almost the sole
602 reason for such relations. This shows that genealogical relationship is nearly everything here. It shows also why descent is the basis for the whole organization of power, etc., and why marriage rules are so complex and strongly held to. There have even been marriage relations with Riang Kanié, although they have not been too pronounced.

476 Another reason for relations with other com-
582 munities is work. That is, there is mutual aid
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621

! [See cat. 116, p. 202 -- Analyst]

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793 The first real pastor was placed in Riang Kamiß in 1926. Before this there was only a guru (a chapel, that is).

771 About eighty per cent of the population here
162 is Christian. (Note from the partial Leloba census that there are still pagans there too.)

Roy repeats that there were three phases in
797 the Christianization of this area: the easy welcome, the troubled period, and that of resignation. There are two gurus in Wailolong: one from Larantuka town and the other from Bama. This, he says, delays the speed of Christianization, because they are "aliens." It is better to have local gurus. He clearly implies that the reason Leloba became Christian so fast is that he did it, as a powerful local man. He repeats that Laba, the last powerful pagan, argued against him quite a bit.

Leloba now has one guru (the assistant of my assistant). Roy resigned actively in 1940. Nearly all of Leloba is Christian.

Roy says that they are first given instruction in Christianity and then baptized. Thus there are a lot of "aspirants."

771 There are no Mohammedans here. When I
797 asked why, he said it would be impossible,
782 because pig killing and pig eating is so important a part of the ritual life that a Mohammedan could not get along here. (I see clearly in this the real actual importance of the pork taboo in holding back Mohammedanism. I remember this being said in Toradja country, and I think also in Ambon.)

Another deterrent to Mohammedanism is that Mohammedans could not slaughter in accordance with the old rules. They would have to kill according to Mohammedan custom, and this simply couldn't be. Thus it is remarkable to see how strong the old killing theme is here, that is, the ritual and the custom, and how all of this

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771 actually makes Mohammedanism impossible. Mo-
797 hammedanism is out here because it (1) taboos
782 certain kinds of flesh, which Christianity does not and (2) because it requires a special kind of slaughtering, which Christianity does not. This is an amazing case of how a "small" thing can explain why a great religion fails and why another succeeds.

624 Roy went further and said that it is impos-
782 sible to have a radja tuan system or even several radja tuan without pigs and ritual killing. The pig killing rite is thus the very center of the whole social scheme. (I had some
[262] pork here, and it was fat, greasy, and tough. But these folks are always hungry evidently, and even more so perhaps now than ever. Again I see how meat means so much.)

162 Perhaps twenty per cent of the Wailolong
771 population is still pagan (see the census). In Leloba there are perhaps only twenty persons who are still not Christian. But these are, or at least some of them, preparing for baptism. They are mostly old people. However, they burst out, there are plenty of persons in both kampongs who are only partially Christian. They think of them as being half pagan as they do not understand much about Christianity. They are Christians in name only.

797 And, Roy said, when I said that Krol said that Catholicism allowed plenty of ceremonies that if this were not so perhaps Catholicism would lose many adherents. The Catholics must compromise. Thus the gurus agree with the priests. Moreover, just as Krol said, they wouldn't get any more converts if they became too rough on the pagan customs. Thus I see that the way here is to make haste slowly, and to let the pagans keep as much as possible, and to gradually wean the young to the true one hundred per cent faith. This is clever and it

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797 works, but I wonder if there might not be trouble if the central organization of the Catholic Church knew it. Still, perhaps the Catholics are indeed less doctrinaire than the Protestants. Surely the Jesuits are, with their different approach toward ends and means. There is a big contrast here with Ambon, surely.

788 Much of the former pagan ritual still survives. For example, there are field rites, beliefs, illness treatments, etc. The pagans still carry on plenty of the old ceremonies. Even the elaborate rites for planting, etc., continue.

241 The tuno wudjo is still an important figure
●782 in planting rites of Wailolong, but has disap-
796 peared in Leloba since Vatter's[1] day. The story is that she is a girl who was sacrificed in Lio by her seven brothers, to make the fields fertile. (They say that this is "to make the gardens fat.") Indeed, she told them to kill her in order to help. And the pieces of her body were sent to places all over Flores to make the fields fertile. The story is also found in Adonara.

Note: Lio is a great place for human sacrifice in relation to agriculture. The Radja of Lio not long ago was executed by the Dutch, and among his crimes was listed the killing of young girls for agricultural field rites. The people of Ende know this, and it seems generally known throughout Flores.

[614] Note also: according to Vatter,[1] one of the
[173] suku in Tandjung Bunga is Lio, and they are supposed to be descended from people who came from there. I wonder if perhaps this myth is not a sign of former human sacrifice in relation to agriculture all over Flores (or at least for East Flores), and it may also have originated in Lio and thence spread to here. Anyway, the

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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796 story is clear in their minds.
241 Note also that a Sumba girl was sacrificed
782 for dry springs and fertility. The pieces were sent all over the island. Here we clearly have a pattern. I wonder if perhaps the proto-Malay
[174] strength in Lio may show a Sumba link, and human sacrifice of this sort may not have come into Flores with an eastward migration. There is a fair chance, I think, that they had at least two migrations into Flores: one from the west, the proto-Malay (and thence perhaps the stories in regard to Sina Djawa); and the other from the east, the Negroid migration, and thence the stories in regard to Kroko Putang and other ancestors from Timor, etc.

The tuno wudjo, ideally one for each suku and ama, are still used in ceremonies of all the kampongs here except Leloba and Lewoneda. Wailolong still uses them. The Catholics do not make much fuss about this. The Catholics must allow the rites. The tuno wudjo must fast for half a year or thereabouts, that is, there is a taboo on animals sacrificed for agriculture for them (could it be because they are substitutes for the tuno wudjo themselves, or is this too wild a guess?). It is notable anyway that only two kampongs have discontinued the tuno wudjo so far in this largely Catholic area. It shows how recent and relatively partial the Catholic hold on the population is here. It also shows how strong the agricultural base of paganism is and how important food can be in these terribly poor areas. The people cannot afford to take a chance, even with the old gods.

[771] I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements here at all.

[346] The korke is the kampong temple. In addition,
[614] each suku and each ama has its barn for the "adat" rice, corn, etc. This is like a kind of temple too, and ceremonies such as I saw were

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796 held under the ama kebang.

241 Note the food symbolism in these most impor-
●782 tant rites. They take place under the barn.
[887] There are present at these ceremonies the old women (in the old days young virgins) who act as tuno wudjo and food divider. The high point is the killing of a pig, and the meat is mixed with the rice and the blood and the four posts are smeared with this food. Everyone eats. The whole thing is completely linked with fertility. And the ancestors are summoned in the litany and are invited to come and eat.

778 There are plenty of holy places, such as the
[346] kampong lama, the place where the tuno wudjo is (what does this mean?), the place where they used to assemble before a war (did they do this before the recent war against Waibalun? Perhaps the few who did the active part of the warfare did). Then there are also holy stones: nubanara, and saonivang. There is also a church or rather a chapel!

The stones are especially important, and this is a real stone cult area. He admits this, and if I had time I could get much about the stories, beliefs, etc., in regard to these stones. I told him about the Stonehenge, the dolmens, etc., and he caught onto this fast.

241 The festival calendar is largely one of agri-
527 cultural feasts. The main ones are at planting and harvest. There are other agricultural feasts too, at all stages. For example, there are festivals at the time of burning the fields, clearing the fields, etc. In all, the agricultural cycle includes thirteen rites. At the thirteenth the harvest comes, and a big time is had by all. Everyone eats and there is a lot of noise. During the growing period everything
[824] is quiet in order not to disturb the spirit of the crops. This is a period of danger and much

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527 risk, and one must tread warily and devoutly.
241 Observing all the rites and showing respect for the most important thing of all, food, is the proper thing.

[182] There are also feasts to ask for rain (held at the korke), and against widespread illness (also at the korke), for a new korke, for a new kebang, and for a new "big house."

Note that most of the agricultural rites occur in the fields.

Once in about every nine to ten years they have a great thanksgiving feast, if the crops are good.

[851] A small feast is given when a child is born, but there is no animal sacrifice. If twins are born, however, an animal is cut. Note the gladness displayed at the increase or income of any kind whatsoever, including an additional human being.

[585] There is no marriage feast at all in the old adat.

The biggest feasts are those held at harvest, for a new korke, and the thanksgiving feast.

[171] Note that the Toradja have the thanksgiving feast too, and I saw the start of it there.

[346] The new korke feast is now given when they have a new church!

346 Note the way that the church links with the
614 old cult. I remember almost the first thing I
177 heard here was from the priest who said that the new church is being partly paid for by selling the tusks of the families whose carelessness caused the fire which burned the old church. He also said in the church, both in the old and the new, there are the signs of the four main suku. They have their place in the church. And I suppose they will cut up animals for the new church too. If so this sort of takes the wind out of the argument against constructing a new korke, namely, that it would cause too much of a waste of animals.

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585 come mainly in the "free months" after harvest,
[221] that is, July, August, September. (Note here
796 that the tuno wudjo fasting period comes in,
261 which he said lasts for about six[1] months. It just jibes with the quiet time.)

721 Head-hunting was done formerly for a feast
346 for a new korke (they can't do it for the new
178 church; too bad!). I have already mentioned
782 how they would give the new posts of a korke some food if the posts did not fit into the rafter holes. This showed that they were hungry. Formerly the food given was human heads. They were hung in the korke. (I suspect there was more of this than Roy[2] says, but he is honest, and perhaps this simply was not done during his time.)

[241] I asked about the blood and the heads needed for making the land fertile and the crops plentiful, etc. He was very vague about this, and my guess is that it is not native in this area. Still, I note the tuno wudjo myth. But this may indeed be a Lio importation. Anyway, they know the connection between blood, human sacrifice, and "fat land." There must be a link here.

226 He says there is no cannibalism here. He
727 says Seegeler[3] was wrong to suspect that they ate parts of the human beings killed in human sacrifice. In fact, he says they didn't even have the human sacrifice. But then he hedged a bit when I reminded him how the Keweluk had forbidden the killing of the Padji women. Then he corrected my previous version of this tale and said that when they had these wars, they didn't, as I thought, kill half the defeated at once and bring the other half back to the kampong and there kill them. He said that actually what they did was to kill only one person and bring the head back. Thus, in the Padji case, they killed one woman and brought her head back. It

[1] [i.e., January-June; see category 116, p. 276, #2 --Analyst]
[2] [the assistant] [3] [a former Controleur --Analyst]

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527 A small feast is given at the birth of a
852 child.

304 There is no supercision, except for Mohammedan circumcision, and this is done only in a few cases. (Evidently, in Indonesia, where supercision was in before, they may continue it under Mohammedanism, for example, in Makassar. But where there was no cutting before, they take on Mohammedan circumcision only.)

They say that they never had any cutting here. However, they say that they know of at least two kampongs in Lio where cutting did take place.

622 The mosa laki are of course religious as well
793 as adat chiefs. The Catholic priest has a house here, but does not reside there. He makes periodic visits. There are two religious teachers.

771 I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements.

798 I wonder if the new bureaucracy, and also the Mohammedan majority, may cause trouble for the Catholic-oriented education of Flores. So far there has been no trouble.

798 There is very little discussion of religion here. They seem to let it slide by, and I get the idea that there is no great trouble in regard to paganism because (1) they never had any real resistance here, and (2) the pagans are too dumb, and so are the Christians, and (3) the Catholics do not evidently attack directly.

●782 There was no trouble here in regard to the
797 acceptance of Mohammedanism from the standpoint
[231] of sacrifice, because they have plenty of non-taboo animals, for example, the buffalo, cattle, and goats. Therefore, it is not necessary to have a pig for pagan rites, and even the Mohammedans would get their share at a feast. This is different from Larantuka, where a Mohammedan would go hungry at the largely pork provided feasts. And also, in Larantuka, the all-essen-

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797 tial rites require pigs, but here other animals
●782 can be used.

Three religions are known: pagan, Catholic,
771 and Mohammedan. They know little except about the pagan religion, which they probably know better than the others!

I asked about the religion here as given in
771 my notes from Elbert[1] who was here in the pre-
114 Catholic period. They said that my notes were all right, including the god names, and that
[775] Mt. Iya was the deadland, etc. In fact, I see more and more that Elbert was a good man. The
[776] high god, however, they give the name Ngga'eh Dewa. They say there is no dualism, i.e., no earth mother, here. This doesn't quite jibe with Elbert, but maybe they have forgotten, or they are vague about this. Maybe they are always vague about such stuff as regards the high gods.

The tubu musu, indeed, has two stones, and
778 after hesitation they admitted that it is a
831 male-female symbol. I note that in his Lio dictionary, Arndt[1] says (I think tubu) has an "obscene" significance with reference to "male." Thus it seems clearly a sex symbol. They never heard of yoni. They seem to say that there are two stones, one lying and another standing. Like a fool, I did not check this. I will have to look in Elbert[1] and Suchtelen[1] for this.

[789] They have the matakau, and it is called nabe.
776 The term Ngga'eh Dewa means the god above. I guess that ngga'eh means big or high. They say that ata ngga'eh nua means "pembesar kampong."

764 At death, the bodies were formerly placed in big trees, cocooned. This was true for big men. For about a month they were left there while a feast was prepared. When all the animals and other things were ready, the bundle was brought down from the tree and bones cleaned. Then they

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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776 because it was new. This is because it was
778 planted when they moved (or maybe it was a
361 second new one, as they said the old one died).
Anyway, there is no tree on the old site, just
an empty place and some stones. The old tree
has evidently died, as he says they do not cut
them down. No one would dare live in that
place again. They may go there occasionally
if there is a reason to do so, but they do
not remain there. It is a cursed spot. The
vatu Veol is a man, but he does not yet have
the story. When the kampong moves, they get
a new stone heap and tree (tjompang).

[166] Many kampongs have moved because their naga
have turned bad. Aside from Veol he mentioned
Meler and Ladja. They must keep the naga
happy, or the situation may become dangerous.
Thus the rites held at the tjompang have real
meaning. They are for the kampong naga.

342 The house naga lives in each house. His
776 place is the main post. High on this is a lit-
782 tle shelf hung from strings. On this place
from time to time the occupants place eggs,
rice, and bits of meat. Also, each family
apartment or section has a little hanging shelf
for the house naga's food. The main post is
especially important, and that is why at cere-
monies they must give it blood from animals,
etc. (There must be a link here with the giv-
ing of food to the posts of the Larantuka korke;
note that Roy said they must "feed" the posts.)

342 If there is much trouble in the house, the
776 mbako may say that it is because for one reason
[782] or another the house naga is no longer any good.
Then they must dismantle the house and build a
new one. Many and many a house has been torn
down and the folk have then built a new one for
this reason. And when they do this, a great
expense is entailed, because they may not use
the old wood. They sell it to another family

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764 in a new place and have children there, a tjompang, etc. (thus the Tjepang do not go back to their old home in the west).

764 614 823 Also, all women who marry out become members of their husbands' va'u and are buried there. If it is impossible to take the body back to the kampong of origin, they at least get a bit of dirt from the cemetery there and take it to the far-off grave (a spot of land that is forever Veol!). This is a real duty, and they may travel very far to get it. Thus, if a Veol man dies in a far away kampong where there is no tuan tanah and no privilege, a bit of earth from the Veol cemetery (near the road here) is taken to his grave. A small feast is given, at which time only a fowl is sacrificed. This is done in the far-off kampong at the burial. However, then the family travel to Veol, no matter how far off it may be, and there [775] they have the really big funeral feast. This is because the soul of the deceased always returns to the home kampong, that is, unless the clan section is already settled in a new place and has its own cemetery.

775 769 782 The souls of the dead live around the graves. There is no special deadland here. Thus, whenever there is a feast in the kampong, people go to the cemetery and invite the souls to attend. The assistant sang a song which they use. Also, they kill a fowl there, in order to give a little food in advance (he said "voorschot"). [776] Also, they go to the spring and invite the water spirits, and give them a fowl too. (Now I see why they have the cry, "Who will feed me when I am dead?")

161 769 The real population of Veol--Ndung is not three hundred and fifty, but thousands, as the dead live there too. The ancestor cult is thus tremendous in regard to the stature of the kampong.

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614 and these are the keys to the stuff: wodja bakok are the same as lampang. The meaning is "white rice." Lampang means "stocks" wherein new slaves are put to keep them from running away. The totems newly inserted are:

[784]

lavo	mouse
kaba	buffalo
paku	a leafy vegetable
betu	a kind of mouse
pake	frog
peti	a kind of bird

614 764 784 756 178 Naked burial is called gilo. Note that this used to be a totem of the Pau va'u, and it was given up via a big feast in 1932. At the same time, the buffalo taboo of Pau (Pau therefore does have a food taboo, or rather it did), was given up too via the same feast. In regard to the naked burial, the people decided it was too much trouble, and I suppose they felt they might as well get rid of the buffalo taboo at the same time. To do this kind of thing a va'u must consult a mbako to see if it is all right. If so, they have the feast called kaba oke tjek'i ("buffalo removes the taboo").

nggevo red bean (different from the lusa)

531 622 I asked if it was right that the radja has no horns on his house as he is not a tuan tanah. They said yes. He has no relation with the land. But nowadays there is plenty of illegal use of the horns by non-tuan tanah.

782 It is true that an offering is always made at the vatu Veol before starting garden work. This is as Coolhaas[1] says.

829 No one is able to draw a map of Flores and Indonesia and the world.

212 Fifty years ago (and even forty years ago) no

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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769 more land here). However, the darat (tree spir-
778 its) who lived in the trees are still there on
776 the spot. When such a grove is cut (and most kampongs have a grove), elaborate rites must be given. It is evidently quite dangerous. Therefore, in addition to the darat in all groves, almost every kampong has its own private darat, who live in the kampong grove.

778 This is important: The assistant says that
769 whenever and wherever they have a ceremony they
270 must set a stone in the center of the place
782 where the rite is held. This stone has palm wine poured over it as a libation. The libation is indispensable, and therefore the stone is also indispensable. It evidently represents the ancestral ghosts, who must always get a drink at every rite. And they pour the drink carefully, as though they were pouring it into someone's mouth. Palm wine is hard to get here, but they will go great distances to get it for a ceremony, even though they may obtain only a little, as it is essential. I note the tremendous importance of alcohol all through here. They drink a lot, as I saw in Anam at the New Year feast (see later), and they like it. It seems to be a perfect case of giving the ancestors what they liked best in life.

I noticed another amazing thing, though it
[533] may be unconscious. When the singing teacher at the mission at the Sunday performance for me arranged the boys for a round singing dance (sanda), he put a stone in the center of the place! It was probably just a marker, but note how easily he set a stone there.

527 I do not know if I got information on all
241 the feasts, as the time was getting short, but
514 he gave them as follows:

(1) New Year. This usually comes in October or November or December. It may be later, but may not be held in the summer. It takes place when

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527 the gardens are all set and growing. The date
574 is uncertain. Each panga must contribute one
241 pig. At the New Year ceremony they dance,
sing, pray, etc. And from what I saw in Anam,
[273] they drink plenty. The main feast is held in
the central kampong of the va'u, but there is
no set order as to where the successive feasts
are held in order.

(2) There are many garden rites: for a new
lodok, for a new clearing, for planting, for
the first weeding, if there are many mice, and
for harvest. The last mentioned is the big-
gest. Note that the ceremony for the mice is
not the regular pantomime one described by
[114] Coolhaas.[h] This is not held here, but only in
East Manggarai.

There is no rice mother here.

231 For the garden rites they usually sacrifice
527 pigs and fowls. A buffalo is sacrificed at
782 the rite for the new lodok, but it is killed
241 in the kampong at the tjompang (the animal is
tied to the tree, and thus there is a clear re-
lation between this and the peo of Nageh and
the ngadu of Ngada; and note that both of these
are forked as though they were cut-off trees;
I saw this clearly in Anam, where a tjompang
tree had had branches cut and it looked like a
rudimentary peo! and note that the buffalo is
tied here at the tree as at the peo or at the
ngadu). Usually, only one buffalo is killed,
and the buffalo is only for a new, main, round
garden, i.e., a lingko randang.

242 This raised an interesting point that with
311 the need for rotation of gardens a new lingko
randang must be planted every two years, because
the soil becomes exhausted and must then lie
fallow. At this time beasts graze there and
fatten the land with manure. But here in Veol
land is now lacking, and they must use the lingko
randang and other lingko constantly, which is

h [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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242 exhausting the soil. Someday someone is going
311 to have to move away!

Then we talked of fertilizer. They have
241 heard of using manure here, and I told how the
242 Japanese and Chinese forage for manure, following animals around, and using human wastes too. He said, however, that they have heard of this and that the idea is revolting to them. They wouldn't do it. This is curious. They call manure pupuk! (Note the Batak significance.) However, animals graze on fallow fields, so there is some profit from manure anyway.

241 A buffalo is sacrificed at the tjompang for
231 harvest too.

●782 I am not clear as to whether it is necessary
527 to sacrifice a buffalo for every new round garden and lodok or only for the main one. I think the latter. Anyway, they do not sacrifice a buffalo every year for the garden, but only when a new one is opened and a lodok is set up. The following year or years no buffalo is sacrificed, because the same lodok remains.

Thus, I suppose that with the present constant use of the garden, there are few if any buffalo sacrificed for lodok. Also, the buffalo sacrifice accompanies only the first harvest from a new garden. There is no buffalo sacrifice in succeeding years for the harvest from the same field.

At the garden rites they pray, sing and dance.
[535] There is a harvest parade around the lodok and around the main post in the tuan tanah house, led by the tuan tanah. Note also that the sanda dance (as at the New Year feast in Anan) is done in the house, and this round dance goes around the main post. These are not only stone people but also circular people.

782 (3) New kampong. A buffalo is sacrificed at
231 the new tjompang.

527 (4) A new big house. Only pigs are sacrificed.
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527 We
782 Drums, etc. are set up.
231 (5) A new ordinary house. There is a small
[342] feast, and pigs are killed.

(6) If there is an epidemic, a big feast is
[731] held, like the tjutji kampong of Ambon. The
[783] mbako decides when it is needed. It is called
[756] kaba erba golo, which means "buffalo (kaba) makes young or renews (erba) the kampong (golo)." Thus the word for young seems to have the sense of making young or cleaning or renewing. There is a buffalo sacrificed, I suppose at the tjompang.

[697] (7) When a man returns from jail. A buffalo is sacrificed.

[585] (8) A wedding. For such rites only pigs are sacrificed. Buffaloes which are killed at this time are for food only, not for ritual use.

[764] (9) Funerals. If such a rite is for an up-
[565] per, a buffalo is sacrificed; if a funeral is for a lower, only a pig is sacrificed.

(10) Birth. A bigger ceremony is held for
[844] a first child, and all the kampong folk attend. Later children are given smaller rites, and only the family attend. Pigs or fowls are sacrificed. Such ceremonies are held five to ten days after birth. There is no special touching the ground rite. However, at this time the baby's hair is cut and a name is given.

844 This led to a discussion of birth. In each
[756] kampong the mbako are also midwives, i.e., at least some of them. A male mbako may be a midwife, and Cornelius says that some are very clever at this. Evidently all mbako are medicine givers and sorcerers and soothsayers, etc., but not all of them are midwives.

843 There are no food taboos for pregnant women, but there are restrictions. If a pregnant woman goes out at night, she must carry a knife (like Ambon). An expectant father may not make bamboo water holders. Neither parent may work at the graves or go to funerals

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124 sistant, Cornelius, was fine. I left him a stamped envelope and paper to get information on the bride price and mother's brother's daughter marriage frequency.

Van Bekkum[1] showed me a great volume typed
114 before the war by an assistant of his on
124 Manggarai marriage customs. It was only two-thirds done, and he needs another year to complete it. It is all planned out and indexed. It is monumental and should be translated and published. Van Bekkum says that only Cornelius could do the book. He also went on a several months field trip for the mission to Pulu Island, off the Maumere coast, where there was said to have been an aboriginal population. He has a manuscript on the buffalo sacrifice there.

He is a remarkable fellow and importuned me only a little for palm wine and tobacco for the old men.

574 The last day we went along to the near end
123 of the road, to kampong Anam, one of the dalu kampongs. Here there were plenty of kraeng with
[273] hangovers, and some still a bit drunk. This is a very large kampong, with perhaps a population of six hundred. There is a tjompang in it and several tuan tanah. At the tjompang, which had stones newly and nicely arranged, were sticks stuck with wood chips on them with rice and bits of other types of food, offered at the New Year feast. I was invited into the main tuan tanah house, and there I sat with lots of men in a circle, on mats and on mat cushions. Women played fine drum and gong music, and men sang fine sanda songs, with solos and choruses.
[782] Hanging on the rafter near the center was the main naga bamboo food shelf, and in each family section along the walls were similar ones. Food was placed on them. The house was rectan-
[342] gular (there are no more tuan tanah houses in

1 [pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

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614 All the people in Weol gelarang are of va'u
166 Weol. There is one exception, the va'u Tjepang. These folk came in before from Boleng, in North Manggarai. They settled in kampong Weol, but when things became crowded, they went below to kampong Tjantjar. The latter alone has many people who are not of the va'u Weol, except for real newcomers, such as the Ruteng folk in Ndung, who came to work in the gardens (evidently as coolies) and settled down. There are many outsiders in the mixed and new kampong Tjantjar.

614 The original ancestors of the va'u Weol came
773 out of a bamboo at a spot near the present spring
824 below Weol. There are bamboo trees there de-
784 scended from the original one. The original ancestors were a pair: Vako Dangka and Ine Karas. Not only is the bamboo taboo but also the lusa (red beans). For example, if a child eats these unwittingly, a fowl must be killed. They do not "cut off" the tongue symbolically with a leaf as is done in some other areas.

614 Women from other clans marrying into Weol
784 must take on the taboo of their husbands. A
562 Weol woman marrying into another clan may eat
783 lusa, but only after performing the rite called ela penteng pitak, which means "to clean off the mud." She must take on the totem taboos of her husband's clan. The woman marrying into Weol gives up her own taboos, but must also do the ela penteng pitak. This ceremony involves a pig sacrifice. Thus every woman marrying into another clan must do this rite to give up her own totems. The name of the totem taboo is tjek'ki.

565 There is a nobility which applies to the
632 radjas, dalu, and gelarang. The gelarang are
624 the tuan tanah (and kepala kampong) of the cen-
622 tral kampongs of the gelarang districts, for
[634] example, Weol. Thus Weol has two gelarang, and Ndung has only one, because the kepala kampong

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783 The people here must confess at least once a year.

666 632 565 634 622 [646] There are only two elected representatives here and also in Wailolong. The only election in the area is for the parliament. There is also a kind of election for the kakang. The choosers are the twenty-four kepala kampong of the eight kampongs. In the old days, although they got together, and went through the form of accepting the oldest son of the deceased or ejected kakang, it had to be the eldest son. Now they actually choose from candidates. The candidates must be of the proper nobility, so there aren't very many. Thus, when the previous kakang went out (he was ejected in 1938 because of a misdemeanor), there were three candidates: Roy, a man from Lewohala, and the present kakang. Roy says they were the only ones who were both noble and qualified. By the latter term he means that they were clever enough for the job. They had to be of the direct descending family of the radja tuan or kelake. The Radja of Larantuka is chairman of the electoral committee. Roy said that he does not force a choice, but lets everybody talk freely.

632 634 622 [178] Then it came out that there have actually been three phases in the kakang business: (1) pre-1915: he merely represented the succession; (2) 1915--1938: a period of tyranny, when the radja simply chose whom he pleased. This was the period when the Dutch and the radja worked together, the dark years; and (3) 1938--present: election within limits. Roy knows the word "candidaat."

Nowadays the radja must accept the will of the kepala kampong. The last imposed kakang, of the Larantuka Radja family, was deposed in 1938. He had been chosen by the radja three years before.

[661] In 1924 Roy had been elected by the kepala kampong, but the radja would not accept him (in 1938 Roy was a candidate but was not elected). This is an example of radja tyranny.

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592 The oldest man is the head of the house, and his eldest son succeeds him. This is invariable. The eldest woman is the manager (nu'a luka rumah tangga). The eldest son's wife succeeds her.

783 673 It is interesting to note that both adat sins and church sins are kept track of.

509 We left Larantuka on Tuesday, January 9, and stopped that night in Maumere, so that Kattenburg can get his plane to Makassar on Wednesday.

286 On Wednesday I went on to Ende, and this took six hours, because I went to Sikka (didn't quite get there because the road had been torn up, although I did see Lela, which is near it). Sikka is really isolated, and the road leading there is poor. I noticed all along the road that there were women under or beside the houses weaving. This is true all over Flores. I noticed the drying of threads after dyeing, the looms, the wheels, the piles of cotton, etc. I note the same thing in Roworeke, Wailolong, Leloba, and everywhere.

634 661 439 789 769 I heard much about the radjas' shady business practices (led by the Radja of Sikka, but Larantuka is in on it too) in regard to the surplus distribution sold in Makassar and the copra smuggled into Singapore, etc. The Chinese are in on the deal. Some day these radjas will be out, and this will be better for everyone. I talked with Arriens[1] about them and he was doubtful that they have much magic power here, but I think there is quite a bit. It is perhaps not so directly electrical as in Celebes, but the respect hangs heavy, and they are the apex of the whole ancestor cult. This is true of Larantuka, and I suspect it is true of the other areas.

632 634 Arriens said there has been much trouble in Tana Ai, because they want their own kapitan, but Sikka evidently has his own ideas. Until

1 [i.e., Controleur at Ende -- Analyst]

527 We
574 troubles in the kampong are due to influences
756 which must be exorcised.

756 This led to a discussion of the mbako.
[887] There are two to three mbako per kampong. They may be men or women, although they are usually men. They are called to work, a job which is not hereditary. They are always old people. They dream, see spirits (e.g., naga), look at their paraphernalia (for example, glass pieces, wood pieces), etc. However, there is no shamanism.

This led to a discussion of the secrecy surrounding the identity of the mbako. He is rather vague and said something about how they don't want to appear "proud." But this doesn't ring true, so I asked the mandur and he said it is because several mbako were imprisoned here because of witchcraft murders (what kind?). Anyway, here is the pattern of secrecy and fear which I see all over here.

166 Of those who have gone away, none has re-
574 turned to Yeol, as far as the assistant knows.
783 But there have been returnees to other kampongs.

If a returnee is a man who was imprisoned (note how often the jail theme comes up here; indeed the Dutch ruled by jails!) a feast must be given and buffalo killed. It is called the buka tali, to remove the rope. It also cleanses the returnee of the bad influence of the jail. When the Controleur Bedbeder and Pastor van Bekkum came back from Japanese imprisonment, wherever they went there was a buffalo feast in order to set them finally free.

If a family left the area without an argument,
166 then no feast is required on their return, un-
574 less it is a long time afterwards and they have
769 come from far away. For example, a policeman or a soldier who has been away for a long while would go through such a ceremony. Then there must be a feast given for two purposes: to tell

We

624 gendang (the aradjang pattern) from the head tuan tanah of the original kampong.

166 609 [443] [335] The groups of people who visit the village more or less regularly (actually only occasionally) are as follows: (1) pastors, (2) traders to buy stock, Chinese, Arabs, etc., (3) a Chinese pedlar who comes with a coolie carrying a pack, (4) government men, and (5) specialist carpenters who come to build houses.

They stay for a short time only, except for the carpenters, who stay for about two months.

One other class is important. It comprises the outsiders who have gardens in the kampong. They come to work in their gardens, stay awhile and leave. They sleep with the kampong folk as their guests.

[584] Family relationships are definitely interrupted by migration. Usually one starts the ball rolling by marriage or by buying a garden, and then relatives follow. This is important in regard to marriage because the young folk become acquainted in this way. It is a case of "propinquity".

166 609 578 The immigrants must follow the local adat absolutely. They take part in the same rituals, pay the tributes of the land, etc. Thus there is no trouble. However, there are occasional difficulties in managing the gardens. For example, the local people become jealous of the outsiders who have big crops, or argue one way or the other. There is not much trouble, however, and usually things are quite serene.

[783] There are no specific ideas about the outside world. Still, when one returns after a long stay in some other place, they have a rite to "clean the dirt." I am informed that there is no opposition shown toward those who accept the outsiders. However, I wonder if there may not be at certain times. Evidently there is no policy of "exclusion," and my guess is that if outsiders are not welcome they are told so and that is all.

We

585 all of the men in the kampong come on horses. The bride may not dismount nor touch the earth, but is lifted off on the saddle. At the threshold she steps off the saddle and crushes an egg under her foot. The groom enters too. Songs are sung and a pig is killed as she en-
[783] ters ("to clean her feet" meaning evidently to clean the soil of her home kampong off or to remove bonds therewith). This indeed is the rite that removes her totem taboo and makes her take on her husband's totem. It is called ela penteng pitak, which indeed means to clean off the mud. Thus she leaves the old and takes on the new tjek'i. Thus she has entered her husband's va'u. Then there is a
[591] feast and they live patrilocally.

583 If there is no bride price paid, the boy
591 merely goes and moves in with the girl's fam-
585 ily. There is no ceremony, or perhaps it is a
[124] little one. This is not regarded as nice (and note he says that he is afraid they might not tell him who in Veol and Ndung did not pay the bride price, as they are sensitive about this. He will send me a letter later about this and also about the percentage of mother's brother's daughter marriages). Only the poor people marry in this fashion.

When the bride price is finally paid, the real wedding ritual occurs as above. It may be ten years later. I made sure of this by laughingly saying that perhaps in such a case when they have the procession from the girl's to the boy's house their children go along too. And they said that that was correct. If the couple are Christian, they have a church wedding one day before the numpang. All the rest of the rite is the same.

864 There is no need for sex instruction, as the children see everything when they are still very young in these crowded houses. They are

We

771 should not pray. Also, a Catholic may not
788 initiate ceremonies by himself, for example,
183 house rites. I wonder what happens to a Catholic who lives in a house with the little hanging shelves for the naga. There the shelf is over their heads, and I wonder if they do not give offerings. If I had the time I would like to trail a Catholic around; my guess is that most of them do not worry too much about orthodoxy. There is still a lot of friction here.

875 There is a guru agama for Veol and Ndung,
793 but he lives in Rai. Usually there is a guru agama for each kampong, but these are twins. Usually one pastor serves one or two dalu. Rahong has the Maumere man, who lives in Tjantjar.

797 Most conversions are made of the young through the school. There are no cases of children converting their parents. There are relatively few direct adult converts. The school does the trick. A convert must first be a catechumen and learn the ropes. This lasts for one to two years.

797 The priests worry a lot here about what to
183 do, because adat is so dependent on the old
578 ceremonies. In Larantuka they have tried to
595 Christianize the pagan rites, etc. Right here there is a real problem, as the heir apparent of the big tuan tanah of Veol is Catholic. The assistant says van Bekkum[1] has discussed what should be done with him. Then too there is the matter of polygamy, which is very strong here. Most of the outright opposition to Catholicism comes from men or women who, because of a plural marriage, are not looked upon favorably by the
● [783] church. There is no possible idjing (dispensation, according to Oudehand's version)[2] for this. This is a head-on conflict, especially because they desire so many children. The polygamists

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]; [2] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

527 We
782 Drums, etc. are set up.
231 (5) A new ordinary house. There is a small
[342] feast, and pigs are killed.

[731] (6) If there is an epidemic, a big feast is
[783] held, like the tjutji kampong of Ambon. The
[756] mbako decides when it is needed. It is called kaba erba golo, which means "buffalo (kaba) makes young or renews (erba) the kampong (golo)." Thus the word for young seems to have the sense of making young or cleaning or renewing. There is a buffalo sacrificed, I suppose at the tjompang.

[697] (7) When a man returns from jail. A buffalo is sacrificed.

[585] (8) A wedding. For such rites only pigs are sacrificed. Buffaloes which are killed at this time are for food only, not for ritual use.

[764] (9) Funerals. If such a rite is for an up-
[565] per, a buffalo is sacrificed; if a funeral is for a lower, only a pig is sacrificed.

(10) Birth. A bigger ceremony is held for
[844] a first child, and all the kampong folk attend. Later children are given smaller rites, and only the family attend. Pigs or fowls are sacrificed. Such ceremonies are held five to ten days after birth. There is no special touching the ground rite. However, at this time the baby's hair is cut and a name is given.

844 This led to a discussion of birth. In each
[756] kampong the mbako are also midwives, i.e., at least some of them. A male mbako may be a midwife, and Cornelius says that some are very clever at this. Evidently all mbako are medicine givers and sorcerers and soothsayers, etc., but not all of them are midwives.

843 There are no food taboos for pregnant women, but there are restrictions. If a pregnant woman goes out at night, she must carry a knife (like Ambon). An expectant father may not make bamboo water holders. Neither parent may work at the graves or go to funerals

000 of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

582 583 237 614 621 The next day I questioned the guru about this, and after a long talk about kinship, which revealed that the mother's brother's daughter type of marriage is a regular type of thing, he came out with the classic statement that usually the tusks come back to the original payer in three moves. Thus, ideally this is a three-class, mother's brother's daughter, rotating system. However, the route of the tusks may be longer, involving up to twenty moves before they return to the original giver. But they try to make the circle as fast as possible, doing it in three moves if they can. Naturally, this is not always possible. We examined some cases of possible long routes, and he said it might be true that it would take up to twenty moves before the tusks returned. They try never to let the tusks go outside the kampong, and this may be why probably there is not much extrakampong marriage. But even if they did, they could close the circle by careful planning. He said, just as Wouden[1] might, that the mother's brother's daughter marriage and the bride price and the sib system are all part of a complete system. We will have more of this later.

114 Today, Friday, December 23, we started in on the Vatter[2] book which the mission lent to me. It is amazingly correct.

Among the corrections, etc., are the following: [304] tattooing against illness is not done in Leloba; [775] a tattoo mark is needed to be recognized on entering the deadland; [301] feather decorations are used only festively; [302] the special woman's horsetail coiffure is not used here any longer; [755] cotton is not placed in the ears for illness (55)[2]; [614] one of the sibs from Sina Djawa is Lewonuhah; [784] the term suku wung is used here (74)[2] wung having the sense of taboo.

[1] [See pp.19-21, 85-88 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

114 As Vatter[1] says, there are taboos of a totemic
●784 sort. Ama Hurint has a taboo on a kind of
614 vegetable. Others are as given by Vatter. Vatter has a real error, however, in that there are only five suku, not six, because Marang is within Kottang.

582 Marriage with one's father's sister's sister
835 [father's sister's daughter?] is taboo, as are
177 marriages between parallel cousins. Mother's brother's daughter marriages are preferred, and this occurs regularly. It was interesting to note that the mother's brother's daughter marriage is considered taboo in Catholic communities. This was admitted, and no longer do Catholics
[836] here marry their real mother's brother's daughter unless the girl has become pregnant (this is evidently a fairly common occurrence, as it is mentioned freely). However, because of the classificatory system, it is possible to marry a mother's brother's daughter relative through the grandparents. Such a relative must be at least a fourth grade cousin to suit the Catholics. Thus they manage to maintain the old system and suit the Catholic demand.

601 Kinship terms are as follows:

father:	bapa
father's brother:	bosu
father's sister:	nona, kaka (male speaking); nona kaka, tia (female speaking) (Tia means mother-in-law
father's brother's son:	kaka aring (male speaking); na'a (female speaking)
father's brother's daughter:	bine (male speaking); kaka aring (female speaking)

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

611 I think he[1] Also said it is possible to pay part of
614 the bride price and then to give some of the
583 children to the mother's group. This is not so
582 important, however, as the usual marriage is endogamous. They prefer to marry within the sib. They may marry out also. They have the same term for all cousins, and may marry with any cross or parallel cousin. Descent is patrilineal. Female descent is traced too, and thus there may occur cases of double descent with patrilineal emphasis and endogamy and clans. This is remarkable.

784 They also have totemism here with animal de-
824 scent and tree descent. A member may not kill or eat the animal totem and may not cut or burn or use in any way the wood of the tree totem. Two of the latter are ficus and lontar. The
583 amount to be paid as a bride price is a matter
554 of pride. Many kampongs have only one voi,
614 but others have several.

197 The language of Ngada is related to that of
193 Ende and is very close to Nageh. Manggarai speech, however, is quite different. Arndt says there are no affixes in Ngada, but instead they use particles.

614 Correction: Not all voi have women as an-
565 cestors, but most of them do. There are four
582 classes (not three as van Staveren[2] says). These are the nobles (ata gai or gai meze), upper commoners (ata gisa or gai giza), lower commoners (azi ana) and slaves (ata hoö). An upper woman may never marry a lower man, but the reverse is all right. The peo still stand.

124 We talked about the possibility of working in a Ngada kampong, but the Soa area has already been covered, and Arndt has a book nearly ready on the sociology of Ngada. There is practically nothing on Manggarai, so we decided to go to Ruteng first. We left in the afternoon, and after a hard drive, largely in the rain, we

1 [i.e., Arndt, pastor in Ngada area--Analyst]
2 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

784 There is definite totemism here though some
614 clans have no taboos or totem ancestors. But
611 it is the usual thing. Weol may not use one
769 kind of bamboo, because the ancestors were born
562 of this bamboo. Pau may not eat a certain kind of monkey, as the ancestors were linked (this is the assistant's va'u). Women marrying out of the va'u may eat the totem of their own clan but must go through a special rite. Men may never give up the totem taboos, even if they live in an ambil anak arrangement.

574 The next day we went to Weol and up to the
273 kampong with the assistant. We brought native
276 tobacco and gin which we had bought for fl. 2.00
123 in Ruteng. As we entered the kampong, on the right we noted the house of the kepala kampong. Next to it is that of the tuan tanah, where we sat on the front porch. Both of these houses are of the new style, but are sooty because there are no chimneys. The children carried two chairs up from Tjantjar for us and later brought a table from the school. However, the assistant and the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong sat on a mat on the floor. Others were in the background. On the rise in front was a great crowd. We gave gin and tobacco to the old people and
[262] were later served first coffee and then two hard boiled eggs. Others got no eggs. The eggs came by chain-passing from the next kampong, Ndung. Evidently eggs are something special. The old tuan tanah knows everything, and his brother the kepala kampong is old and smart too. The kepala of the third panga of Weol kampong sat in the rear. He too is old.

632 The daluschap Rahong is one of the thirty-
621 nine in Manggarai. The dalu are of Bima origin, or at least this is true of most of them. There are thirty-three kampongs in Rahong. The tuan tanah knows all of them, including the constellations. They are as follows:

We

614 All the people in Weol gelarang are of va'u
166 Weol. There is one exception, the va'u Tjepang. These folk came in before from Boleng, in North Manggarai. They settled in kampong Weol, but when things became crowded, they went below to kampong Tjantjar. The latter alone has many people who are not of the va'u Weol, except for real newcomers, such as the Ruteng folk in Ndung, who came to work in the gardens (evidently as coolies) and settled down. There are many outsiders in the mixed and new kampong Tjantjar.

614 The original ancestors of the va'u Weol came
773 out of a bamboo at a spot near the present spring
824 below Weol. There are bamboo trees there de-
784 scended from the original one. The original ancestors were a pair: Vako Dangka and Ine Karas. Not only is the bamboo taboo but also the lusa (red beans). For example, if a child eats these unwittingly, a fowl must be killed. They do not "cut off" the tongue symbolically with a leaf as is done in some other areas.

614 Women from other clans marrying into Weol
784 must take on the taboo of their husbands. A
562 Weol woman marrying into another clan may eat
783 lusa, but only after performing the rite called ela penteng pitak, which means "to clean off the mud." She must take on the totem taboos of her husband's clan. The woman marrying into Weol gives up her own taboos, but must also do the ela penteng pitak. This ceremony involves a pig sacrifice. Thus every woman marrying into another clan must do this rite to give up her own totems. The name of the totem taboo is tjek'ki.

565 There is a nobility which applies to the
632 radjas, dalu, and gelarang. The gelarang are
624 the tuan tanah (and kepala kampong) of the cen-
622 tral kampongs of the gelarang districts, for
[634] example, Weol. Thus Weol has two gelarang, and Ndung has only one, because the kepala kampong

614 Weol get larger and split. Thus there are many panga
173 in the va'u Weol (are they grouped under the original seven sons?).

614 The three panga of Weol kampong are: Lambar
621 (the tuan tanah is chief of this), Rinteng (the
592 kepala kampong is chief of this), and Rundu. It happens that there are two houses in each of the three panga in Weol, making six houses in all. Thus each tu'a panga has two houses under
342 him. The houses of the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong are built in the new style, as
178 are two of the others. There are then two old round houses, one with old non-wood walls. Most of the present round houses have wood walls and are built with nails. The roof does not reach the floor as in the real old time houses. The new style houses are all the same pattern, which was introduced by a certain priest. This is the only new style they know, and all new ones are exactly the same.

592 Often the whole panga will live in one house.
621 Ndung, which originally was linked with Weol, is
614 now a separate kampong and is even located in
624 another gelarang. The border is the mound above the small house area of Weol. They are
[778] continuous, but each has its own sacred tree. The kepala kampong of not only Ndung and Meler, but of the other four kampongs in the gelarang as well, lives in Meler. Thus there is only one kepala kampong for all the six kampongs. But each kampong must have a tuan tanah. The tuan tanah besar, however, lives in Ndung, just as the tuan tanah besar of Weol gelarang lives in Weol (this is our host). The big kepala kampong and the big tuan tanah of each gelarang has the rank of gelarang. In the gelarang Weol there are three kepala kampongs only, for the seven kampongs. Thus the Weol kepala kampong is also kepala kampong of Tjantjar.

614 The Ndung folk are all of the va'u Weol and
●784 have a taboo on lusa.

We

614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and Rundu.

784 824 614 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The other kinds, for example betong, which is thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung pesi is also tabooed for the members of the Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only on the first-born of each family. The first-born is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 114 624 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his material. There are now two more kampongs in the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas is in error in stating that Ladja is the fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung. Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung. The Manggarai

624 824 796 name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Teno is the kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post which is set in the center of the star of fields for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a

[533] [562] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum. Some of the beats are the same for the men and for the women, but others differ by sex. Another term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 423 651 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which are basically the property of the tuan tanah. Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay tribute for his house space. This tribute is used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 778 [104] Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on the side of the highest hill. It is in the form of a rough human figure, which used to have

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

114 We
[585] exactly the same rites and all moves are the
[565] same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas'
[784] word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate
[614] ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).[1]
[286] In addition to the technical totem taboos given by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 I note on the map that place names recur
614 often all over Manggarai, especially not far away. These are clan names, which are given to kampongs founded by split offs from the mother kampong. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 The mandur said there is criticism of the
578 Radja today because he is not "one hundred per
632 cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of
648 Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, al-
186 though somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud of this Minangkabau story while at the same time it may harm them in light of Manggarai nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes[1] says that when the Dutch were trying to select a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not a contented area and that the people there wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may see a possible chance of paying off old scores. This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where self-governing setups led to exploitation of lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may try to raise themselves up to a parity level and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask questions, and they will reply without first going through a translator. However, the reply

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 1B--Analyst]

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 237 224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him 776 784 124 824 769 about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo [789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

R

778 feasts. Thus it is like Barupu in Toradja.
769 (Ratebedi is one of the Rabu kampongs.
346 Vavoëü is another, and so is the non-shrine
574 kampong Kekamberu. The others which have merely the grave-bone shrines have a feast only when they need to fix up a shrine.

632 The next day we went to Roworeke again. Note an error in the preceding notes: The sikesani besar, who lives in Worowai, is of the suku Nggonggora'ba. Thus the Big Four are as follows: Mosa laki mere of Rewarangga, Giri tumba of Odja. Ndeto au of Rewarangga, and Sikesani of Nggonggora'ba. The names of these posts mean: mosa, male (animal); laki, male (human); mere, big; giri, around; tumba, spear (he walks around with a spear); ndetu, many colored; au, bamboo; sike, here; sani, there.

181 I am always impressed by the combination of
124 lack of courtesy and the cringing servility of
576 these Endenese. They constantly talk to each other when I am talking, pass remarks about me in Endenese, etc. At the same time they keep on "tuanning" and bowing. They are grasping too. For example, the kapitan looks steadily at my gold watch and band and asked me to sell him U.S. gold pieces. The assistant asked me to give him personally a ring-spiral notebook such as used for the work. He can't answer questions on the schedule, so I have to do it all. The kapitan is a bit better, and the guru is smarter, but I get the idea that these folk are a rather poor lot.

784 Again we got on to the subject of totemism.
262 The word for such taboos is pire. I doubt that
614 I got the whole story, but as far as I can see
562 there are three kinds of totem taboos and they apply to foods:

(1) Suku or pu'u taboo. This is called pire ngguäh, the latter term meaning "descen-

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784 dants of suku". (Evidently related to the
262 adat kepala kampong, the ata ngguäh nua ["man
614 suku descendants kampong."]) I must ask what
562 the suku membership variation in adat kepala kampong are; here he is an Odja. These taboos apply not to men nor to children of the suku but to women who marry into the suku only. This is very unusual, in ethnography. In the Odja suku these apply to the tomato, dog, eggs, and four other kinds of food. The males of Odja and the children may eat everything, but the wives may not. Thus if a Wanda woman marries into Odja, these are her taboos. If she eats
[753] any of these, she gets terrible sores, and they always point to their arms, just as the Ambonese say that sores on their arms are caused by the same thing. The Wanda taboos are the tomato, eggs, a kind of maize (djagung Solor), and ripe coconut.

784 (2) Family or household taboos. These are
called pire sa'o teenda (sa'o teenda means
262 family). These are set by the father (and by
753 the mother too?) on all the members of the
592 household, including the man, wife and children.
614 Thus the assistant had bad sores two years ago and asked the dukun why. The latter diagnosed the cause as buffalo meat (the horns stuck through the skin). Whereupon Migo declared that buffalo meat was taboo to himself, wife, and children. Such a taboo stays in the direct line (thus a kind of lineage totem) until some head of a line decided it is needed no longer, and then a feast is given together with an animal sacrifice to lift the taboo. Thus Migo
[773] has started a taboo, and perhaps fifty years hence, unless it is lifted, they will have a story in his family about the origin of the taboo. The suku taboos have more ancient legends to explain their origins. These taboos of household restrictions are thus a kind of assumed taboo.

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614 assumed taboo.

784 (3) Personal totem taboos. These apply to
262 individuals only, not to a wife or husband or
753 child or anyone else. This is a kind of "allergy." These are pire se'imu (the latter term means "individual"). Thus the kapitan's wife got sores and decided (dukun consulted?) that it was because she had eaten buffalo meat. Now she eats none. If she wishes to lift her taboo, she must give a feast with animal sacrifice. The kapitan and his child may eat buffalo.

614 The kapitan's wife thus has the taboos of
784 the kapitan's suku and her own personal one
583 too. She was also of Odja, but until she mar-
562 ried did not have the Odja taboos. Migo's wife has Odja suku taboos (she was from the suku Wanda) and also Migo's household taboo. The kapitan has no taboos, but Migo has his household taboo. It is notable that if a man
[591] pays no bride price and lives matrilocally, his wife does not take on his suku's taboos, but assumes the taboos of the women who marry into her own sib. That is, she is a married woman, and thus must follow suku taboos. But since the bride price has not yet been paid she is not a member of her husband's suku, and so she merely takes on her own suku's taboos as though she were a woman married into her own suku. When the bride price is finally paid, she takes on her husband's suku's taboos, and of course they move into his house. Thus one can say that the totem of the suku hits women only, but only women married into the suku, not women of the suku. Lineage taboos are coming in all the time, and they apply to all household members and may pass on down from generation to generation. Personal taboos are for individuals only. This is queer, and I am sure that I have not yet got the whole story.

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621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are still formed partly of suku or suku sections coming in and joining the old settlers from the negri lama.

443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series as in Celebes. These wheels run in different directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru, and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The traders follow the pasar week from market to market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kam-
583 pongs, although there is gift exchange in
562 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male" things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a woman gives in return "female" things (cloth, mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
●784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere, and said that many had drowned there recently. The water is deep, he said, and there lives a "head" of a human being. It is still living and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has seen it several times, in daylight. It moves around as though on short legs. It is just a human head, with hair. They don't know what it is or where it came from. However, the people are now scared to bathe here. The victims have been sucked under. He asked me my opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
[123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith, because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere. They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head alone").

622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

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123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

We discussed a certain rank which appears in
614 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
343 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
562 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala
243 suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

We also noted a possible error in Vatter.[1]
[114] He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
614 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
796 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
831 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
● 784 gins, but now with so few young girls still
241 pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[857] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost
[887] babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic
[797] note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

We
831 goat; and buffalo?). During other months they
614 may eat such food. This figures out to be
241 roughly about one half of the year. Some of
796 the ama have no nu'a luka, for example, Ama
784 Rere. Indeed, Roy says they must not be too
strict about this system because there are
plenty of holes in the ideal scheme. As we
115 were finishing up the work he got a note tell-
124 ing him to meet the Radja at the kakang's
house for a conference. Evidently he is be-
coming a big man here. We are perhaps partly
responsible.

He is making a map, and his daughter, who goes to the nun's school in Larantuka, is doing the drawing.

The next morning, Sunday, we went back, and
632 arrived while church services were being held.
796 They expected the Radja to visit today, so they had removed a section of the fence to let his car in. He never showed up, which was a disappointment to them, as they were all waiting
[621] around. The name of the section of Wailolong where we saw the rite yesterday is Apukule(ng).

578 We asked about the bonds of friendship and
721 enemy relations here. It is clear that seven of the kampongs are always friendly, and are never at war with one another. The eighth, Riang Kamië, has been the traditional enemy of each of them in turn. They are all descendants of Lenurat, whereas the folk of Rian Kamië are descended mainly from Kroko Putang folk, mixed in with some Sina Djawa. Most enmity against Riang Kamië has been, as usual, by kampongs bordering Riang Kamië. Always, border wars are the most frequent here. Thus, Leloba, Wailolong, and Lewohala are involved. The traditional enemy kampong is Lewowitin. The others are brothers, just as in fact or legend their founders were.

The main causes of wars were, in order:

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624 like the marinyo of Ambon. I asked what the
465 secretary got, and he said cigarette money only. The pay is evidently very little.

583 Correction: Although he says there is no case here now, he has found out that if the
614 bride price is not paid, the children are of
611 the suku of the mother. And the bride price
784 must be paid at marriage. There is no post-marriage payment in order to get the children back. Thus there is real ambil anak here. The man remains a member of his own sib, and the wife a member of hers. Thus she assumes the "married woman" totem taboos of her own sib, not those of her husband's sib, as is the more usual thing.

346 I asked about the rumah berhala of Wolorec.
778 This group has a real house, and in it there are four ana deo, two in bad repair. There is
614 one for each of the four suku. There are no other suku in the kampong. There are also plenty of belongings in the house. It is rather large, about twelve meters on a side. There are baskets and other objects therein. This old kampong is only one kilometer off the road in the hills at kilometer 17. I may go there one day. The four suku are Mbonggi (the kepala kampong is from this), Djo'bi, Soa, and Woro. The oldest suku is Mbonggi. There is
[769] also a grave-bone shrine here, of the suku Djo'bi.

771 The folk here are now mostly Catholic, but they do have an annual ancestor rite, and the
769 Catholics attend too. The kampong Ratebedi, far off in the hills, has fewer Catholics, as is the case with the far off Bu'ube'i. The distant ones remain pagan longer.

872 Fifty years ago there was no school. It came
178 in 1921. No one went to school before this.
212 They were totally illiterate (this shows how
000 recently the schools came in here). They were

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778 The negri lama of the suku Odja is about one-
753 half kilometer outside Ratebedi in the distant hills. No one lives there now, but there are stones, etc. (I think he said images too.) The Ratebedi folk give offerings there. This was the kampong of the great ancestor Odja Djata (the father of Odja was Djata). There are many such old places which are dangerous, for example, the assistant went to one such place near Pamudjera, and he got sick at once.

[784] There is always talk of danger in fooling around with old places and old rules. Thus, not long ago two men of Watu Roga set a stone boundary marker in the earth, but this is taboo. In three days one was dead and in three months the other died.

If I could get all of the information about
174 each kampong and suku I could rebuild the whole history of migrations, etc. And although most of the people have lost these stories, there are a good number of old men in Volofea and Bu'ube'i who could tell everything.

The assistant says he will try to get infor-
115 mation on all these things as he does his "control" work in his job as secretary of the gemeente. He asks for a good notebook and a briefcase to do this work! I don't trust him, that's all. He plots, and the story is that when I come back years from now he will have all the facts. Thus he put together my interest in these things, my statement that I might return to do more work here, and out of hopes to get a notebook and case fabricated his plan.

The land is family-owned (maybe lineage-
423 owned is a better way of phrasing it). The
614 eldest son is the manager of the family land.
592 Others work on it. If there are no sons, the
428 eldest daughter runs it, or maybe the deceased father's brother. The father may split up his estate among his sons, or give each one of his

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536 the rites of the agricultural cycle, etc., are highly dramatic). Weaving is probably the
286 most active art.

There are three kinds of dancing.

The hard work in this area is done from Janu-
221 ary to March. This is the growing season. They
●784 work hard and steadily in the gardens and are tired at night and have to sleep early. Also, there is a taboo on making noise during this time. It is the time of "work and quiet." This links with beliefs about rice, corn, etc. souls, which must be handled carefully. But then, in July, August, September comes the big time for feasts, dancing, singing, especially at the time of full moon. Then they have lots of fun. After that the quiet time starts again after a tapering off.

They know just about nothing about foreign
20 sports, etc. My theory is that the lack of movies is the main reason for this. There are also no books, magazines or papers. There is no way of finding out about such things. There
533 is plenty of riddling and song games, like
538 pantun. This is done especially in forms which are sung. The same holds for stories. They are told especially by singing. The stories are sung during the great thanksgiving feasts that come perhaps once every nine or ten years. One story may last a month. Every incident in a past period will be told, with all persons indicated by name, their relationships with other people involved, and everything that happened in every kampong, etc. These are evidently true epics on a small-distance scale. These are "local epics." Such a tale may tell everything that happened over a period of twenty generations. Most tales are told about the ancestors (the sistim again; it permeates everything).

585 I forgot to say that Roy says that marriages
241

565 men. He will fill these in. So far as I can see, all the "locals" of Weol are noted as "bangsawan." I must discuss this. The same thing happened in Roworeke. Evidently there is no real nobility in these places, only the eldest-son lineage, which takes the high of-
[114] fice. Maybe Linton is right in his hunch regarding the basis of Malayo-Polynesian social organization, that is, primogeniture. This checks with all the talk about the kuasa tinggi [high power] of the older branch, the kaka and adi stuff, etc. As for totems, the key for
614 Weol (he uses the local totem names) is:
●784

rutung	porcupine
kenti	a leafy vegetable
kula	a kind of big mouse
atju	dog
lusa	red bean
giro	a kind of firewood (no burning totem).

All of these are merely the main totems, but there are others. Thus Weol clan has the lusa, but also the thin bamboo taboo.

591 4. I must ask whether the men who have come
583 to live matrilocally did so because they didn't pay the bride price. He says that this is mostly the case, but not always. He says that he will have to ask this carefully, as he can't ask men directly because they are ashamed if they have not paid the bride price. He must ask others, "Why does so and so live here with his wife?" Then the dirt will come out. These men are Nos. 40, 110, 116, 122, 123, 127, and 132. All of this led to a discussion of the situation.

217 The pagans do not have any registry of marriages. The Catholics do not have to register marriages with the government (thus no marriage

[See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

582 mother's brother's daughters; they were the eldest sons of their respective families. Perhaps this shows that formerly this was just about an invariable rule.

582 178 The reasons why several do not do it today are: (1) the church taboo (but they can get dispensation), (2) absence of a mother's brother's daughter of the proper age, (3) refusal of a son to marry a mother's brother's daughter or of a girl to marry father's sister's son because of a lack of affection, and (4) propaganda via education (I think it is this, but he says "government") that inbreeding is bad (this is possibly a neat trick of the church, which can insert this into the schools and thus beat down the mother's brother's daughter rules indirectly.)

614 773 784 I got onto totemism and origin legends. The Veol folk must clearly be the original people here, because they came out of bamboo right on this spot. The Pau va'u original ancestors came out of a stone which still stands in the kampong Pau. It is more than a meter high, flat on top, and is called vatu Pau.

Cornelius's wife's va'u came from Rintja Island. The va'u is called Manong.

Radjong va'u (kampong Radjong in East Manggarai) also origirated out of a stone which is there now and is called vatu Radjong. Another va'u set of ancestors was born of a buffalo and therefore its members cannot eat buffalo.

If the totem is an animal (i.e., ancestors came from animals), the members of that va'u cannot eat the ancestral animal. If a va'u came from a tree, its members today cannot use that wood. If a va'u is from a stone, they simply must keep and cherish the stone.

The Veol taboos are three: (1) bambu belang: because the ancestors came therefrom; (2) the lusa bean: I don't know why yet, but I will

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614 ask; and (3) the latung pesi corn: this is
784 true of the firstborn only (I will ask about
773 this too).

Note the firstborn theme here too. This is also found in Sikka totemism. The Pau va'u
[764] has only one taboo aside from the custom that the stone must not be used for anything, and it is that the members must be buried naked. The story is that once, when the dead were still dressed, a child was ordered to get clothes for a dead person. The child refused, and an old man who was angry said, "All right, from now on our descendants cannot be buried in clothes." It is a kind of curse.

Manong taboos are mice and dogs. They cannot be eaten. I don't know the story, but I can ask the assistant's wife. Now, however, the assistant's wife can eat these, because she has married out. But she has taken on a taboo (tjek'i) of Pau and will be buried naked. He asks, "What about the Catholics?" I said there was no trouble, I thought, because there is no rule in the Church that a person must be buried with clothes on! Each taboo has a story of rationalization behind it. Usually there are two or three taboos per va'u.

[262] I found out that cats are eaten here.

These kampongs have long since been separate,
621 but once they were one. There was a man named
[361] Pong Ndung who came from Veol, but didn't want to live in the kampong, so he moved down to lower land and settled under a tree. The Veol people got angry and asked him to come back, and he said all right, but moved only into the present Ndung area, which was then vacant. He thus founded the new kampong, and since then it has been called Ndung.

Before 1870 to 1880 they had only kampongs and va'u. Then, under Bima, came in the dalu and gelarang divisions. The line between gela-

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[493] [492] The fact that there are no buses here is a big hindrance. However, the horses help for short runs. The assistant gives the travel 481 178 times on foot in the old days and now. It shows that they walk much faster now than before. The world is speeding up! It used to take a day to walk to Ruteng; now they do it in three hours!

829 789 609 In general there is no fear of the outside. In the old days they feared robbery and murder, as outsiders were fair game for such. Magical danger is only encountered in certain places which are well known.

776 784 There are many kinds of roro, or spirits, e.g., darat (tree), naga (house and kampong), potiwolo (woods). Although the others may be good or evil, the potiwolo are always wicked. They live in woods. For example, they live in the taboo grove on the way to Ruteng. Darat live there too. The potiwolo sneak up and hit their victims. Thus it is dangerous to go into the woods in such an area, and they never enter such a grove alone. The assistant tells that as a boy with his father he was afraid to enter this wooded area. These potiwolo look like men but have goat bodies. They have two arms but only one leg. They either run on all three, or hop along on the one leg. There are other local spirits, and the places where they live are avoided.

20 Formerly no letters were sent in this area at all, and even today, nearly none is written. There is no telephone here and no telegraph. There is a telephone and there are phonograms in Ruteng. There is no radio here. Letters come to Ruteng and stay there until the post office sees a man who happens to be going the right way. Then he passes the word along. A letter may take three months to be received. Even the phonogram I sent was delayed for two

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346 351 788 around the main post as around the lodok (see Coolhaas).[1]

There is no pasar system here. There are 443 only pedlars who carry goods around. Markets are located only in the big towns: Ruteng, Reo, Labuan, Mborong, etc.

437 There is some barter, but most transactions are carried on using cash. Before the Dutch came in there was no money here and the people had to barter.

Note and very important: There is a taboo on 286 weaving all over Manggarai, except in the north- 784 east quarter. The assistant can mark the border of weaving precisely. The only exception is Todo and Pongkor, where there is no taboo and there is a bit of weaving. I asked if it is a taboo or just a lack of knowledge of how to weave. He said both, but that it is definitely a taboo. If they weave, the crops will fail, and illness will spread across the land. There have been a few attempts to introduce weaving, and the crops have proven to turn bad. It has nothing to do with the totem. He says it is not tjek'i at all, but merely ireng, which means taboo. This is a puzzler, and is amazing.

871 In 1912 three 3-grade schools were opened in Manggarai: in Ruteng, in Reo, and in Labuan. In 1924, a five-grade school was opened in Ruteng. There were about forty schools in all Manggarai before the war, but only one went as far as fifth grade (the one in Ruteng). This is what the Dutch did between 1924 and 1942! There are now about sixty schools in Manggarai. The school in Tjantjar opened in 1947. It serves nine kampongs: Tjantjar, Veol, Ndung, Rai, Puruk, Sampar, Nggarang, Meler, and Tjara. The farthest kampong is Sampar, which is three kilometers walk away.

There is a fourth grade here too, serving all of Rahong. The children come from far away.

[1] [See bibliography, category 113.—Analyst]

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614 and these are the keys to the stuff: wodja bakok are the same as lampang. The meaning is "white rice." Lampang means "stocks" wherein new slaves are put to keep them from running away. The totems newly inserted are:

● [784]

lavo	mouse
kaba	buffalo
paku	a leafy vegetable
betu	a kind of mouse
pake	frog
peti	a kind of bird

614 764 784 756 178 Naked burial is called gilo. Note that this used to be a totem of the Pau va'u, and it was given up via a big feast in 1932. At the same time, the buffalo taboo of Pau (Pau therefore does have a food taboo, or rather it did), was given up too via the same feast. In regard to the naked burial, the people decided it was too much trouble, and I suppose they felt they might as well get rid of the buffalo taboo at the same time. To do this kind of thing a va'u must consult a mbako to see if it is all right. If so, they have the feast called kaba oke tjek'i ("buffalo removes the taboo").

nggevo red bean (different from the lusa)

531 622 I asked if it was right that the radja has no horns on his house as he is not a tuan tanah. They said yes. He has no relation with the land. But nowadays there is plenty of illegal use of the horns by non-tuan tanah.

782 It is true that an offering is always made at the vatu Veol before starting garden work. This is as Coolhaas says.

829 No one is able to draw a map of Flores and Indonesia and the world.

212 Fifty years ago (and even forty years ago) no

[See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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415 the case. Dishes and forks and spoons have
178 come in to some extent. Formerly they used wooden things, gourds, etc. only. Kitchen stuff is now to be found in the area. Terrac-
241 ing is new. Irrigated rice fields came in
178 only twenty years ago. The use of buffaloes in agriculture and the plow are very recent (five years ago). All the people are still farmers, however.

436 Today the people have much more money than
178 they had, for example, twenty years ago. Fifty years ago there was no money here at all.

342 Formerly there were no tin roofs or nails.
178 Now there are a few. Houses are different in style. In quantity most of the stuff is not changed.

285 Rattan baskets for clothing are no longer
415 made. They prefer wooden containers. However, they still make mats and baskets. The women make these, and the men make their plaited songko.

286 There is no spinning or weaving. This is
784 taboo except in the northeast quarter of Manggarai (Coolhaas is incomplete on this) and Todo-Pongkor and Labuan Hadji. It is beginning to come in in the west.

323 Pottery is made in a few kampongs (Puruk,
784 Mungges, Bolong). This is taboo except in these places. The penalty is the same as for weaving: bad crops, illness, etc. In Pongkor, only one kampong can make pottery, and only one in Todo. Usually one or two kampongs can make pottery in an area.

326 Smiths are new. There was no iron work here
178 before. Formerly they had to buy instruments made from iron. Now they have equipment to do some forms of iron work in Rai and a few other places. Todo-Pongkor has had smithing for perhaps three hundred years (they brought it in evidently). It is not taboo, but they just

[See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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000 children. It is remarkable that there is so
858 much freedom exhibited by the children all over here. They do as they please evidently.

463 Nearly everyone is a farmer here, but to
212 be kepala kampong, kapitan, secretary, or
622 the like, an individual must be literate. There are, however, illiterate kepala kampongs, but they must use a literate mandur to help them with the work. There are no openings for clerical people or the like.

[874] The only seminary here is for priests, and
[787] as yet there are no students there from here.
[754] The bisa mari (sorcerers) are not trained. They get their call in dreams. They are about
[756] equally male and female. The dukun also get
[844] their call in dreams. However, the ones who are midwives learn from mothers.

463 There are no specialists at all. The local
438 population must buy even its ironwork elsewhere.
335 They do not even have carpenters here. Anyone can build a house. This place exhibits a very low level in all such things except weaving. They now learn music in school.

873 Many children who are clever and would like to advance in school cannot do this as it costs fl. 10.00 per month for a higher education. There is plenty of heartache here. Perhaps there is not so very much yet, actually.

212 Fifty years ago no one could read or write, not even in the Ende script.

197 One hundred per cent of the people here speak Ende, including the foreigners from Savu and the Chinese. The latter did not speak Ende when they came in, but after a year they could.

Only about one hundred can speak Malay. No one speaks Dutch. The children are starting to learn a bit of Dutch in school now, but this is evidently only in the higher school.

There are no other languages spoken, except of course, Chinese and Savu. They say that they

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754 the way to Ndona. She has a second sight, and
756 uses stones to divine. She gets her cures
[787] from dreams. I asked whether she had familiars in dreams, but got no satisfactory reply. But now I can at least proceed with further queries regarding the bisa mari, having an actual case in mind. She can save a woman whose child dies inside her. She is a rather handsome old lady, well preserved, with piercing eyes. She looks clean (smells like disinfectant soap, as she just came from the hospital). I note that she, a doctor herself, went
[758] to the hospital. When I went to the hospital this morning, great crowds were waiting. They have all taken to it, but there is no hope of proper care, as there are so many patients and so few doctors.

There has been a small increase in the sale
438 of merchandise in order to get cash to buy other items. It has not been a very great
[435] change. The produce sold includes coconut, coconut oil (a few bottles, self made, sell at fl. 0.50), vegetables, bananas, betel leaves, and areca nuts. All are very small items. Coconut seems to be the main thing. All of this is sold in the town of Ende, if at all.

With the money they obtain they buy oil,
[443] soap, salt, tobacco, and even a bit of meat and other food in the toko or warong. They also buy dry fish. The toko buys its supplies in Ende.

I asked about the cloth situation. This is
249 a poor case now as everyone is short and the
433 distribution of cloth by the government has not been too effective. This is a remarkable case. For many years formerly the people here had discontinued planting cotton. Then, when the Japanese came, they started up again and have done so since. Each family plants a little. The yield is not so good, but it could be, the assistant says.

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614 the boys' house in Wailolong, Then we went to which turned out to
882 be a windowless house with sleeping benches in-
562 side. Here the boys from about twelve years on
[342] sleep. Thus there is a real men's house here. There are three, I think, in Wailolong, because some of the suku share houses. Normally the rule is one house per suku. It is taboo for the girls to enter these men's houses.

124 Then we went to Leloba and began on the Vatter[1] social organization material. They were delighted to see the Vatter book, especially Roy who noticed his name in it.

614 I started with the usual outline of groups and got the following list of suku and subdivisions and sub-subdivisions of the suku. I had told the guru yesterday that there must be a sub-subdivision, but he said no. He said he had thought it over and understood what I meant. The names
[171] often have direct references to parts of a house, and thus it looks like, as in Ambon, there used to be one suku to one house. Thus Ama Marang Do(ng) Lau(ng) means (the last words) bale-bale laut, i.e., in the old days the ancestors used to sleep on the bale-bale part on the sea side of the ancestral house they shared with the other division. Therefore, Ama Marang Do(ng) Rae(ng), which means bale-bale darat, or the bale-bale on the land side, was for the other division. The former has more power than the latter.

614 As for the recurring Lango' Bele', it means
565 big house, while the twin term Lango' Kene'
788 means small house. The former is the section of the subsib or ama, with more power. The latter is the section with less power. Maki(ng) means descendants. The whole system has reference to the rank of the sibs, which is symbolized in ritual animal killing. Thus Kottang holds the head and is the chiefly or head suku normally. The symbol is the head. Keleng holds the feet, and they are the assistant suku to the head.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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614 There is no use of a head without feet. At
● 988 least this is the idea. They are the leg men
565 of the head. The Hurint cuts the head off, and they also cut or finish or decide cases. Thus the double entendre words which seem to prevail in this language come to light. Also the Hurint do the praying, and in the old days the priests were from this suku as well as were the judges. The Marang passed around and still pass around sirih, or perhaps coffee today, at the rites. The Marang also acts as general helper so that if any of the other three have trouble with the beast he rushes in to aid. The function is symbolized not quite so clearly as for the other three, but the social system is symbolized in ritual which in turn reflects a system of rank and function.

632 I heard another thing which should be inter-
614 esting to follow up. The kakang is a Leboba man
583 from one of the Kottang subsibs. His sib (one
596 of the two Belepe Lolong, and must be Lango'
431 Bele' as he has much power) gives women to the guru's sib (Ama Hurint Ola Demo[ng] Lango' Bele') and must be given fowl by the latter. The latter gets women from the former, and gets fish from the former too. Thus fowl and fish form a gift exchange following the marriage exchange system. Evidently the sib that gets the women gives the fowl, and the one that gives the women also gives the fish. Could this be again the serpent and the dove? The kakang said that if he went to the guru's house and there happened to be some fowl cooking there, he must get some, or it would be a terrible breach of respect and much shame would be felt. I think this is correct, but I must check it later.

194 The peculiar nasal end sound indicated by
[114] the parentheses in my orthography is hard to get and Vatter[1] messes it up. The guru says it is hard even for a man from Larantuka town to say it.

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

582 be straight exchange. They must have one inter-
583 mediate move because of the mother's brother's
614 daughter marriage. He sees this clearly, and says that if one could marry a father's sister's daughter they could have a straight exchange. He says that they do this in Tandjung Bunga. Vatter[1] says this is not so. If they do not want to give the tusks or they do not have them, they can work out the bride price in a deal with two other sib groupings so that A will give a girl to B, B a girl to C, and C a girl to A. Thus no tusks are needed, but they act as though the tusks had actually made the rounds. It is all done in their heads. They must plan this, as not every combination will bring the exchange back to the original sib grouping in three moves. Of course, a more complicated deal can be made with many moves leading the fictitious tusks around and a girl back to the group that starts the whole thing.

836 The premarital sex relations with the arrange-
583 ment that leads to marriage which Vatter[1] calls penara is properly called penaga(ng). The guru prefers to call it bride-service, but it is not so according to Vatter[1].

The guru says there are three kinds of marriage here: capture, service (or premarital sex relations leading to marriage), and payment. He calls the last the respectable type. It requires tusks, either real or according to bookkeeping.

192 Vatter[1] makes a bad error on page 83. Kelen
114 does not mean "heaven," but only foot. The word for heaven, on which he was confused, is klng, with almost no vowels.

782 Prayer is not carried out by the Marang. The
788 word marang means to pray, and this has led to the confusion that the ritual prayers at the
614 animal killing were always done by the Suku Marang. The latter merely hands the betel around. The oldest man who is an expert, from whatever

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

782 suku, does the praying, as the Kottang, Kelen,
788 and Hurint do their jobs. The guru has seen old
614 men of all suku do the praying, but has never
happened to see a Marang doing it. This is conclusive. He agrees that perhaps some relation exists between the term and the function and the suku, but he doubts it.

I read how Vatter,[1] shortly after he left
721 Leloba, heard that there was a war between Le-
682 loba and Waibalun. And right now while we are here, after nearly twenty years, there is a war between Leloba and Waibalun. They ask whether aliens here bring the wars. At present there are several Leloba men in jail because they have killed a Waibalun man (just the other day).

I read the passage in Vatter which tells that the guru's father, when he was kepala kampong, killed (I think) fourteen suwanggi in one day. The guru said that this was true and that nowadays even though there are still suwanggi the government will not allow them to be killed. The kepala kampong said that it happens once in a while that a man, plagued by the wickedness of a suwanggi, kills someone and is then sent to jail.

Then we started to work on the social organi-
614 zation of Wailolong. What is happening is that
621 I am getting material on the two kampongs and maybe that is the way to present it, not explicitly, but with emphasis on Wailolong. There
[184] are noticeable contrasts with the one hundred per cent Christian community.

Ama Datong, Leworita, Ama Hurint, and Lewato,
[788] and Lewodoreng are the suku. The first plays the part of Kottang in ceremonies. Kottang is not found here. Leworita plays the part of Kelen, which is not here. Hurint is O.K. The Datong are the original settlers here.

I. Ama Datong

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

622 kelake. Evidently the kepala kampong have been
624 superimposed on the other system.
614 The purely administrative chiefs are:

Kepala Kampong Kottang (he is the kepala kampong)
Kepala Kampong Kelen (IIb)
Kepala Kampong Hurint (IIIc)

The latter two have this as their only titled rank. If I am right that the kepala kampong is also the kepala kampong Kottang, then there are really sixteen officers, i.e., actual men in office, but the total number of offices is twenty-three. Some men have more than one office. When
[788] there are ceremonies, the praying (marang) is
[887] done, not by the man from suku Marang, but by the oldest man who is clever. Here it is a man
[756] named Bugis, from IIa. He is also the molang, or medicine man. Can it be that often the two go together? The guru, as noted above, says that even in Leloba, where they have a suku named Marang, this is not the praying suku at the rites. The chief of the Marang suku is merely a hander around of betel. In Vatter's time in Leloba the one who prayed was Laba, says the guru.

614 Note that an alternative term for Ama is Mela. Thus one can say, for example, either Ama Hurint or Mela Hurint.

693 Yesterday we met the chiefs of Wailolong.
624 They were at the kakang's office for a marriage
302 case. They were partly made up of short-haired Christians, but there were also pagan longhairs. I must get a photograph of all of them together with the information on who they are. Probably the administrative ones are the modern and the adat ones are the old pagans.

614 For the kepala suku they always have an old
887 man if possible. If no old man is available, however, they may have to take a younger one.

614 I must get on to the method of choosing the
622 & [See bibliography, c.22.113 —Analyst]

R Little meat is

262 eaten, and this is done only during feasts. There are some eggs. They do not eat much fish, because they must purchase them. They do buy some food from the local store (never any canned food, because this is too expensive), for example, rice and salt. They do not grow [249] any tobacco.

434 To get the small amount of money they need to buy in the toko, they sell coconuts and anything else they may have, which is usually quite little. Fl. 5.00 in cash is a lot of money for a man here.

264 The people here eat three times a day, a little in the morning, and equally heavy noon and evening meals.

262 574 They like dog meat and also horse meat, but these, like pig and goat, are only eaten at the time of a feast. They say that the main feasts are funeral ones. They also say that the people here have no decided preference and will gladly eat any kind of meat. They [266] say they have no memory of cannibalism except for the eating of the hearts of enemies for 224 bravery in warfare. They rarely hunt. If they 262 do they use a bow and are lucky to get monkeys 624 or pigs. There are no deer here. There is a clear case for meat hunger here, and the only material gain of being a mosa laki is that you [465] are always given a piece of meat when an animal [171] is killed. This is like the Toradja pattern, and shows how much of a luxury meat really is. It is the "government man's salary."

436 178 443 Formerly there was no money and there were no toko. Of course there may have been a few gold pieces, but they were really sacred objects. Today they have little cash.

243 177 788 The irrigated rice fields started three years ago and were instigated by Hadji Akbar of Watu Roga. He went to Mecca and saw the many sawah in Bima, Java, and elsewhere. When

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243 he came back, he at once made a sawah, and the
177 others saw that it was good. Now, everyone
●788 plants at least one sawah. Formerly there
were no sawah. This is an excellent case of
acculturation via the hadj.

412 Formerly the people here did not use hoes
177 or shovels. These came in at the time of the
Dutch entry. Before that they had an iron
tipped digging stick only. There are no carts.
493 They thought about my proposal for a group to
buy one as an investment for hiring. Perhaps
there is too little money even to pay for a
bicycle here.

352 There are no tables, chairs, or lamps, ex-
354 cept in rare houses like the kapitan's. The
178 only new thing is the kerosene wick, not the
lamp. It is called pelita.

342 The house type has changed here from a
178 larger to a smaller structure, and many of the
old style roofs are still to be seen.

291 Women now use bought cloth to make thin
178 kebaya. Formerly they made blouses of home-
spun, but these are all gone. Men and women
still wear homespun sarongs. Men wear this
alone and are usually bare above the waist.
If a man wears a selendang, he is a big man.
If he wears a shirt, this is really very slick
attire. There were no shoes here at all before,
and few now.

301 Men and women wore earrings before, the men
753 ones of gold (look like silver) which the pagans
still wear, and the women ones of a different
[304] style. The assistant's ears are pierced, but
this is no longer done to the boys, only to the
girls. Beads are worn by men and women on fes-
tive occasions. These are great ceremonial
objects and are worn by the people who are
proud of them. If one is not entitled to them,
he will become sick if he wears a string of
beads.

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797 works, but I wonder if there might not be trouble if the central organization of the Catholic Church knew it. Still, perhaps the Catholics are indeed less doctrinaire than the Protestants. Surely the Jesuits are, with their different approach toward ends and means. There is a big contrast here with Ambon, surely.

•788 Much of the former pagan ritual still survives. For example, there are field rites, beliefs, illness treatments, etc. The pagans still carry on plenty of the old ceremonies. Even the elaborate rites for planting, etc., continue.

241 782 796 The tuno wudjo is still an important figure in planting rites of Wailolong, but has disappeared in Leloba since Vatter's[1] day. The story is that she is a girl who was sacrificed in Lio by her seven brothers, to make the fields fertile. (They say that this is "to make the gardens fat.") Indeed, she told them to kill her in order to help. And the pieces of her body were sent to places all over Flores to make the fields fertile. The story is also found in Adonara.

Note: Lio is a great place for human sacrifice in relation to agriculture. The Radja of Lio not long ago was executed by the Dutch, and among his crimes was listed the killing of young girls for agricultural field rites. The people of Ende know this, and it seems generally known throughout Flores.

[614] [173] Note also: according to Vatter,[1] one of the suku in Tandjung Bunga is Lio, and they are supposed to be descended from people who came from there. I wonder if perhaps this myth is not a sign of former human sacrifice in relation to agriculture all over Flores (or at least for East Flores), and it may also have originated in Lio and thence spread to here. Anyway, the

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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875 reason for this is that Mohammedans are not
797 educated enough to have many teachers yet. Thus, the mission has given Catholicism a big head start, as is the case in Ambon.

771 There are only about ten Mohammedans in Ro-
797 woreke. They had a mosque at kilometer five formerly, but it is gone now. The maximum number of converts in the kampong, to Mohammedanism, per year is from one to two. There is a chapel here, and the priest comes once a month to hear confessions, hold mass, etc. Otherwise, the people here go to Ndona for mass (I see them on Sunday walking; rain means nothing to these people). I get the impression that many people do not go to mass. For example, every Sunday I have been there, the kapitan and the assistant and many others do not go to church so far as I can see. And I don't see many women who look as though they had gone. I should have asked about this.

778 There are two ancestor grave-bone shrines, i.e., one in Roworeke and one in Watu Roga. There are also plenty of stones and the usual graves. There has never been a real rumah berhala here. But Manunggo'o had one.

527 The principal feast time is at planting. The tuan tanah (mosa laki mere) must be there at that time. There is no illness exorcism
[755] feast held any more. Thanksgiving feasts for good crops are held privately, not communally. There is a great feast for rebuilding the grave-bone shrine.

● 788 There is plenty of private pagan rituals, for example, to ward off illness, to make offerings to trees, and the dukun stuff. In addition, there is the bisa mari. (Having seen the dukun
[753] and how he diagnoses, I understand Migo when he said that he has a personal-family buffalo totem taboo because the dukun said it caused his illness.)

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000 and such is used in war.

Correction: When there is a big feast in the
621 central kampong, all members of the tjabang
574 kampongs must attend. However, if a big feast
171 is held at a tjabang kampong, it is a matter of choice whether the other tjabang kampongs and the pusat kampong attend. However, each must send a delegation. (This is like the big feasts in the Ambon pela kampongs. The pela radja and saniri must go, and others may do so if they want to.)

It is true that the pusat kampong has more
621 power in a way than the others. Its drums,
622 gongs, tjompang, main pillar of the tuan tanah
346 house, main garden (lingko randang), and the
351 tuan tanah besar himself are all part of this
788 power. All others stem from these. However, the picture is not one of a clear hierarchy. Nevertheless, if a man is very sick, for example, they may decide that it is well to go to the tjompang of the pusat kampong and go through some ceremony. However, there is not a real vivid ranking or constellation of rank.

The assistant says that the round house and the round garden are definitely related. But here again he is unclear. The house is linked with the garden, and after the rites which are held in the garden, they come back to the main house. Also there is a saying: mbarun one uman peang, i.e., "house has link with garden." When a tuan tanah besar gives a drum and a gong to a new branch kampong, he also gives it a "big garden" (lingko randang). Here is where the biggest rites are held. (Lingko means only "round garden.") And when they have rites in the garden, they go directly from the lodok there to the main post in the tuan tanah house. Thus, there seems to be a definite link between
346 the main post of the big house and the main
351 garden's lodok. There is the same parading
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346 351 788 around the main post as around the lodok (see Coolhaas).!

There is no pasar system here. There are 443 only pedlars who carry goods around. Markets are located only in the big towns: Ruteng, Reo, Labuan, Mborong, etc.

437 There is some barter, but most transactions are carried on using cash. Before the Dutch came in there was no money here and the people had to barter.

Note and very important: There is a taboo on 286 784 weaving all over Manggarai, except in the northeast quarter. The assistant can mark the border of weaving precisely. The only exception is Todo and Pongkor, where there is no taboo and there is a bit of weaving. I asked if it is a taboo or just a lack of knowledge of how to weave. He said both, but that it is definitely a taboo. If they weave, the crops will fail, and illness will spread across the land. There have been a few attempts to introduce weaving, and the crops have proven to turn bad. It has nothing to do with the totem. He says it is not tjek'i at all, but merely ireng, which means taboo. This is a puzzler, and is amazing.

871 In 1912 three 3-grade schools were opened in Manggarai: in Ruteng, in Reo, and in Labuan. In 1924, a five-grade school was opened in Ruteng. There were about forty schools in all Manggarai before the war, but only one went as far as fifth grade (the one in Ruteng). This is what the Dutch did between 1924 and 1942! There are now about sixty schools in Manggarai. The school in Tjantjar opened in 1947. It serves nine kampongs: Tjantjar, Veol, Ndung, Rai, Puruk, Sampar, Nggarang, Meler, and Tjara. The farthest kampong is Sampar, which is three kilometers walk away.

There is a fourth grade here too, serving all of Rahong. The children come from far away.

! [See bibliography, category 113. — Analyst]

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565 of Flores, so unlike the radjas of Celebes.
582 This is a correction of some of the previous notes, because he had said that radjas, dalu and gelarang intermarried only among each other. The truth seems to be that all except the mendi are intermarriageable.

There is still great feeling against marrying a descendant of a mendi. For example, in Pau, where there are about ten persons descended from mendi, there have been a few marriages of these families with commoners, but never with gelarang families (e.g., the assistant's). The assistant says that he would never want his daughter to marry a mendi descendant. I pressed hard on this, and asked him if he would not be willing to have his daughter marry a mendi descendant if, for example, he became a great man in Indonesia, along with the new democracy. He said absolutely not. This is a Catholic, young and educated fellow. Then I asked about his son, should he want to marry a mendi girl. He said there would be much less resistance in this case.

Among the uppers there is a great deal of inter-district marriage, for example, at the radja, dalu, gelarang and kraeng levels. There is also some inter-district marriage among the commoners.

789 The only magic power known is in the hands
756 of the mbako. They can give magical strength
565 to individuals. Thus again I see how important and powerful are these secret persons. The nobles, however, have no kekuatan adjaib.

797 The only major change in the local religion has been the introduction of Catholicism, and it has been epochal.

771 About fifty per cent of the local people are
● 788 Catholic. Just about every family has at least
183 one Catholic in it. If a Catholic wants to attend community rites, this is all right, but he

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771 should not pray. Also, a Catholic may not
●788 initiate ceremonies by himself, for example,
183 house rites. I wonder what happens to a Catholic who lives in a house with the little hanging shelves for the naga. There the shelf is over their heads, and I wonder if they do not give offerings. If I had the time I would like to trail a Catholic around; my guess is that most of them do not worry too much about orthodoxy. There is still a lot of friction here.

875 There is a guru agama for Veol and Ndung,
793 but he lives in Rai. Usually there is a guru agama for each kampong, but these are twins. Usually one pastor serves one or two dalu. Rahong has the Maumere man, who lives in Tjantjar.

797 Most conversions are made of the young through the school. There are no cases of children converting their parents. There are relatively few direct adult converts. The school does the trick. A convert must first be a catechumen and learn the ropes. This lasts for one to two years.

797 The priests worry a lot here about what to
183 do, because adat is so dependent on the old
578 ceremonies. In Larantuka they have tried to
595 Christianize the pagan rites, etc. Right here there is a real problem, as the heir apparent of the big tuan tanah of Veol is Catholic. The assistant says van Bekkum[1] has discussed what should be done with him. Then too there is the matter of polygamy, which is very strong here. Most of the outright opposition to Catholicism comes from men or women who, because of a plural marriage, are not looked upon favorably by the
[783] church. There is no possible idjing (dispensation, according to Oudehand's version)[2] for this. This is a head-on conflict, especially because they desire so many children. The polygamists

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]; [2] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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162 Here in Veol the Christians and pagans are also about fifty-fifty. It is notable that here in Veol many of the young people are still pagan. There is plenty of paganism still, and the Catholics, I am sure, are largely pagan. The
[578] main conflict is over polygyny. But there is also plenty of general friction. It is especially bad if a man has a barren wife. He must remarry. Who will feed him when he is dead? Also, what about the ceremonies? It is all right for the Catholics to say that Christians may attend community rites, if they do not pray in pagan style, but what will happen if all of them turn Catholic? Who will be there to do the rites?

797 Note also that the last of the rites means
769 the end of relations with the thousands of dead
775 inhabitants of the kampong. The Catholics try to fix this up. For example, Roy tried to do
●788 this by saying that they are probably not around the graves but have flown off to heaven. But this is revolutionary, and changes the whole character of the settlement into a kind of "empty" place, with only living persons living in it. He told how his father's father, when his father was a boy and the guru tried to convert him, had ordered the boy not to change. And the boy didn't. He now has four wives, one of whom is the assistant's mother. Note the
[771] similarity with Toradja Protestant rules. Catholics may not pray in pagan style and may not hold private rites, and they may not officiate at the rites, but they may attend.

865 Note: At the Sunday singing performance I was impressed by the good behavior of the children. This always seems to be true here in Indonesia. They are amazingly unmischievous. The guru says that almost never is there a disciplinary problem. I can see this all over. The children are adults really while still very

614 are somewhat moved around, however, and are even scattered, so that one may find parts of a suku in entirely different areas. I must check on this.

624 As for the four adat chiefs, aside from the mosa laki mere, who sits in the center when judging, the giri tumba (whose name means "spear running around") stands or sits to the right of the mosa laki mere. The ndeto au, who is an [791] expert on making adat stuff which I judge to be ordeal material or magical divining, sits or stands to the left of the mosa laki mere. The sike sani acts as a watchman or policeman. I must get the full account of the functions of these men.

701 Then I asked if they had had war leaders formerly and they said yes. They are called "brave men" or atambani (ata-m-bani or orang brani). They said that they were fierce and feared.

793 Then I asked about the priests, and they said ●789 that they still have plenty of them. They are called bisa mari. I got the usual story of how 171 they prove their powers of second sight, and it sounded just like the Ambonese talking about guna-guna. These priests are not hereditary, and never were, but the sons usually learn their lore from their fathers.

648 There is much talk here about war with the 175 Dutch and I am told that there were uprisings all over Flores in the year 1907. I was also told of the stern methods of suppression used in those times and how afterwards there was wholesale jailing of the Florenese. They seem to have lost their nerve then and today they no longer rebel.

773 I asked about the old myths concerned with 769 ancestors. The Kapitan Gunung Rodja, who is descended from Djari Djawa, the Madjapahit man who came here on a whale, told a different version

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614 giving the first fruits to the masters; (c) owing
567 certain duties to the masters; (d) respect shown
423 to the masters; and (e) not being in a good
582 place at feasts. They may intermarry, however, and the bride price for them is the same, etc. He said that even in the beginning they intermarried; in fact as soon as they got into the area they integrated into the marriage system. So strong is the need for these marriage rules that even slaves must be put into the system.

The Ama Rere is a peculiar case too. They
[727] are descendants of war captives brought back from the Maumeri area eighteen generations ago. They too have no ritual standing, as can be seen above in their lack of chance to do any of the duties of the Datong suku. They do not have their own land either. They have to work for
[796] Ia and Ib. That is, they have no ritual standing, no land, and they must do certain duties. In the marriage system, however, they are equal.

614 Also peculiar in the Wailolong setup is the
554 Ama Hurint. They do not have a full position
423 in the kampong, because their ancestors came in from Leloba. They have no land of their own in Wailolong. Each year they receive land for their use during the next year.

721 Then we got onto the schedule and learned a number of incidental things. For instance, right now the Leloba folk are scared to walk along the road near Waibalun because there is a state of war. Thus this is a real war and not play, and there is real danger of death. The "big houses,"
778 i.e., the houses of the radja tuan and the kelake,
●789 have holy stones before them. It is not proper
171 to call them nubanara but rather saoniwa(ng). The nubanara proper are the holy stones of the kampong in front of the korke. The saoniwa(ng) hold the magical power of the radja tuan and the kelake. The power of these stones invigorates the respective chiefs, and this is why the folk

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778 must give them respect and why the folk are scared
789 not to obey them. (Thus it is like the aradjang
171 in South Celebes.)

789 The guru really got going on magic power. He
721 said that they call on magic power especially
778 when they are going to war (and right now too).
769 If, for example, Wailolong were going to war tomorrow with Riang Kamië as they did only some fifteen years ago, the respective radja tuan, kelake, and maybe even the molang would get to work the night before doing the magic stuff. Among the other things they would call on the ancestors for magic power and also go through the betel rubbing on face, bodies, etc. They would also kill animals and use gin, because blood and alcohol have power. Then, on the next morning, they would be full of magical power and would go to war. All the men would come to the "big houses" to be "treated."

778 These "big houses" of the suku and ama also
614 have sacred objects, including tusks, plates,
237 etc.

422 These tusks, all of them, are ama property.
583 If any member gains possession of one, he places it in the big house of his ama. Any man in need of some tusks for a bride price may take them. If the tusks of the ama are exhausted, he may draw on the tusks of the suku. Thus Kassi, who Vatter said had no tusks of his own, could not use any tusks because his ama no longer had any. He happened to be a member of the Hurint suku, and the guru, the kepala suku, gave him some finally from the suku store and thus he was able to get married.

583 The minimum price for any girl is five units
237 of tusks (I think this is a matter of length, that is, the small and large are reckoned up). One may pay more without limitation. It is not a matter of beauty.

584 Child betrothal is common here, but this is
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584 true no more for the Christians in Leloba. Here
184 they have only adult betrothal. In Wailolong, however, there is still plenty of this child betrothal business. This may take place at the age of three to four years. They are told of this when they are from five to six years old. As children they think nothing of this until
584 they become older. Sometimes the tusks are paid
583 early; at other times they wait until actual marriage. If the boy's father agrees to pay for a girl and later the boy refuses, he must pay the bride price anyway. In the old days, however, a boy never refused, or almost never. The younger brother of the guru hated the girl he was betrothed to as a child and ran away to Badjawa. His father paid the tusks anyway and they were lost by so doing. Later the brother married a woman from Roti.

621 The guru was the first man from the Belakang
Gunung [behind the mountain] area (consisting
582 of eight kampongs) who married a Larantuka woman. His wife was from Balela. Later, the present kakang (who is a Leloba man) married a woman from Balela too. Balela is a foothill kampong now a part of Larantuka town.

595 A man may have up to three wives, but no more.

The guru's father had much magic power. He
789 was the panglima perang [war leader] here. He
776 had familiar spirits who helped him and usually
178 he alone saw them. Other people would see them
825 sometimes. Thus the guru heard a noise like a horse in front of the house one night when he was young. He looked out and there stood a buffalo. There are no buffaloes in this area. He called his father and the latter told him to shut up. This buffalo was one of his father's familiars. Another time the guru was in the fields with his father and heard stones rattling. He saw a crocodile. There are no crocodiles here either. He called his father, and again his

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789 father told him to shut up. This was another
776 of his familiars. He also had a seven-headed
178 snake as a familiar. I asked what ever happened
[825] to these familiars, and he said that they do not
appear any longer because the people do not feel
the need for them. But if one called them, they
could come to the old guru. That is, the fa-
miliars are inherited from father to his succes-
sor son. This is amazing, and shows clearly that
the old guru, at least, and indeed the young one
and the kepala kampong, still take seriously much
of the old belief despite Christianity. I eased
[123] into this by talking like a kafir myself, as
usual, and they came along to a stage of talking
in a way that would horrify the priests. At one
point the guru stopped and said, "My, we're
talking like Kafirs [unbelievers, infidels]."
There is plenty left here of the old paganism,
and I can see why the priest said it would be
easy for them to slide back into their former
habits.

People must keep quiet when the crops are
241 growing as they would scare away the food spirit
824 in the plants otherwise. When there is a harvest
there are feasts and many gatherings. This may
be the reason for the harvest feast pattern.

361 Wailolong was originally located in the hills.
Then they moved down to the coast where there is
a crossroads at Okka. After that they moved only
about thirty years ago to their present location.
The first move was the result of the government
pressure to make them come down out of the hills.
The second move was halfway back to the hills.
Leloba has moved only once, that being the ori-
ginal move down from the higher hills. Wailo-
long and indeed other kampongs here have grown
fast in recent years because of cleaner condi-
tions, better medicine, etc. They know this
well. Wailolong has grown apace and keeps grow-
000 ing. The houses in the oldest negri lama were

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423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
497 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has
[778] magical power, but we didn't get into the full story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

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789 that the Larantuka radja does have an aradjang, but this is not the word for it here. I must get the right word. There seem to be no outward signs of status. The main thing seems to be a general knowledge of everything in the kampong and also whether a person lives in a "big house" or not. The Lango'Bele' system is impressive.

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Notes on Larantuka: The mandur in the pasanggrahan is a Madurese who married a Catholic woman here. His name before was Ali, but now since he became A Catholic he is known as Andreas. His children have taken their mother's Larantuka name, Dosari, and their forenames are Dominicus, Paulus, and Maria. One who died was named Aloysius.

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501 There was one prau owned in Leloba. It was owned by the guru. It was wrecked yesterday.

651 The tax here now is fl. 23.50 per adult man. In the prewar period it was fl. 5.00. The people have trouble paying it and always have had this difficulty.

656 687 In the prewar period if one did not obey the government one could be jailed easily. Since the war this government control has weakened. For example, in a recent land case the present kepala kampong would not sign a paper of the government, nor would the guru. The kepala kampong was jailed, but the guru tried to bail him out. The government refused to accept bail unless he signed. He asked if it would be possible to re-open the case later if he signed. They said yes, but then refused to re-open the case afterwards.

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796 535 Roworeke: On Christmas, we came back through the mountains. On the way, especially in the kampongs in the Lio mountains, we saw many small processions with drums, singing, and many people who were drunk. While dancing the people seem to use handkerchiefs most of the time. This is

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 237 224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him 776 784 about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh 124 tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must 824 have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read 769 that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo [789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

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829 assistant said that he just did it, and that it was a revelation to him. They simply do not think in such diagrammatic terms.

769 186 The ancestor cult is strong here and there are many stories about it, but it is not used to glorify the place. In fact, there is no real pride as such. They are simply satisfied as they know nothing else. There is no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village.

178 There has been very little change here in regard to the expanding horizons of social and economic contact.

721 578 178 The old wars and head-hunting continued until recently. Wars seem to have been caused mostly over border disputes, so far as they can remember. Heads were taken as a sign of victory. But I got very little regarding a real head-hunting cult. They said that the heads were placed on the borders, evidently on the borders over which the war had been fought. [789] [246] They said voluntarily that they ate the hearts of enemies in order to increase their magic power. They are quite clear and vivid about this. The hearts were removed through an incision in the back under the shoulder blade. The main enemies were Nggobe and Rodja, but there is no hostility now. More seldom, war was waged against the Lio folk. Spears and [411] guns were used, and formerly bows. Bows were used especially by the Nggobe folk. Circular shields were made of buffalo hide and wood. There were alliances of mutual aid too. For example, Rewarangga (Worowai) and Odja (Roworeke) were in such an arrangement. Also, they [634] went to war for the Ende radja who paid wages for this.

721 634 The radja bitjara (a post no longer present in Ende; he was a kind of minister of foreign relations) (and he was able to talk all lan-

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614 barn rites, with only the ama tuno wudjo and
796 members present. All of this is done in order
241 to make the rice in the fields perfect. The
343 other great ritual complex of an agricultural nature is at harvest time, and they may have a third type if there is an especially good harvest (like the thanksgiving feasts of the Toradja).

778 I asked about the saoniwang, the magic stones
● 789 which are in front of the houses of all suku
342 and ama chiefs. Some have disappeared in Le-
614 loba and have not been replaced, but most of
823 them are still there. For example, the guru has the mother stone before his house, and one child stone, but other child stones are used for foundations of houses. They are inserted with many other stones in the masonry, but he pointed to the specific ones. These saoniwang, like the nubanara, which are placed in front of the korke, are the big ones in the heap, the mother, and the little ones, her children. They hold the magic power of the chiefs, and without them there is no power. Nevertheless, in Leloba, even when the chief has no more stones, he still holds some power, as if they were still there. The guru has three for his house, for war power, marriage power, and power among suku, respectively. One of these is in the hills behind. This, he says, has tremendous power. He says such things seriously.

[773] These stones suddenly appeared long ago. They came down from heaven after, or rather with a heavy rain. Thus they are like the descendance stones of, for example, Goa. Sao means anchor and so does niwang. Thus the meaning is that the power and with it the group or man holding it are firmly and inextrically tied to this land. However, all sorts of stones are believed to have power. Many of them are very little. Thus the kakang has a

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778 notable little stone with lots of agricultural
789 power. The objects which are possessed by the
614 suku and ama have no magic power; they are
823 only a form of wealth.

The eight kampongs of the Mudakaputu ge-
621 meente are:
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1. Leloba
2. Wailolong
3. Lewohala
4. Lewoneda
5. Mudakaputu
6. Watuwiti
7. Riang Kamiß
8. Riang Kanali

Economic note: The tusks are like the stone
237 money of Yap. They are the basis for the local
583 economy, but have little intrinsic value. The
436 non-existent tusks of Larantuka are even better,
452 and the folklore concerning them is fantastic.
They are reckoned with and theoretically ex-
changed when they don't even exist. They keep
the marriage system going. They are parallel
to pure paper credit--something like interna-
tional balances.

The first six kampongs are the old time kam-
621 pongs. They were founded by the five sons of
173 Lenurat or their descendants, who came out of
Ili Mandiri. Thus the situation runs something
like this:

Sons: (1) Belawaburak founded Leloba. (2)
Keweluk founded Wailolong. (3) Kewaka founded
Lewohala and Lewoneda. (4) Bampowa founded
Mudakaputu. (5) Mado founded Watuwiti.

Daughters: (6) Emma married a man of Tand-
jung Bunga (and the folk there call the people
of the Blakang Gunung region "blake," i.e.,
mother's brother). (7) Hingi married a man of
Adonara (perhaps the people there would also

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173 tion, of the seven siblings ancestors of Toradja).
621 Then Bampowa went away and founded Mudakaputu
565 (after some previous moves); and Mado, the youngest brother, after a number of moves, went and founded Watuwiti. Kewaka, already in power in Tiwa, moved his kampong to Lewohala. Thus occurred the arrangement whereby Keweluk was the founder of Wailolong, Kewaka the founder of Lewohala (from which Lewoneda later branched off), Bampowa was the founder of Mudakaputu, and Mado the founder of Watuwiti. I am not clear as to how Belawaburak is linked with Leloba, but evidently his descendants went there and founded it.

Somewhere in all of this material is a kind of local glorification for all of the kampongs and perhaps a kind of ranking. The latter, however, is very unclear and it would seem that the fame of the brothers and their "functions" in the legend were something like this:

Belawaburak was a war hero and his death brought a great store of gold to the Bai Pitu.

Keweluk was a war leader, and at one phase was an administrative leader too. The latter was during the second Padji war.

Kewaka was a war leader and also won the fight with Keweluk. He also married the widow of Belawaburak.

Bampowa was first a war leader, but stayed home in the last Padji war and did administrative work. This gave him a real privileged hold on administration, and his kampong, Mudakaputu, was for a long time the holder of the kakang post here. Recently other kampongs have had the post. Today Leloba has it.

Mado, founder of Watuwiti, seems to have the least claim to fame, and he was the youngest brother. Something is said, however, about how
[789] Watuwiti folk are famous for making "medicine" which can make men mad, or rather silly. This

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173 can be used in war, as magic, and thus perhaps
621 Mado was the war sorcerer who perhaps did the
565 magic stuff which in the last analysis scared
●789 the damned Padji away. This kind of medicine is called breni.

173 I asked if all the children and other people here know this story, and he said yes. It is evidently the main legend. He said that they do not know it perfectly, but the main facts and events are clear and everyone knows the story.

443 There is a market place at Okka crossroads every Wednesday. There used to be another on the beach on the way to Larantuka (where the Padji once lived) at Delang, but it is no longer there. It was held on Friday. There is a market place in Larantuka town, and the market is held there every day. However, there is no market week system. He knows of one in Adonara. He says it is no use to hold elaborate markets because they have no surpluses to sell.

583 The only exchange here is that connected
614 with marriage. The woman-giving suku gives fish to the woman-receiving suku, and the latter gives fowl to the former. If these suku are in different kampongs, there is the exchange, but it is a matter of suku and not kampongs. And again it shows how marriage is the basis of the whole organization.

829 As a result of the last World War the hori-
[178] zons in terms of the world at large were somewhat extended. For the first time, the people here heard of Japan, the United States and other countries. This was much the same thing that took place all over Indonesia. Fifty years ago no one here knew about such countries. As for other places in Indonesia, all they knew fifty years ago was Sina Djawa, to the west. Since the war they have learned at least the names of a few other islands. This is really epochal on

We. Today there are more meetings and greater
208 effort to get the opinions of the people. This
634 is especially so since this Radja came in about
178 eleven years ago. Formerly, the radja merely
663 ordered things to be done and paid no heed to
648 the local requirements, etc. Also, the radja gets around to more areas now. (We noted that the Radja is making a good-will tour, and probably all of them are scared of another Java.) He said that there is a much closer arrangement between the radja and the people now. Formerly the Dutch and the radjas worked together very closely, and anyone who spoke up was simply jailed. I can see this is as in Ende, and the Dutch here until the end used the jail as the solution for everything. They wouldn't listen to anything else. If the radja and Dutch work together the result is tyranny, and it is real here.

There is more justice here now, they say. They say this began about eleven years ago with the present Radja. But this may be out of respect, and they admit that the real change has taken place here since the war. The war really liberated Indonesia. There is no more use of brute force. People can speak up now.

789 We had a long talk about magical power. They
769 say that the power of the chiefs, from the radja
622 to the adat kepala kampong to the kepala suku to
[153] the kelake, is all a matter of fear of ancestral punishment. If they do not obey, they
[152] become sick and have misfortunes. The magical power comes mainly from the ancestral spirits, but it is funneled through the magic stones of authority too. The curse power of an adat chief is very great. The power of the purely administrative chiefs, for example, the kepala kampong, who does not deal with adat, and the kakang, is that of the police, etc. This is actually not so because all of the chiefs are of the proper succession. If they ever tried to put one in

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789 who was not so, the people would not follow him,
769 or rather they would do so only out of fear of
622 being sent to jail. Such respect would be given only halfheartedly.

The power of the chiefs, up to the radja, rests on their "blood" or legitimate succession, and on the power of their ancestors, who uphold the proper authority and punishment the disobedient by unseen power. Legitimacy and magic power from the ancestors go together. I asked whether, if a bad man succeeded to a post legitimately, they would revolt? They said absolutely not, as he would be legitimate. However, they would rest assured that the ancestors would see to it that the bad fellow died quickly. The idea is to have faith in the ancestors. Following a succession of bad crops, or crop failure, illness, etc., they think that something is wrong. They may think that the chief concerned does not have the right power. They may seek ways out and may even ask the radja about it. But they would never revolt.

There are a few cases where two men hold the same post (adat) in Wailolong. These cases (Blawa, the one talked of) are of the kelake, and what happened was that the legitimate man could not seem to get the proper "wave length" to the powers, and the crops, etc., were bad. So, though they could not drive him out, they got another man to work with him. I think that what happens is that the new man, who gets results, does the main ritual work while the legitimate man, who has the title, passes around the betel. Thus form is kept. It is said, however, that there are a few "rebels". I must check this.

789 This led to a talk about what magical power is. They call it no'o ike(ng). It is mana or tondi. It means to have power literally. Everyone has some of the soul stuff or Lebenskraft,

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•789 even the rice, animals, iron and trees have it. If an animal lives for a long time despite many blows, he is in possession of a lot of this power. Men differ in the amount of this power they may have. The radja has lots, and so on down the line. Thus power is a combination of ancestor sanction and real, indwelling power which comes with the blood of legitimacy. The stones and other fetishes linked with office reinforce and symbolize this power. One can even have power from animal familiars, as is the case with the assistant's father.

769 797 182 This led to a talk about how to reconcile the ancestors, who were pagan, with the abandonment of the rites they were used to. They have rationalized that God is more powerful than their ancestors, and the latter are in heaven anyway. They call on them rather than call them in person. The pagans, however, still do the latter. This is usual, and I think it is a real problem to them. Roy told how Laba, the last powerful pagan of Leloba, gradually took on Christianity after swearing that he would not. He tried it and his crops were still good. He decided that maybe it was all right. What would have happened if his crops had failed? And what if his crops failed steadily now or there was a great calamity? Could there be a nativist revival of paganism? The Catholics are working fast to kill everything before there is any chance of this.

346 [656] [796] I asked why the korke of several kampongs were in such bad repair. He said that this was because of the great cost in animals, etc. needed for a feast at the time of rebuilding. And, the government will not allow "wasteful" rites to be held. They say that it is a waste because so much food is consumed and so many beasts are killed. But why, then, let them build a new church for the one which is now burned in Riang Kamiö? 346 797

346 This costs money, at least. With cleverness,
797 Pastor Krol told how the scheme is working to get the folk to sell their tusks in order to get money to contribute to the new church. This works on the grounds that the people were careless with their fire in the fields when there was a high wind, and this caused the burning of the church. It is all a wily game, and the pagans are lost.

797 This whole religious matter is endless. It
182 is the most powerful acculturation thing here,
769 and the whole weight of Catholicism is on the last few pagans. The guru is full of the propaganda of rationalization. For example, he says, how do we know where the ancestors are? If they led good lives they are in heaven; and if not, they are in the sea (hell). And if they were good they must be in heaven, even though they were not Catholic, because they knew nothing of the Word when they lived.

632 The next day we started by clearing up a point
614 about the radja tuan. He may come from another ama than the No. 1 or waru'ing ama. Thus in Ama Datong suku the present Radja tuan is the kelake of Ama Radja, which is the No. 3 ama.

•789 Roy said that not only officials have magic
565 power, but that also all members of the noble
171 families have some, though not so much as the
865 chiefs. They definitely have more than common folk. This is why one must show respect to the uppers. It is like Bone in Celebes, but less so perhaps. For example, they are very much afraid of hitting a noble child.

756 A sorcerer (molang) receives respect too,
754 even though his post is not hereditary. Some
[462] sorcerers, however, are noble. Sorcerers may be male or female, and indeed Roy thinks most of them are women. I asked how one got to be a molang, and he said that in general they get a call while dreaming. It is a matter of getting

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754 a message that they then have the power. After
756 that the person tries out his dreamed cure on a sick person. If it works, he begins to build up a reputation, and if he continues to have good results, he then becomes a molang. As for the medicine the molang makes, it does not require any formal training. He observes how some practiced molang makes it. There is no "theorie" (and the guru used this word) to be learned. Also, they get prescriptions in dreams. Thus dreams may be the crux of the affair. It is all pretty informal.

I forgot to ask whether the molang may have familiars. Bugis, the molang of Wailolong,
[774] got the call when he was already an adult. A molang can recapture the errant soul of a person who is ill. To make the recapture, the molang rubs betel on the head and joints of the patient and thinks that this replaces the soul. A now discontinued trick of the molang was to discover who did some wrong, for example, in the case of a theft, by looking in his magic mirror. It is quite common to say, "Let's got see what the mirror shows," and then go to a molang. Thus the molang is a person who receives his post through dreams which give him medicine, the ability to recapture souls, and the ability to be a seer.

759 In addition, there are dukun. These are
844 mostly women, but may also be men. They give medicines. The women may also be midwives.
462 They get their medicines from others, for example, from their mothers, or invent them, or obtain prescriptions in dreams. Although Leloba has no more molang, it does have at least one dukun, and there are quite a few in the area.

793 The Catholic priests have magic power too,
789 but it comes from God rather than ancestors or other pagan sources. They can even make rain, by prayer.

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000 up together again.

Some of the suku are large, some are small,
614 and some have died out. They have the same
171 idea in this regard as I noted on Ambon: that
789 a group which dies out may well have disappeared because of a wrong committed in the old days. It is as though there were a curse on them. Roy mentioned a case of an ama (I think) which did a lot of killing. Now it is extinct. Another group used too much magic, and it too died out. (Magic keeps cropping up. They have taken on my term kekuatan adjaib with a vengeance. I often wonder if they are kidding
[123] me, seeing that I like the pagan stuff.)

Roy says that the roles of the sexes has
562 not changed at all. However, when there was
178 much warfare formerly, the women were important
708 in helping the men by bringing in supplies, encouraging them, and in making magic against the enemy behind the lines. (Supply, psychological warfare, morale division, and "research.")

One firm rule which is changing today, however,
178 is that in the old days the women never did work
462 in the field, except for helping in planting and
241 in the harvest. This is still so in a large degree, and it is true enough that the women are seen around the kampong all day while the men are off in the fields. However, nowadays more women go out and help with agricultural work. This is a slow trend. In the old days men would be ashamed to have women doing agricultural work. This was not their role (and there is a very sharp sex division of labor here).

Indeed, women have no work, properly speaking, except house work. They do very little agricultural work, even today. The planting stuff they do is clearly ritually linked, at least in part, and the harvest is evidently always an exception.

562 Roy says that the women have equal status,

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684 out, one or both could be killed. (He said that usually one escaped.) (I didn't ask about widows, but must do so.)

659 Note: Formerly, no vital statistics were kept here. Only since the war have they bothered to keep a record of births, and deaths. They still do not record marriages.

842 The belief here is that the more children one has the better it is for him. A man feels big
534 if his family is large. It is fine to have
556 twenty children. They have no idea at all of
857 limitation, or that it might even be conceivable. If a man has no children it is cause for terrific shame. This applies even if he has only a few. They like boys and girls, and perhaps boys even a bit more than girls. Girls bring in tusks, but this is not all gain, because the family must pay a return gift. The boys, however, work in the fields and thus bring in a certain income. In addition, if there are lots of boys and thus a large family income, the family can buy tusks.

Thus the girls get tusks, weave, and cook; but the boys work and bring to the family an income and keep the group name going (and in the old days were probably good for warfare).

181 The word hasil is very important here. It means product, and this is the center of their life. Everything is judged in terms of hasil, and even religious and ritual leaders are judged by their hasil. If they produce, they are all right. If they do not, something is wrong. And these profits, or income, or produce, include food, children, tusks, magic, etc. This is a wide concept. They want lots of hasil, and of all kinds.

721 I asked about war in the old days and how
789 any of the kampongs could fight the traditional enemy Riang Kamiē when it was always so much bigger. The kepala kampong looked significantly

721 at me and raised his brows, saying, "Ah, but
789 you are forgetting the kekuatan adjaib. It was not a matter of men alone." I am accepted as one who can appreciate the magical things. In this case he was pointing to "those intangible factors which mean so much in warfare."

842 There are no limitations on the number of children in a family. There is not even a conflict here with the church. He did say, however, that they know or think they know a medicine (at least he has heard that some women know about this) which might limit the number of children a woman could have (or did I say this?). Anyway, it is unthinkable.

[614] The bigger the family the better it is. A big family, ama or suku makes its members cocky.
[534] As Roy says, he is a member of Hurint, the biggest sib here, and he would like to see the so and so who would try anything on him. He would have to settle with the group. Thus numbers mean strength all along the line.

162 The average size of the family here is about
178 eight individuals. Formerly, about fifty per cent of the children did not grow up. Now they
165 nearly all live (I doubt this, but evidently
758 the change has been so dramatic with the introduction of modern medicine and cleanliness that it seems this way). I asked why, and they at once said new medicines and cleanliness.

355 Women do most of the upbringing. The father,
368 for example, just looks on once in awhile. The
178 mother is the crux, as well as other women. Later on, boys learn to work from their father and girls learn their tasks from their mother. The only change in all this is the school and church, especially of course the former.

581 There has been no significant change in the
178] concept of a "suitable man or wife." So little has the pressure for mere existence lessened that appearance and looks are minor. First of

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592 The oldest man is the head of the house, and his eldest son succeeds him. This is invariable. The eldest woman is the manager (nu'a luka rumah tangga). The eldest son's wife succeeds her.

783 673 It is interesting to note that both adat sins and church sins are kept track of.

509 We left Larantuka on Tuesday, January 9, and stopped that night in Maumere, so that Kattenburg can get his plane to Makassar on Wednesday.

286 On Wednesday I went on to Ende, and this took six hours, because I went to Sikka (didn't quite get there because the road had been torn up, although I did see Lela, which is near it). Sikka is really isolated, and the road leading there is poor. I noticed all along the road that there were women under or beside the houses weaving. This is true all over Flores. I noticed the drying of threads after dyeing, the looms, the wheels, the piles of cotton, etc. I note the same thing in Roworeke, Wailolong, Leloba, and everywhere.

634 661 439 789 769 I heard much about the radjas' shady business practices (led by the Radja of Sikka, but Larantuka is in on it too) in regard to the surplus distribution sold in Makassar and the copra smuggled into Singapore, etc. The Chinese are in on the deal. Some day these radjas will be out, and this will be better for everyone. I talked with Arriens[1] about them and he was doubtful that they have much magic power here, but I think there is quite a bit. It is perhaps not so directly electrical as in Celebes, but the respect hangs heavy, and they are the apex of the whole ancestor cult. This is true of Larantuka, and I suspect it is true of the other areas.

632 634 Arriens said there has been much trouble in Tana Ai, because they want their own kapitan, but Sikka evidently has his own ideas. Until

[1] [i.e., Controleur at Ende -- Analyst]

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622 carries on the prerogatives in a hereditary
614 fashion. If these posts are not so held, the people will not follow the individuals who occupy them.

789 In regard to magic power, he says that
624 there is none here. Not even the radja possesses any. Nevertheless, he says that everyone, without exception, obeys the officers. They just do it. He thinks that perhaps in the mountain kampongs I might still find ideas about magic power, but not here. I couldn't get anything more about this. Thus the situation here is different from the magic power and support of the ancestors which the officers in Larantuka have.

793 The pastors have magic power (and here per-
789 haps I can say that they are the only ones who today still have such power). They can wash away sins, do miracles, etc.

All adat posts are passed on from eldest son
624 to eldest son in a pure succession manner. They
646 remain the same. The elections of the kepala kampong and the kapitan are new. Also new are the members of the Flores parliament and of the East Indonesian parliament. There are two electors in the district Rewarangga, for there are about one thousand tax-paying men. There is one elector for each five hundred tax-paying men.

666 When there is an election of electors, the kapitan calls all of those tax-paying individuals to his office, and he (the kapitan) posts a list of four candidates (!!). Each man comes forth clutching a stone, and he whispers his choice to the two "guards". The guard slips the stone in the proper pile. This is all done secretly and by whispering (but the guards know!). At first, the people here did not understand this and had to be egged on to come to the election. They did not know what it was all

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581 behavior. Looks are a mere by-matter. The same holds for women. They like good workers for husbands (men must keep at the gardens); and as far as I could see, that is about all. I wonder if men should be decent (I doubt that looks are thought of much if at all), as long as they work. These people are way beneath any aesthetic stuff in love (but it may be there in its own way!).

836 [848] They insist that there is not one case of a bastard in their memory. However, yesterday I got the impression that boys have a chance with, for example, widows sometimes. But evidently the girls just stay virgin. They hammer on this; it is and always was a one hundred per cent rule, and that a girl would try to fool on this is considered a terrific thought.

177 797 595 587 582 In the family the Catholics have tried to stop: (1) polygny (but this goes on), (2) levirate and sororate (but this goes on), (3) mother's brother's daughter marriage (they do this with more distant relatives in order to keep up the form). This is interesting.

789 753 [565] In regard to the nobility, I can get no reaction on ideas of magic power, and they say that even the Radja of Ende does not have any. They say that he is new anyway. He is just a big man from the Djari Djawa suku (but the radja must come from this, but I got the idea that Nggobe might get in too). I asked if maybe the mosa laki had any, and they said no. If they do not obey they just become angry, and it is better to stay on their good side as they control the land and they are the big men anyway. There is no magic punishment. Thus they are different even from Larantuka. The only things which have magic power are taboo places, for example, the rumah pemali, the grave-bone shrines, and the old ancestor places. Breaking such taboos can cause illness, and the

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789 unfulfillment of ancestral duties can cause ill-
753 ness too (note the illness fear theme; this is just right for these folk who are ill a good deal of the time). But there is no real kekuatan adjaib here.

567 There were many slaves here before, and this
582 applies even to twenty years ago (this is
178 probably a bit too late, I think). The regular thing was for the father of a girl to include
565 in the return gift at marriage, two slaves
[583] (like the "and two persons" still used in the formula for the bride price among the Buginese). There are slaves in the kampong now, but he thinks that only about two to three per cent of the population are so categorized. They are, and were, taken into the suku, but formerly there was little intermarriage with them, and then it was only between a higher man and
[684] a slave girl. If the reverse took place, the death punishment could be meted out. The marriage taboo is still in, but it is lessening, and even a boy of slave descent (if he is an excellent man and a good worker) may marry a higher girl. However, they are well known, and in general are still to be classed underneath. For example, they have to do certain duties (the guru said they are like "servants"; he used the Dutch word "jongens"). They live in houses with regular people, or perhaps in their own houses. Everyone knows who they are, but no mention is made of this because they reportedly get furious. This is a thing worth investigating further: exactly what are the duties, and exactly how are they thought of and what do they think of themselves, etc.? (Remember that in the United States no one really thinks of taunting Negroes with an open charge of being descended from slaves.)

565 There are few possibilities for class mo-
555 bility. There are some meager beginnings at

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614 tions. He put down just about everyone as
565 bangsawan, with the only exception being the
624 slave descendants and the absolute newcomers to the kampong. That is, everyone with suku membership who had a land privilege was included in the category "nobles." This means that there is no nobility properly speaking. Thus the mosa laki offices are really only the eldest branch of the eldest branch, etc., of a lineage.

565 This reminds me that when I asked whether
624 the kapitan of Nggobe (whose ancestor Ambu
634 Nggobe of the legends and who was the first
789 tuan tanah here) might not really be a bigger
173 man than the Radja, they said that he could well be that. Indeed, the tuan tanah of Nggobe is legendarily the biggest man here, according to the folk tales. And Rodja is big too. But then so is the Djawi descendant, the radja. Anyway, they are clear that the tuan tanah here are really the old ranks, and the radja is simply elevated to his present post only in recent history. This is probably why the radjas' hold is so weak here. They have no magic power and never were really higher than the tuan tanah. Thus the people here dare to rise against them at any time. What they fear is the government which stands behind the radjas, as well as a certain amount of respect and whatever the radjas have of ancestral claims according to the old adat scheme. When I mentioned the magic practices of Bone and the heaven-descent sanction of radja power in South Celebes, they seemed astonished. I am convinced. If there has developed any real royalty feeling here, it is rudimentary.

614 I asked whether perhaps there is a main man
624 of each suku. They said that the big man of Odja is the giri tumba, and of Rewarangga the mosa laki mere. In other kampongs and suku

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614 this is so too. Thus there is a kind of "kepala
624 suku" in the form of one of the mosa who is hereditary in the suku. This means, however, that there may be suku with no big man in them because there is no hereditary rank in them. Such would be the suku which had lost their privileges in the old kampong of origin and which had not obtained any office in any of the other kampongs to which they have moved.

576 A lower person must sit or squat in the
516 presence of the kapitan or mosa laki. This is respect. There are no honorific terms of address. They just call the officer by his title. Only the educated ones even know the use of the term "tuan."

789 I have been unable, even with the most extreme pressure, to get anything on magic power of individual persons here. The dukun and the bisa mari are just dreamers and clever ones with second sight and occult gifts. I can find nothing of the true magic power of office that clothes the radjas of Celebes.

611 Monday, January 16. Today I left Ende for
184 Larantuka. I stopped and asked a man in Tana Ai about the matrilineal rules and finally got it out. It happened that the place I asked about this was over the border of Larantuka, to the east of Tana Ai, and he said that here in West Larantuka the matrilineal adat of Tana Ai is also found. In fact, he spotted the border for me exactly, which represents a new find for the book. These towns are in the matrilineal part of Larantuka: Unu, Paluah Lewalalang, Sukutukang, Riangwulo (which is where he and his group were from), Kedang, Bawalatang, Duang, Tabana, and Watubuku. These represent the eastern border of Tana Ai matrilineal adat. To the east of them all is patrilineal, that is, Lewotobi (e.g., Riangbarang). This is excellent material.

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423 by the radja tuan), suku, ama, and family. Houses are categorized in the same fashion.

Houses, however, are strictly speaking owned by the family or lineage. The eldest [428] son inherits the house, and other sons build their own houses or may live in with the eld- [591] est son and his family. The women have no houses, as residence is patrilocal except in unusual cases.

462 The only specialization here is by sex.

426 He says there is no lending of money. They may borrow food, and the interest on such accrued during the following year is from fifty to one hundred per cent.

465 The only wage earners are the gurus. There are no other paid jobs. (How about the three kepala kampongs? I suppose they get eight per cent of the taxes as usual?) There is not one commercial enterprise here.

622 The chiefs, says Roy, are regarded as fathers. ●789 The genealogical organization is strong here. Indeed, their posts depend on hereditary descent entirely. The people here obey them because they are in the place of their fathers. The curse of a father is a terrible thing, and this goes for the chiefs too. It should be remembered also that the chiefs have magic power, derived from the sanction of the ancestors and visibly shown by the stone fetishes in front of the chiefly houses.

567 The nipatale intermarry with other people, although they originally were slaves. Thus there is a slave class, but it is integrated with the others, and it has only a few marks.

[555] The only ones who have risen are the gurus. 554 And those in Wailolong are from some other area. There are no visible signs of status except that of living in a chiefly house, belonging to a "big house" suku, and having the stones of status in front of the house. I note also that

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000 much of a waste of animals.

796 I finally found out which kampongs do the
614 main ritual functions when they have a general
346 Belakang Gunung feast at which all kampongs are represented. This is when they have a new korke (or church). The order is as follows:

1. Kottang is Mudakaputu (descendants of Bampowa).

2. Keleng is Lewohala (descendants of Kewaka).

3. Hurint is Leloba (descendants of Belawaburak).

4. Marang is Wailolong (descendants of Keweluk).

5. The passer of food and drink and betel ingredients is Watumiti (descendant of Mado). Thus they are the five brothers.

Hence we have the "sistim" which he himself
624 is so impressed by. There are priests in the
614 sense that the radja tuan and the kelake are
793 really suku and ama priests. They are admin-
565 istrative and ritual officers. In addition,
● 789 there are priests and gurus of the new religion.
756 And there are the molang or medicine seers. These have more power and influence if they are of bangsawan descent. Thus again the magic power of proper descent comes to the fore and we see that blood and rank affect even the influence of medicine men. Then there are the dukun, who are doctors but with magical aspects.

798 They are extremely liberal toward all religions. The only sign of any animosity I ever saw was toward Mohammedanism, and it was not even here except in Kampong Baru. The pagan resistance was more pronounced formerly. Today the two cults work together without much, if any, friction.

871 The schools are government schools, but the
797 mission runs them and evidently provides, but
658 does not pay, the teachers. The schools were

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797 tial rites require pigs, but here other animals
782 can be used.

Three religions are known: pagan, Catholic,
771 and Mohammedan. They know little except about the pagan religion, which they probably know better than the others!

I asked about the religion here as given in
771 my notes from Elbert[1] who was here in the pre-
114 Catholic period. They said that my notes were all right, including the god names, and that
[775] Mt. Iya was the deadland, etc. In fact, I see more and more that Elbert was a good man. The
[776] high god, however, they give the name Ngga'eh Dewa. They say there is no dualism, i.e., no earth mother, here. This doesn't quite jibe with Elbert, but maybe they have forgotten, or they are vague about this. Maybe they are always vague about such stuff as regards the high gods.

The tubu musu, indeed, has two stones, and
778 after hesitation they admitted that it is a
831 male-female symbol. I note that in his Lio dictionary, Arndt[1] says (I think tubu) has an "obscene" significance with reference to "male." Thus it seems clearly a sex symbol. They never heard of yoni. They seem to say that there are two stones, one lying and another standing. Like a fool, I did not check this. I will have to look in Elbert[1] and Suchtelen[1] for this.

●[789] They have the matakau, and it is called nabe.
776 The term Ngga'eh Dewa means the god above. I guess that ngga'eh means big or high. They say that ata ngga'eh nua means "pembesar kampong."

764 At death, the bodies were formerly placed in big trees, cocooned. This was true for big men. For about a month they were left there while a feast was prepared. When all the animals and other things were ready, the bundle was brought down from the tree and bones cleaned. Then they

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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[493] [492] The fact that there are no buses here is a big hindrance. However, the horses help for short runs. The assistant gives the travel 481 178 times on foot in the old days and now. It shows that they walk much faster now than before. The world is speeding up! It used to take a day to walk to Ruteng; now they do it in three hours!

829 In general there is no fear of the outside. 789 In the old days they feared robbery and murder, 609 as outsiders were fair game for such. Magical danger is only encountered in certain places which are well known.

776 There are many kinds of roro, or spirits, 784 e.g., darat (tree), naga (house and kampong), potiwolo (woods). Although the others may be good or evil, the potiwolo are always wicked. They live in woods. For example, they live in the taboo grove on the way to Ruteng. Darat live there too. The potiwolo sneak up and hit their victims. Thus it is dangerous to go into the woods in such an area, and they never enter such a grove alone. The assistant tells that as a boy with his father he was afraid to enter this wooded area. These potiwolo look like men but have goat bodies. They have two arms but only one leg. They either run on all three, or hop along on the one leg. There are other local spirits, and the places where they live are avoided.

20 Formerly no letters were sent in this area at all, and even today, nearly none is written. There is no telephone here and no telegraph. There is a telephone and there are phonograms in Ruteng. There is no radio here. Letters come to Ruteng and stay there until the post office sees a man who happens to be going the right way. Then he passes the word along. A letter may take three months to be received. Even the phonogram I sent was delayed for two

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721 were traditional enmities to some extent be-
578 tween dalu. For example, Ruteng was against
614 Tjibal. Rahong usually helped Ruteng. Tjibal had allies too.

When there was a Todo war against Pongkor, the dalu here often entered, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other.

There are plenty of stories about the old wars. Thus there is the Prang Kuvu (that was against the Dutch near here); Prang Lait (against Bima, at a place near here); Prang Vake (Pongkor against Todo, and the dalus here entered), etc.

621 There are definite borders here, and the
614 people are quite sensitive about them. These
602 exist between the dalu, gelarang, and kampongs.
[423] They are marked by stones, mountains, rivers, etc.

In every gelarang there is a central kampong, for example, Veol and branches. Only one va'u per gelarang is the original va'u. There can't be two. Each dalu has kampongs under direct dalu rule. Some dalu (e.g., Rahong) had kampongs directly under Todo or Pongkor. Aside from the va'u relations, the vina-rona (mother's brother's daughter or affinal) relationship is important. In this mutual help is expected. Thus the pattern of one's own clan and the clan of affinity (and, I suppose, by extension this, could work out to a circle of the Wouden type)[1] is found here.

614 However, I get nowhere with the regular
582 marriage class system here. Nevertheless, the old tuan tanah said that there was a preferred clan, Mungges. It does not show in the record of the marriages, however. He will get the clans of the women for me.

756 Note: he misunderstood the "magic" here,
789 and says that the mbako could and can make a drink or amulet, etc., to make a man strong, and such is used in war.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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648 other types of slaves, and a few other things.
634 They also put in the radja. Otherwise they did
[681] not make much change in the traditional administration. Bima was out, and this may be why there is not so much feeling against the Dutch here.

565 As far as nobility is concerned, there are
789 the radja, dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, but
756 they have no magic power. The kraeng says, however, that Todo and Pongkor sengadji used to have magic power (another sign of Makassar or Bima influence?). The mbako has magic power. The more I hear, the more I see that the mbako is really an important man.

622 The succession of radjas goes from eldest son
624 to eldest son or brother. The same holds for
632 the dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, and tuan panga.
634 However, the dalu wakil is chosen by the dalu, always from his family, I suppose. The kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu after sounding out the feelings of the kampong. Many of these are commoners. Some are also tuan tanah. The tuan mbaru is merely the old man of the house with influence. He is usually the oldest. This position is non-hereditary and is evidently a matter of age.

Thus we see that all of these are hereditary, with the only exceptions those of the new kepala kampong and the unimportant tuan mbaru and the obvious dalu wakil.

666 A recent innovation has been the election
646 of members of the Flores daerah parliament,
635 the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Flores.

There are five members from Manggarai, elected at large, but by electoral districts. There are five districts named according to the place where the electors meet:

(1) Ruteng (South Central Manggarai)
(2) Rekas (West Manggarai)
(3) Tjantjar (Central Manggarai)

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565 of Flores, so unlike the radjas of Celebes.
582 This is a correction of some of the previous notes, because he had said that radjas, dalu and gelarang intermarried only among each other. The truth seems to be that all except the mendi are intermarriageable.

There is still great feeling against marrying a descendant of a mendi. For example, in Pau, where there are about ten persons descended from mendi, there have been a few marriages of these families with commoners, but never with gelarang families (e.g., the assistant's). The assistant says that he would never want his daughter to marry a mendi descendant. I pressed hard on this, and asked him if he would not be willing to have his daughter marry a mendi descendant if, for example, he became a great man in Indonesia, along with the new democracy. He said absolutely not. This is a Catholic, young and educated fellow. Then I asked about his son, should he want to marry a mendi girl. He said there would be much less resistance in this case.

Among the uppers there is a great deal of inter-district marriage, for example, at the radja, dalu, gelarang and kraeng levels. There is also some inter-district marriage among the commoners.

789 The only magic power known is in the hands
756 of the mbako. They can give magical strength
565 to individuals. Thus again I see how important and powerful are these secret persons. The nobles, however, have no kekuatan adjaib.

797 The only major change in the local religion has been the introduction of Catholicism, and it has been epochal.

771 About fifty per cent of the local people are
788 Catholic. Just about every family has at least
183 one Catholic in it. If a Catholic wants to attend community rites, this is all right, but he

614 are somewhat moved around, however, and are even scattered, so that one may find parts of a suku in entirely different areas. I must check on this.

624 As for the four adat chiefs, aside from the mosa laki mere, who sits in the center when judging, the giri tumba (whose name means "spear running around") stands or sits to the right of the mosa laki mere. The ndeto au, who is an [791] expert on making adat stuff which I judge to be ordeal material or magical divining, sits or stands to the left of the mosa laki mere. The sike sani acts as a watchman or policeman. I must get the full account of the functions of these men.

701 Then I asked if they had had war leaders formerly and they said yes. They are called "brave men" or atambani (ata-m-bani or orang brani). They said that they were fierce and feared.

793 Then I asked about the priests, and they said
789 that they still have plenty of them. They are called bisa mari. I got the usual story of how
171 they prove their powers of second sight, and it sounded just like the Ambonese talking about guna-guna. These priests are not hereditary, and never were, but the sons usually learn their lore from their fathers.

648 There is much talk here about war with the
175 Dutch and I am told that there were uprisings all over Flores in the year 1907. I was also told of the stern methods of suppression used in those times and how afterwards there was wholesale jailing of the Florenese. They seem to have lost their nerve then and today they no longer rebel.

773 I asked about the old myths concerned with
769 ancestors. The Kapitan Gunung Rodja, who is descended from Djari Djawa, the Madjapahit man who came here on a whale, told a different version

Wae The Demon or
614 Ili Djadi are the original people here because
173 the Padji are gone. They also are found else-
621 where, and where they and the Padji are found
829 together, as in Adonara, they still fight.
[578] The constant murders there are partly caused by this endless feud. They never live in the same kampong together.

3. Sina Djawa. These are descendants of people who came from the west. There are suku here which came from there. Thus the suku Lewonuhah (kampong, island) of Leloba is of Sina Djawa. So is the suku Lewato of Wailolong.

4. Tenemau. These people came from the submerged island Kroko Putang. There are suku here from these people. Thus, Lewarita suku
[769] of Wailolong is Tenemau. In the ceremony this morning the genealogy used to call the ancestors went back to the Tenemau. He says you can tell at once the origin of any suku by listening to the genealogies recited at the rites, because the ancestors are called.

582 Then we got onto the inter-kampong marriage
124 system, and this is not so complicated as the intra-kampong marriage system. I jokingly said that perhaps he got so tired figuring out the internal system that he decided to make the extra kampong rules simpler. He was amused. He also seemed amazed at the building-up process of anthropological research which I use; for example, when I first asked the names of the eight kampongs and then went right on to ask the names of the sons of Lenurat, he saw that
●[791] I was getting directly at the system. He said that if the folk here heard me leading straight into the heart of the complete cosmogony they would think me a suwanggi. I also said jokingly that they couldn't call me a pontianak. He was also delighted with my admiration of how everything here falls into a system. He has learned
124 the word "sistim" and uses it all the time. He

797 stead they nearly always use the term Orang Katolik or Orang Serani. The usual pattern seems to be recurring, the Protestants not being accepted as of the same religion in any way.
797 The mission headquarters has a large building
346 for priests (there are always three here, but
874 others come to rest and get supplies), several
793 workshops (where boys who are dormitoried on the grounds learn woodworking, machine work, etc.), a lower and a following school of five grades with one thousand pupils in which boys and girls are kept separate (boys and girls from other islands sleep in dormitories), a household school, a laundry, a library, etc. It is really a great plant. There are four brothers of a "working" type here, who run the workshops and handle the technical education, including one Pole who was interned during the war. He speaks Dutch with an accent. There are many nuns here,
[792] and they also help in the small government hospital. Evidently all or nearly all the schools in this area are "government," but they are really run by the mission. I haven't found out exactly how the system works yet. The Mission is ingenious. There is an old tractor which is used for lathe power, an old Japanese machine used for electricity, etc. They have a very large coffee plantation on the road to Maumeri and it looks good.

797 It is remarkable that such a great number of priests and nuns are here in this miserable spot, which can never be any good. Maybe they regard it as a sure foothold in a Mohammedan area, a foothold which may later be expanded.

744 There are practically no vegetables except
262 tubers here, and fruit is rare. So is all other food.

582 The suku marriage custom is evidently still
614 in force, and I will work on it in detail.

578 It is notable that there are so many border
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796 done in an excited pagan style, although on the
535 occasion of a Christian festival. We saw
144 clearly the difference between East and West Flores as far as racial composition is concerned. As you pass into Lio hills the proto-Malay becomes much more marked, though the Negroid element is still there. Some of the women are remarkably white. Such women are seldom or never seen in East Flores.

797 About the Malay here: When they want to say someone is converted, in Larantuka, they say that he "ikut Rom" [follows Rome]. The titles
554 are interesting: the territorial priest of
793 Flores is Tuan Regionale; then there are the Tuan Boswesen, Tuan Landbouw, Njonja HPB, Njonja AR (Assistant Resident), Njonja and Tuan Bestuur (Bestuurshoofd), and for a nun
[792] they do not use Njonja, but Tuan Zuster.

647 Note: The Controleur here is C. B. Arriens.

Although there is a general similarity in
342 house style all over East and Central Flores, there are differences. The tremendous high roofs are typical of Lio and Ende. The flat and large four-sloped ridges are found in Larantuka, and in between, in Sikka and Tana Ai, there is an intermediate form, with the four-slope ridge a bit on the rounded off side, and the whole thing appears to be smaller.

411 In East Flores especially the bow is still
224 used. We met a large band on Christmas not far
126 from Larantuka with bows and spears. They were coming up from a kampong with a large church. I asked if they were going to war or to hunt, and they said they were going to hunt deer. I took a photograph of them. They are always glad to be photographed. I can hardly take photographs, however, because they all rush in to be included, especially the children.

291 The style of clothing changes from place to
184 place, though here again there is a general

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614 are somewhat moved around, however, and are even scattered, so that one may find parts of a suku in entirely different areas. I must check on this.

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551 I asked about personal names and found that the suku name is not used as a personal family name. What they do is the same as the Scandinavians and Arabs and old Jews. They indeed usually employ only their own names preceded by their Christian names, if any. But if asked, they will also give their father's name after their own name. Thus my assistant is Migo. His church name is Adrianus. His father's name was Pega. Usually he calls himself Adrianus Migo, but if pressed he will say Adrianus Migo Pega. The same holds for the kapitan, who is Mani and whose father was Api. The giri tumba is Raki, and his father Dura. Thus in full, Migo is Adrianus (Church) Migo Pega of suku Odja. They
197 said that no one in the kampong could speak Dutch, and perhaps only a little more than ten per cent could speak Malay. There is one man
[212] (Bapa Ketjil of Aiutu, an old man who chews betel and has almost no teeth) who can write in the Ende script. They call it tulisan lontar. They say that in Ende town alone it is well known, but outside of the town it is rare.

595 The wife of the Controleur says that the
183 Radja of Manggarai is a Catholic, although he has two wives. This is a nice problem. The former Radja of Lio was brought back from exile by the Japanese during the war. Later he was executed by the Dutch because he murdered so many Dutch, Australians, etc. But he also killed many children for the fertility of the rice fields. Nevertheless, he was a Catholic. The Radja of Sikka has had several wives, even at the same time, and many concubines. At one time he had a Mohammedan wife and also a Mohammedan concubine. Each time he confesses and reenters the mother Church, to the rejoicing of the priests.
793 The priests here are evidently worse than death
178 for the old adat, much worse than the Protestants
797 in Ambon, and the people are scared of them, for

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793 if they do anything against Catholicism, the guru
178 tells the priest, and the latter or the bearded
797 bishop will condemn them to hell. Thus the threat of hell fire keeps them in line, and the priests are no better than the old witch doctors. This is why so much of the old religion is dying
F out fast.
634 In the afternoon, at the Radja of Sikka's house, we met the wakil radjas of Ngada (the old Radja has many wives and hunts all the time), Manggarai (a Hindu type, the man with two wives, a Catholic), and Nageh. These plus the new Radja of Lio and several others will meet tomorrow at the pasanggrahan.

F. Note on the "office" of the kapitan at Rowo-
344 reke: While we were talking a horse entered the office from the rear and stood there attracting flies. After a long while the secretary went out and chased the horse away.

A Note on Ambon: In Makassar, I met Drop, who
753 said that he had never heard of Baier, former
789 Controleur of Piru, Ceram, having had a matakau cause trouble for him, as I was told in Ambon. I remember it was said that old Gaspersz met him and his face was twisted and his eyes crossed after he unsuspectingly ate a bit of a snake which was cooking in the Ceram hills. The story in Ambon was that within a week he was stricken agonizingly and had to be removed to Makassar where the doctors could not tell what the cause was. Evidently, the truth is, or at least seems plausible, that he was sick when Gaspersz met him and looked bad. He was then told the story about the snake, and Gaspersz with true superstitious Ambonese imagination, filled in the whole business, which then grew with each retelling. I got it from Rehatta finally. Drop said there was nothing wrong with Baier now. Of course, this is a couple of months later, and he may have been worse before.

797 stead they nearly always use the term Orang Katolik or Orang Serani. The usual pattern seems to be recurring, the Protestants not being accepted as of the same religion in any way.
797 The mission headquarters has a large building
346 for priests (there are always three here, but
874 others come to rest and get supplies), several
● 793 workshops (where boys who are dormitoried on the grounds learn woodworking, machine work, etc.), a lower and a following school of five grades with one thousand pupils in which boys and girls are kept separate (boys and girls from other islands sleep in dormitories), a household school, a laundry, a library, etc. It is really a great plant. There are four brothers of a "working" type here, who run the workshops and handle the technical education, including one Pole who was interned during the war. He speaks
[792] Dutch with an accent. There are many nuns here, and they also help in the small government hospital. Evidently all or nearly all the schools in this area are "government," but they are really run by the mission. I haven't found out exactly how the system works yet. The Mission is ingenious. There is an old tractor which is used for lathe power, an old Japanese machine used for electricity, etc. They have a very large coffee plantation on the road to Maumeri and it looks good.

797 It is remarkable that such a great number of priests and nuns are here in this miserable spot, which can never be any good. Maybe they regard it as a sure foothold in a Mohammedan area, a foothold which may later be expanded.

244 There are practically no vegetables except
262 tubers here, and fruit is rare. So is all other food.

582 The suku marriage custom is evidently still
614 in force, and I will work on it in detail.

578 It is notable that there are so many border
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796 done in an excited pagan style, although on the
535 occasion of a Christian festival. We saw
144 clearly the difference between East and West
Flores as far as racial composition is concerned. As you pass into Lio hills the proto-Malay becomes much more marked, though the Negroid element is still there. Some of the women are remarkably white. Such women are seldom or never seen in East Flores.

797 About the Malay here: When they want to say someone is converted, in Larantuka, they say that he "ikut Rom" [follows Rome]. The titles
554 are interesting: the territorial priest of
793 Flores is Tuan Regionale; then there are the Tuan Boswesen, Tuan Landbouw, Njonja HPB, Njonja AR (Assistant Resident), Njonja and Tuan Bestuur (Bestuurshoofd), and for a nun
[792] they do not use Njonja, but Tuan Zuster.

647 Note: The Controleur here is C. B. Arriens.

Although there is a general similarity in
342 house style all over East and Central Flores, there are differences. The tremendous high roofs are typical of Lio and Ende. The flat and large four-sloped ridges are found in Larantuka, and in between, in Sikka and Tana Ai, there is an intermediate form, with the four-slope ridge a bit on the rounded off side, and the whole thing appears to be smaller.

411 In East Flores especially the bow is still
224 used. We met a large band on Christmas not far
126 from Larantuka with bows and spears. They were coming up from a kampong with a large church. I asked if they were going to war or to hunt, and they said they were going to hunt deer. I took a photograph of them. They are always glad to be photographed. I can hardly take photographs, however, because they all rush in to be included, especially the children.

291 The style of clothing changes from place to
184 place, though here again there is a general

[124] arrived after dark. We saw a very clear change
144 in physical type.[1] The Manggarai are clearly proto-Malay with a fair amount of Mongoloid blood in them.

[311] We went down to the coast through the empty
361 land, being burned off in large part, to Aimere.
342 Then we went across the wild and jungled peninsula to Mborong. We picked up a small girl from the hospital in Mborong who was going to school in the mountains. She got sick on the way. Then, up in the empty hills again, we saw a tree house on the way. Underneath it were some Mongoloid looking men and they said they were iron workers who were working on a bridge. They sleep in the tree house, which they built
[137] against mosquitoes which are bad here. They were from Ruteng. Later we heard that they have been here for years, "working" on a bridge.

[132] We ran into a terrible fog as we went up and up toward Ruteng. In the evening we attended
[143] the pasar malam, and there in addition to the
[525] gambling was a play with a story about how in-
536 dependence means decency and not rowdiness.
177 It was full of Catholic influence. Between the
533 acts there were instances of poor singing and dancing by a little girl who sang and stepped around and by some sillily dressed boys who went through marching motions to almost inaudible
[534] singing. The orchestra consisted of a violin and a ukelele, nothing else. The band consisted of a few horns. A small child held up the music for the trombone player, who didn't use the slide. The play was incredibly bad. Thus they lose the fine old singing and dancing and drama rites and instead of them they now have these imitation things which are bad beyond belief.

● 793 The next morning we went to the mission and
124 met several priests, including the rector, van Bekkum,[2] who wrote an article on Manggarai art. He was a bearded fellow and not bad. He said

[1] [i.e., the Manggarai vis-a-vis the Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[798] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here, and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

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754 a message that they then have the power. After
756 that the person tries out his dreamed cure on a sick person. If it works, he begins to build up a reputation, and if he continues to have good results, he then becomes a molang. As for the medicine the molang makes, it does not require any formal training. He observes how some practiced molang makes it. There is no "theorie" (and the guru used this word) to be learned. Also, they get prescriptions in dreams. Thus dreams may be the crux of the affair. It is all pretty informal.

I forgot to ask whether the molang may have familiars. Bugis, the molang of Wailolong,
[774] got the call when he was already an adult. A molang can recapture the errant soul of a person who is ill. To make the recapture, the molang rubs betel on the head and joints of the patient and thinks that this replaces the soul. A now discontinued trick of the molang was to discover who did some wrong, for example, in the case of a theft, by looking in his magic mirror. It is quite common to say, "Let's got see what the mirror shows," and then go to a molang. Thus the molang is a person who receives his post through dreams which give him medicine, the ability to recapture souls, and the ability to be a seer.

759 In addition, there are dukun. These are
844 mostly women, but may also be men. They give
462 medicines. The women may also be midwives. They get their medicines from others, for example, from their mothers, or invent them, or obtain prescriptions in dreams. Although Leloba has no more molang, it does have at least one dukun, and there are quite a few in the area.

●793 The Catholic priests have magic power too,
789 but it comes from God rather than ancestors or other pagan sources. They can even make rain, by prayer.

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764 bells in the chapel tolled and the service was held. The body was buried in the cemetery.

Roy has been full of life since I gave him
124 some medicine for his asthma. He jokes and
123 laughs. He had a meeting of the Red Cross yesterday, and the Radja and Dr. Sutomo and other notables were there. He knocked them out with the new words he has learned from me (sistim, desas-desus, kekuatan adjaib, etc.). They asked how this came about, and he said that the American professor was responsible. He told the priest that I was better than Vatter,[1] as we talk over each point at length, and I tell him details too, and then we discuss everything. Also, he says, everything is told to me and nothing is hidden, as he puts it. He tells the people, even in front of me, that I am like a suwanggi, because I learn so fast and come with material that an outsider should not know, and because I anticipate things that are not yet told. At one point, he said that I could join up and become a member of the Kottang sib.

The ratio between men and women here is about
162 fifty-fifty. They think this is all right.
•793 Perhaps only two per cent of the women never
589 marry, and it is exceedingly rare to find an old bachelor. There are no nuns or priests in Wailolong yet. Leloba has one nun now. There is a case in Lewohala at the present time of a father making a terrific fuss because his daughter wants to become a nun and his son wants to go to a seminary. (Is he a pagan?)

586 Formerly there was no divorce according to
178 adat. There are two pagan cases in Wailolong and this is considered new.

684 I asked about adultery, and Roy said that in the old days if there was a case of adultery, the woman remained the man's wife, but a fine had to be paid. Or, if the couple were found

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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622 carries on the prerogatives in a hereditary
614 fashion. If these posts are not so held, the people will not follow the individuals who occupy them.

In regard to magic power, he says that
789 there is none here. Not even the radja pos-
624 sesses any. Nevertheless, he says that everyone, without exception, obeys the officers. They just do it. He thinks that perhaps in the mountain kampongs I might still find ideas about magic power, but not here. I couldn't get anything more about this. Thus the situation here is different from the magic power and support of the ancestors which the officers in Larantuka have.

793 The pastors have magic power (and here per-
789 haps I can say that they are the only ones who today still have such power). They can wash away sins, do miracles, etc.

All adat posts are passed on from eldest son
624 to eldest son in a pure succession manner. They
646 remain the same. The elections of the kepala kampong and the kapitan are new. Also new are the members of the Flores parliament and of the East Indonesian parliament. There are two electors in the district Rewarangga, for there are about one thousand tax-paying men. There is one elector for each five hundred tax-paying men.

666 When there is an election of electors, the kapitan calls all of those tax-paying individuals to his office, and he (the kapitan) posts a list of four candidates (!!). Each man comes forth clutching a stone, and he whispers his choice to the two "guards". The guard slips the stone in the proper pile. This is all done secretly and by whispering (but the guards know!). At first, the people here did not understand this and had to be egged on to come to the election. They did not know what it was all

We I note also that
554 there is a kind of mark of "upperness" in the
[177] wearing of European shirts by the men! This
[291] probably holds for the European dress worn by
some women too.

Roy says that in Larantuka town there is a
195 high and a low language, but I wonder if this
may not mean that there is merely a polite
idiom. Here in this area they all speak the
same language, but use fancier language in the
[554] ceremonies. The only titles are those of the
listed posts. One must be respectful to the
uppers.

614 The whole rank system depends on genealogi-
565 cal descent. There are no rules in regard to
interclass marriage, and everything depends
upon the suku system.

634 The Radja of Larantuka is a descendant of
565 the Ili, just as the other folk are. He is a
bit mixed up with Timor, via Pategolo. And
the Radja kedua is from Kroko Putang. However,
the entire upper "nobility" is really inte-
grated with the commoners. That is, there is
no heaven descent. They are just like the
other people, except genealogically they are
ranked a bit higher. All power also depends
on descent.

In 1905 the first guru of Leloba, Bala,
•793 started his religious work. He had been con-
verted before this at the school in Larantuka.
At that time there were priests in Larantuka.

In 1912 a church was built at the kampong
361 lama of Riang Kamiß (this is another example of
how much and how recently these kampongs have
been moved from place to place). In fact,
only in these years, all kampongs except Lewo-
neda were still in the hills. Wailolong was
moved from the hills to the beach in 1913. At
that time a guru was sent to Wailolong, and in
1922 or 1923 Wailolong moved to the present lo-
cation.

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•793 The first real pastor was placed in Riang Kamiö in 1926. Before this there was only a guru (a chapel, that is).

771 About eighty per cent of the population here
162 is Christian. (Note from the partial Leloba census that there are still pagans there too.)

Roy repeats that there were three phases in
797 the Christianization of this area: the easy welcome, the troubled period, and that of resignation. There are two gurus in Wailolong: one from Larantuka town and the other from Bama. This, he says, delays the speed of Christianization, because they are "aliens." It is better to have local gurus. He clearly implies that the reason Leloba became Christian so fast is that he did it, as a powerful local man. He repeats that Laba, the last powerful pagan, argued against him quite a bit.

Leloba now has one guru (the assistant of my assistant). Roy resigned actively in 1940. Nearly all of Leloba is Christian.

Roy says that they are first given instruction in Christianity and then baptized. Thus there are a lot of "aspirants."

771 There are no Mohammedans here. When I
797 asked why, he said it would be impossible,
782 because pig killing and pig eating is so important a part of the ritual life that a Mohammedan could not get along here. (I see clearly in this the real actual importance of the pork taboo in holding back Mohammedanism. I remember this being said in Toradja country, and I think also in Ambon.)

Another deterrent to Mohammedanism is that Mohammedans could not slaughter in accordance with the old rules. They would have to kill according to Mohammedan custom, and this simply couldn't be. Thus it is remarkable to see how strong the old killing theme is here, that is, the ritual and the custom, and how all of this

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000 much of a waste of animals.

796 I finally found out which kampongs do the
614 main ritual functions when they have a general
346 Belakang Gunung feast at which all kampongs are represented. This is when they have a new korke (or church). The order is as follows:

1. Kottang is Mudakaputu (descendants of Bampowa).

2. Keleng is Lewohala (descendants of Kewaka).

3. Hurint is Leloba (descendants of Belawaburak).

4. Marang is Wailolong (descendants of Keweluk).

5. The passer of food and drink and betel ingredients is Watumiti (descendant of Mado). Thus they are the five brothers.

624 Hence we have the "sistim" which he himself
614 is so impressed by. There are priests in the
● 793 sense that the radja tuan and the kelake are
565 really suku and ama priests. They are admin-
789 istrative and ritual officers. In addition,
756 there are priests and gurus of the new religion. And there are the molang or medicine seers. These have more power and influence if they are of bangsawan descent. Thus again the magic power of proper descent comes to the fore and we see that blood and rank affect even the influence of medicine men. Then there are the dukun, who are doctors but with magical aspects.

798 They are extremely liberal toward all religions. The only sign of any animosity I ever saw was toward Mohammedanism, and it was not even here except in Kampong Baru. The pagan resistance was more pronounced formerly. Today the two cults work together without much, if any, friction.

871 The schools are government schools, but the
797 mission runs them and evidently provides, but
658 does not pay, the teachers. The schools were

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527 A small feast is given at the birth of a
852 child.

304 There is no supercision, except for Mohammedan circumcision, and this is done only in a few cases. (Evidently, in Indonesia, where supercision was in before, they may continue it under Mohammedanism, for example, in Makassar. But where there was no cutting before, they take on Mohammedan circumcision only.)

They say that they never had any cutting here. However, they say that they know of at least two kampongs in Lio where cutting did take place.

622 The mosa laki are of course religious as well
●793 as adat chiefs. The Catholic priest has a house here, but does not reside there. He makes periodic visits. There are two religious teachers.

771 I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements.

798 I wonder if the new bureaucracy, and also the Mohammedan majority, may cause trouble for the Catholic-oriented education of Flores. So far there has been no trouble.

798 There is very little discussion of religion here. They seem to let it slide by, and I get the idea that there is no great trouble in regard to paganism because (1) they never had any real resistance here, and (2) the pagans are too dumb, and so are the Christians, and (3) the Catholics do not evidently attack directly.

782 There was no trouble here in regard to the
797 acceptance of Mohammedanism from the standpoint
[231] of sacrifice, because they have plenty of non-taboo animals, for example, the buffalo, cattle, and goats. Therefore, it is not necessary to have a pig for pagan rites, and even the Mohammedans would get their share at a feast. This is different from Larantuka, where a Mohammedan would go hungry at the largely pork provided feasts. And also, in Larantuka, the all-essen-

114 The island is fascinating for pure ethnography, as I always expected. I am tempted every time I look at the map to take time off and go into those far hills. The entire northwest half of
491 Flores has no roads except for the Reo-Ruteng one, and here would be good territory. The
493 priests know a lot, and really should be mobilized for an ethnographic survey. And many of them, for example Mommersteeg,[1] would like it.
103 The kapitan insists that the proper name is
114 Tanah Djea, and indeed this is a town to the north of Nangapanda. Maybe the old authors confused dj with r.[1] [pastor at Todabelu --Analyst]

As for Wolowai, which Wouden[2] (check his source and track this down!) says is reported to be matrilineal, there is a place to the north of Nangapanda in the hills (thus in Tanah Rea part of Ende shown on the Bruine[3] map) so named. This is Wolowai and it is in Ende. I wouldn't be surprised to find any kind of social
R organization in this island! What a place to do
614 a real survey. I asked about a few other things
582 in Roworeke. I made a final try to get a circulating scheme out of the suku here, knowing that they have mother's brother's daughter marriage. I thought I had something when the assistant started off saying that an Odja man should take a Gusa woman, and that a Rewarangga suku man should take a Wanda woman. But right away it broke down, as the assistant himself, an Odja, married a Wanda, and his son will marry a Wanda, he says, in line with mother's brother's daughter marriage. Also, Bapa Ketjil, an Odja, married a Rewarangga. So what? He seemed to think that perhaps once it went like this:

Men	married	Women
Odja		Gusa
Gusa		Some other
Some other		Odja

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]
[2] [probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]

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000 that is all.

166 There are no rites for ordinary folk who
609 just enter the kampong. In the old days, how-
567 ever, when new slaves came in they had to have
614 rites in order to tell the ancestors that they
769 were new members of the clan. This pretty well clinches the slave entering va'u matter. They just do. This is why the former slaves are members of the clans. Only those on the inside know who is who. The longer the time gets from slavery days the more it is not brought up.

563 The only Europeans here are the pastors.
443 The traders are Chinese and Arabs and natives.
193 The business of the occasional Chinese pedlar with his coolie is quite usual here. They stay usually for only a few hours.

The pastors tell stories to the local people about Europe, etc. The Chinese who are regular
[203] pedlars have been in Manggarai for a long time, and they spread some news.

484 In these local kampongs everyone has been to another kampong. The women go outside their own kampong less often and do not go so far
[438] away as the men. Men go out to trade horses, buy tobacco, etc. During the Japanese occupation they ranged far in order to buy cloth, etc. However, all of this was within Manggarai. All have been to Ruteng.

All have been outside Rahong, as they have been to Ruteng. At least fifty per cent of the local population have never seen the sea. One person has gone to Ende, and two have gone
[167] to Kupang as soldiers. One went to Makassar to work. The Japanese took several to Riung to work, but most of the people have never left Manggarai. No one from here has ever left Indonesia. In all Manggarai, the assistant thinks only one person has ever left Flores. He is a pastor, I think.

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771 should not pray. Also, a Catholic may not
788 initiate ceremonies by himself, for example,
183 house rites. I wonder what happens to a Catholic who lives in a house with the little hanging shelves for the naga. There the shelf is over their heads, and I wonder if they do not give offerings. If I had the time I would like to trail a Catholic around; my guess is that most of them do not worry too much about orthodoxy. There is still a lot of friction here.

875 There is a guru agama for Veol and Ndung,
●793 but he lives in Rai. Usually there is a guru agama for each kampong, but these are twins. Usually one pastor serves one or two dalu. Rahong has the Maumere man, who lives in Tjantjar.

797 Most conversions are made of the young through the school. There are no cases of children converting their parents. There are relatively few direct adult converts. The school does the trick. A convert must first be a catechumen and learn the ropes. This lasts for one to two years.

797 The priests worry a lot here about what to
183 do, because adat is so dependent on the old
578 ceremonies. In Larantuka they have tried to
595 Christianize the pagan rites, etc. Right here there is a real problem, as the heir apparent of the big tuan tanah of Veol is Catholic. The assistant says van Bekkum[1] has discussed what should be done with him. Then too there is the matter of polygamy, which is very strong here. Most of the outright opposition to Catholicism comes from men or women who, because of a plural marriage, are not looked upon favorably by the
[783] church. There is no possible idjing (dispensation, according to Oudehand's version)[2] for this. This is a head-on conflict, especially because they desire so many children. The polygamists

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]; [2] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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805 held some time after the planting is done. I think this is it. He says that in other parts of Manggarai they may have twelve moons. The European calendar is seldom used and only by those who have gone to school.

● 793 The only priests here are the tuan tanah.
622 The tuan tanah of the pusat kampong is the most
614 important. Cornelius agreed that he was like a bishop. The other tuan tanah of the branch kampongs are like parish priests. The tuan panga have certain roles in panga rites. Below the kampong and the panga there are only small rites.

756 Cornelius says that the mbako went secret even before the Dutch came in. He says he doesn't really know why the people keep the mbako identities so secret. Or perhaps he simply will not tell me. He keeps on saying it is because "they do not want to show any pride." Maybe this means that they do not want to appear to "brag" about their special power, or perhaps it is the idea that if they talk about it they may lose it. They are certainly sensitive on this matter. Van Bekkum says that in all the years he has been in Manggarai he has never found out who a single mbako is. This is amazing. There are no dukun apart from the mbako. In a kampong Cornelius says there are usually from one to three mbako.

[754] There are no suwanggi here.

Cornelius says that even though all the people turn Catholic, they must still have a mbako, in the sense of a dukun.

A new point is that in addition to the troubles of the mbako with the police (maybe because of poison? or is it mere suspicion of magic murder?) they have also gotten into trouble with the hospital because of their "practice" of medicine.

771 In terms of religion, the people here are

{[i.e., the assistant--Analyst]
[pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

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829 they only saw them run away when the Japanese
[648] came in. He then said something which was quite interesting: that it is not hard for even the illiterates here to understand the government of any land in the world, as they have had so much experience with a system of government here. All they have to do is imagine the alien organization in terms of their own political organization.

875 As for information spread about in regard to
203 politics and current events, Roy says that the guru do a lot of this. The people ask them questions, and they are really big men.

521 The people here do not talk much about poli-
829 tics. Even when they had the big day of celebrating independence and the flag was flown, after the main information about the Round Table Conference was out, the people began to talk about their gardens, etc. They know about Sukarno, because his picture is everywhere [the Hitler theme?]. The thing which really settled
[798] the rumor that the red and white flag is that of Islam was Sukarno's speech that all religions were free. Priests must have publicized this.

829 The local people know that Java is the center
203 of all Indonesia, but there is little talk about
521 this yet. Roy sees the importance in this of the complete absence of movies, radio, and the relative absence of papers. If the people had these, they would talk more (as do the backward Buginese who see movies of other lands and are curious about them).

794 Roy says that Catholicism does not mix itself
665 up with politics here at all. When elections are held, the priest says in church that they must be sure to choose the right man. At least, he insists that the church is not involved in politics. I tried to press Roy by telling him how the church tried to get another radja for Manggarai, because the present one, although

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794 Catholic, has two wives, but he was adamant.
665 As for Mohammedanism, he says that they are dormant politically, or at least they have been until recently. Now that Dr. Sutomo is here he is becoming a kind of Mohammedan leader. However, the Mohammedans are few and they are important only in Kampong Baru. There was a
798 rumor here on the Japanese entrance that the
203 Japanese were Mohammedans. It went further to the effect that all Christians and pagans were to be killed. The theme was that you had better get your songko boys. There was a new version, when the red and white flag went up. It went that this was really the flag of Islam and that the Christians and pagans would have no voice in the government. He thinks that perhaps this rumor was started by the Mohammedans. It was here that he joyfully parroted several times my word desas-desus [whispering, rumors]. He learns new words fast.

The situation here is the reverse of the
178 usual thing. The Catholics are the radicals,
797 in the sense that they are against the old
565 things which are pagan, and the pagans are the
177 conservatives in the sense that they want to
769 keep the old ways. This will change later, surely.

This led to a long talk about the entry of Catholicism here. Roy admits that he may be the most powerful factor in the fast and one hundred per cent conversion here. He said that the main reason was that he gave good lessons (ketranggan [interpretation, clarification, proof]) and the second reason was that he happens to be a real noble. The latter meant not only that he had a good name and respected rank, but that he was in close touch with and had real privileges in the pagan ancestral stuff. Indeed, his own rank depends on the ancestor cult. If he was willing to take a chance with the new

000 notable.
797 The church in Riangkamiß is built with refer-
177 ence to the four ritual sibs of Kottang, Hurin,
346 Keleng, and Marang. This is an example of the
[614] rule used: anything of a social nature is all right, but if it is of a religious nature and related to the old spirits or ghosts, etc., Catholicism won't take it. This is like the
[171] death feasts in the Toradja country, where the Protestants will let the Christians go to these social rites but not to the great exorcism rites. Thus the Catholics here are not allowed to go to the old rites on the nama in front of the korke, but as the priest admitted, it is hard for the folk here to see the difference, and they tend to regard these retained aspects of paganism as full paganism because they are symbols of the whole pagan system.

797 He told much that was interesting. There is
178 in paganism here a need for a girl to be the
243 rice maiden for the fertility rites (Vatter[1]
796 tells the story too), and the old adat chiefs insisted in one kampong that at least one girl should not be converted, as at least one is needed to be the rice maiden. This shows the desperate plight of paganism. They must beg to have something vital allowed to remain. "Give us one only," they ask. He said it is true that just about all of the young people are Catholic, but many of the old remain pagan.

[771] Later, in Wailolong the guru Roy said there are few, but very few young people who are pagan.
578 He told us about a war in which a man was killed
411 yesterday. It was a border war between Leloba and Waibalun and the police had to stop it. They fight these wars all the time, with bow and spear and knife. I asked if maybe it were not
511 because they were hungry and need land. And
[578] hunger and misery cause aggression anyway. He denied this, but I think it is true, especially

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Wae
614 chiefs and also clear up the exact differences
622 between the kepala suku and the kepala kampong, if any.

622 The next day I got an explanation of the
624 officers. The three kepala kampong (called
614 Kottang, Kelen and Hurint) are the administra-
574 tive officers. They are chosen by their respec-
796 tive suku. They have no ritual function as such,
231 unless they happen also to be either kepala suku of their suku or the kelake of their ama. The radja tuan and the kelake are also chosen by their respective suku and ama, but from the noble lineage within the suku. They must come from the "big house" (Lango' Bele'). Each suku has one such big house, and so does each ama. I have seen them in Leloba. I found out, however, that the head and feet are not actually held by the kepala suku Kottang and Kelen, but rather by some man, evidently it matters not who, from their suku. Also, the kepala suku Hurint himself does not actually cut (though evidently he may do so if he wants to), but usually delegates the job to one of his fellow suku members.

It happens then, in Wailolong, that there are five radja tuan and three kepala kampong. Then there are the kelake.

If they hold a suku feast, i.e., a feast on the land of the suku itself and which concerns only the suku, it runs something like this in each of the suku:

Ama Datong	Head:	Man from Ama Radja.
	Feet:	Man from Ama Belolong.
	Cut:	Man called in from Ama Hurint, but may not be from Nipatale.
Leworita	Head:	Man from IIa.
	Feet:	Man from IIb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

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622 624 614 796 574 231

Ama Hurint	Head:	Man called from Ia or Ib.
	Feet:	Man called from IIa or IIb.
	Cut:	Man from Hurint, except Nipatale.
Lewato	Head:	Man from IVa.
	Feet:	Man from IVb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.
Lewodoreng	Head:	Man from Va.
	Feet:	Man from Vb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

If a kampong feast is held for all of the people, the setup is as follows:

Head:	Man from Ama Radja (Ia).
Feet:	Man from Subamaki(ng) (IIa).
Cut:	Man from III, except Nipatale.

614 567 423 582 [796] [753]

The Nipatale groups--in Wailolong they are IIIa2 and IVa2; in Leloba IV-lb--are former slaves, bought respectively by the Ama Hadumbole(ng) Waru'i(ng), and Lewamaki(ng) amas. They have no ritual standing and they may never hold or cut. They just look on. Also, they have no land of their own, but use the land of their masters (i.e., the ama who bought their ancestors). They must give the first fruits of their gardens to these masters, and if they do not they get sick. He says that they were bought from Adonara not long ago, perhaps about four generations. They are not really free yet. They must obey the orders of their masters. In ordinary life, however, this is a matter of adat and respect (hormat), and they are not ashamed. It is really a matter of (a) owning no land of their own; (b)

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614 giving the first fruits to the masters; (c) owing
567 certain duties to the masters; (d) respect shown
423 to the masters; and (e) not being in a good
582 place at feasts. They may intermarry, however, and the bride price for them is the same, etc. He said that even in the beginning they intermarried; in fact as soon as they got into the area they integrated into the marriage system. So strong is the need for these marriage rules that even slaves must be put into the system.

The Ama Rere is a peculiar case too. They
[727] are descendants of war captives brought back from the Maumeri area eighteen generations ago. They too have no ritual standing, as can be seen above in their lack of chance to do any of the duties of the Datong suku. They do not have their own land either. They have to work for
[796] Ia and Ib. That is, they have no ritual standing, no land, and they must do certain duties. In the marriage system, however, they are equal.

614 Also peculiar in the Wailolong setup is the
554 Ama Hurint. They do not have a full position
423 in the kampong, because their ancestors came in from Leloba. They have no land of their own in Wailolong. Each year they receive land for their use during the next year.

721 Then we got onto the schedule and learned a number of incidental things. For instance, right now the Leloba folk are scared to walk along the road near Waibalun because there is a state of war. Thus this is a real war and not play, and there is real danger of death. The "big houses,"
778 i.e., the houses of the radja tuan and the kelake,
789 have holy stones before them. It is not proper
171 to call them nubanara but rather saoniwa(ng). The nubanara proper are the holy stones of the kampong in front of the korke. The saoniwa(ng) hold the magical power of the radja tuan and the kelake. The power of these stones invigorates the respective chiefs, and this is why the folk

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789 that the Larantuka radja does have an aradjang, but this is not the word for it here. I must get the right word. There seem to be no out-
554 ward signs of status. The main thing seems
614 to be a general knowledge of everything in the kampong and also whether a person lives in a "big house" or not. The Lango'Bele' system is impressive.

Notes on Larantuka: The mandur in the
551 pasanggrahan is a Madurese who married a Catholic woman here. His name before was Ali, but now since he became A Catholic he is known as Andreas. His children have taken their mother's Larantuka name, Dosari, and their forenames are Dominicus, Paulus, and Maria. One who died was named Aloysius.

501 There was one prau owned in Leloba. It was owned by the guru. It was wrecked yesterday.

651 The tax here now is fl. 23.50 per adult man. In the prewar period it was fl. 5.00. The people have trouble paying it and always have had this difficulty.

656 In the prewar period if one did not obey
687 the government one could be jailed easily. Since the war this government control has weakened. For example, in a recent land case the present kepala kampong would not sign a paper of the government, nor would the guru. The kepala kampong was jailed, but the guru tried to bail him out. The government refused to accept bail unless he signed. He asked if it would be possible to re-open the case later if he signed. They said yes, but then refused to re-open the case afterwards.

R Roworeke: On Christmas, we came back through
796 the mountains. On the way, especially in the
535 kampongs in the Lio mountains, we saw many small processions with drums, singing, and many people who were drunk. While dancing the people seem to use handkerchiefs most of the time. This is

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796 done in an excited pagan style, although on the
535 occasion of a Christian festival. We saw
144 clearly the difference between East and West Flores as far as racial composition is concerned. As you pass into Lio hills the proto-Malay becomes much more marked, though the Negroid element is still there. Some of the women are remarkably white. Such women are seldom or never seen in East Flores.

797 About the Malay here: When they want to say someone is converted, in Larantuka, they say that he "ikut Rom" [follows Rome]. The titles
554 are interesting: the territorial priest of
793 Flores is Tuan Regionale; then there are the Tuan Boswesen, Tuan Landbouw, Njonja HPB, Njonja AR (Assistant Resident), Njonja and Tuan Bestuur (Bestuurshoofd), and for a nun
[792] they do not use Njonja, but Tuan Zuster.

647 Note: The Controleur here is C. B. Arriens.

Although there is a general similarity in
342 house style all over East and Central Flores, there are differences. The tremendous high roofs are typical of Lio and Ende. The flat and large four-sloped ridges are found in Larantuka, and in between, in Sikka and Tana Ai, there is an intermediate form, with the four-slope ridge a bit on the rounded off side, and the whole thing appears to be smaller.

411 In East Flores especially the bow is still
224 used. We met a large band on Christmas not far
126 from Larantuka with bows and spears. They were coming up from a kampong with a large church. I asked if they were going to war or to hunt, and they said they were going to hunt deer. I took a photograph of them. They are always glad to be photographed. I can hardly take photographs, however, because they all rush in to be included, especially the children.

291 The style of clothing changes from place to
184 place, though here again there is a general

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693 632 624 [622] tions. Murder, theft, etc., come to the kepala kampong or kapitan. Such cases are not within the adat sphere. These officials do not interfere with each other's spheres.

632 624 622 The situation in regard to the offices is as follows: The Big Four of the gemeente who are also the Little Four of Roworeke (combined with Worowai) are respectively from Rewarangga, Odja, Rewarangga, and Rewarangga. All except the giri tumba are from Worowai, and here there is a rumah berhala. Only an Odja or a Rewarangga man (and he must be a resident of Roworeke) may be elected kapitan or kepala kampong of Roworeke. In each of the other kampongs there are families in which the Little Fours are hereditary posts. This position is inherited from father to eldest son.

[796] There are no set ritual functions associated with these offices, but the mosa laki mere of the Big Four (I think) must always be there for a big ceremony, and he must receive the lower jaws of the animals slaughtered. I note that an alternative term for the four mosa laki is tuan tanah.

771 796 Some of the people here are Catholics, and I asked if they still did the ritual and prayed when they held a big ceremony. He say yes, and that Catholicism makes no difference in this matter. He was firm in stating that there are Catholic things and adat things. They are separate. The two main feasts of the year are those held at planting and at harvest time, when the crops are brought in ritually to the kampong. At these feasts the mosa are the leaders and the big leader is the local mosa laki mere. There is animal slaughter, dancing, singing, and praying. They wear festive clothes. And there is also a big suku feast when the bone house of a suku is rebuilt. Thousands attend. Smaller private rites are held for such

796 241 574 527 [614] [342] 000

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872 one-half years ago. Children of, for example,
[177] fifteen can't enter this school because they
are too old. This is a big reason why there is
less acculturation here than in Larantuka.
624 Also, Larantuka has lost the power of adat
622 chiefs to a greater degree, as has Ende. Here
177 they still are the most powerful leaders, and
even the kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah
family. This is clearly the area of least ac-
culturation, although in agriculture and tech-
nology they are just as advanced if not more so
than in the other areas. For example, witness
the wooden houses. But adat is stronger here,
and the mother's brother's daughter marriage
still stands. The priests still compromise
527 more with the old. There are many many feasts.
574 There are feasts at birth, death, marriage, if
796 there are many children, at planting, at har-
756 vest, when a new garden is made, when a new
755 house is erected, and on many other occasions.
Some of these are large and some are small.
Some are for the family, and some are celebrated
by larger units. Some are celebrated by the
entire kampong. The biggest is perhaps the
cleansing of the kampong ceremony. The medi-
cine man, mbako decided when one is needed.
Thus he says there is a lot of illness, etc.,
and it is time they had a "tjutji kampong."
756 There is at least one mbako in each kampong,
609 and some kampongs have more. He learns his
trade from his father, but there are cases where
such succession is not followed. There is one
in Weol. However, they will never tell an out-
sider who the mbako is. He is secret. They all
know who he is. However, even during a rite,
he keeps in the background so that he can be
kept hidden. Query: Is this because of the
fear of the mission or the government or what?
I couldn't get much about the latter, but I
will try later. This is amazing!

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776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 Kraeng here is the original title for high
554 nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

196 At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is
614 done by families or pangas. Each man in the
782 group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck
231 with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunt-
[887] ing.) Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say
535 here) is done at many feasts. Each house has
574 some costumes, and the men may use them. They
555 say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 In the afternoon we went to see some fine
527 dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part
526 of the week long independence festival. The
533 lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and sing-
[276] ing. Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertain-
[887] ment was complicated and good. Most drummers
200 and gong players seem to be old women. These

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614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and Rundu.

784 824 614 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The other kinds, for example betong, which is thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung pesi is also tabooed for the members of the Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only on the first-born of each family. The first-born is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 114 624 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his material. There are now two more kampongs in the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas is in error in stating that Ladja is the fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung. Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung. The Manggarai

624 824 ●796 name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Teno is the kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post which is set in the center of the star of fields for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a

[533] [562] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum. Some of the beats are the same for the men and for the women, but others differ by sex. Another term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 423 651 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which are basically the property of the tuan tanah. Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay tribute for his house space. This tribute is used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 778 [104] Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on the side of the highest hill. It is in the form of a rough human figure, which used to have

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

511 sing a little and then go to sleep. The only
461 time they work hard, and this consists of
185 bringing in coconuts and other stuff to the
[273] Chinese, is when they want to get clothes for
feasts and when they have to pay taxes. Their
only thorn is taxation. Without taxes they
would be completely happy. I heard later, in
237 regard to the tusks, that there are very few
438 in Wailolong, perhaps only ten. However, they
556 circulate and keep the system going. The as-
sistant said that many have been sold because
the people need money so badly. Many were sold
to the people in Tandjung Bunga.

Wa. When we went to Wailolong we met the assis-
614 tant on the section of Wailolong which is on
241 the side road near Leloba. He was there getting
●796 census material. We went off there and at-
231 tended a rite of the Leworita suku, or rather
one of the ama of the suku. It was the rite
for the beginning of the agricultural season.
The big kampong rite was held first, and here
it was held on Christmas. Then, each suku has
a similar rite, and then again each ama. They
are just now getting around to the ama rites.
[343] In this section there are two kebang (lumbung
or barns) adat, i.e. suku or ama barns. The
big kepala barn is that of the Number One suku
(here Ama Dotang [usually Ama Kottang] which is
near the main korke). The two suku represented
here are Lewodoreng and Leworita. This rite
was held under the adat barn of Leworita (where
jaws of sacrificed pigs hang), but the land is
owned by Lewodoreng. This is why the men who
played the roles of Kottang and Kelen (head
and feet) were not from Leworita but from
Lewodoreng.

The old pagans (some were not so old) did
the rites, but the Christians stood all around,
and they ate what they could get later, probably.
A small pig was brought in and then the prepa-

Wac
614 ration began. At the head of the group sat the
241 kelake of the Leworita ama doing the rite. On
●796 one side sat two old men, one from Leworita and
231 the other from Hurint, who prayed. They were
merely the oldest and cleverest ones there.
[301] They were real pagans, with bobbed hair, red
necklaces of beads, and silver earrings. One
had a tattoo (relatively young fellow). One
[769] prayed steadily, giving generations of Leworita
and calling all these ancestors in turn, and at
each generation the other chimed in with a
chant. The rhythm was fine. On the other side
sat the three; the man from Lewodoreng Waru'ing
holding the head of the pig (as this ama has
the Kottang function in this suku); the man
from Engamaking holding the feet (as this ama
has the Kelen function in this suku); and the
man from Hurint, who cut, as usual.

178 To the side from these sat two old women
562 who were the tuno wudjo, one from Leworita and
796 one from Lewodoreng (they needed two because
887 the former was giving the rite, but it was on
241 the latter's ground). In the old days it was
614 always a young girl virgin who acted as tuno
wudjo, but there are no more in these groups
who are still pagan, so they have to use old
women. I can see the same thing on the schedule:
in Wailolong there are some tuno wudjo who are
very young (e.g., three or four years old) as
they are not yet Christians, but others are very
old pagan women. Thus, the pagans are making
the best of it, but what can they do when the
old women are dead? The answer is found in
Leloba, where they no longer are able to have
rites. They have given up the suku and ama
rites, but still have the kampong agricultural
ceremonies. First, however, a mass is held in
[769] the chapel, and then they say prayers, but are
allowed to recite the names of the ancestors.
They no longer use the tuno wudjo, however.

Wu

178 After the ancestors are called, the pig is cut,
562 first sawed through the neck until the windpipe
●796 is cut, and then with one blow the head is cut
241 off. The assistant said that if it is a big
887 pig, a strong blow is required to knock the
769 head off with a single sweep.

614 Note that the two old men who prayed were from Leworita and Hurint. Evidently this makes no difference, but they do choose old people who know prayers (however, they have one from the suku giving the rite, as he must recite the names of their ancestors).

[276] Then betel was prepared and passed around. As the pig bled, blood splashed on the tusk which was lying on the ground beside one of the posts. This is a ritual tusk and is not very large. It is owned by the ama and is not used for bride prices. The second part of the rite--to give the food to the ground and posts --came next. The tuno wudjo and other old women took the rice and heaped it on a plate like a hillock. The men cut out the liver of the pig and chopped it up. The mixture was put on the ground, or rather a bit of it was, and also smeared on the four posts of the barn. Gin was
[273] meanwhile passed around (we got some), and it was also poured on the ground and sprinkled around under the barn. We left after this as the rite was over, but they went on to cook and eat the pork with the rice. This is a relatively small rite, although it was a part of the entire planting ritual complex.

614 One can say that each grouping (or, as the
241 assistant says, each barn) must have agricul-
796 tural rites. Thus, the system runs down from
343 the big kampong-barn-suku Kottang rite, with all the suku there and all the tuno wudjo (of all suku and ama); to the suku rites at each suku barn, and all suku and tuno wudjo at these too, in all five rites; and finally to the ama-

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614 barn rites, with only the ama tuno wudjo and
796 members present. All of this is done in order
241 to make the rice in the fields perfect. The
343 other great ritual complex of an agricultural nature is at harvest time, and they may have a third type if there is an especially good harvest (like the thanksgiving feasts of the Toradja).

778 I asked about the saoniwang, the magic stones
789 which are in front of the houses of all suku
342 and ama chiefs. Some have disappeared in Le-
614 loba and have not been replaced, but most of
823 them are still there. For example, the guru has the mother stone before his house, and one child stone, but other child stones are used for foundations of houses. They are inserted with many other stones in the masonry, but he pointed to the specific ones. These saoniwang, like the nubanara, which are placed in front of the korke, are the big ones in the heap, the mother, and the little ones, her children. They hold the magic power of the chiefs, and without them there is no power. Nevertheless, in Leloba, even when the chief has no more stones, he still holds some power, as if they were still there. The guru has three for his house, for war power, marriage power, and power among suku, respectively. One of these is in the hills behind. This, he says, has tremendous power. He says such things seriously.

[773] These stones suddenly appeared long ago. They came down from heaven after, or rather with a heavy rain. Thus they are like the descendance stones of, for example, Goa. Sao means anchor and so does niwang. Thus the meaning is that the power and with it the group or man holding it are firmly and inextrically tied to this land. However, all sorts of stones are believed to have power. Many of them are very little. Thus the kakang has a

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123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

We discussed a certain rank which appears in
614 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
343 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
562 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala
243 suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

We also noted a possible error in Vatter.[1]
[114] He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
614 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
796 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
831 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
784 gins, but now with so few young girls still
241 pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[857] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost
[887] babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic
[797] note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

1 [See bibliography, cat 113 -- Analyst]

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831 goat; and buffalo?). During other months they
614 may eat such food. This figures out to be
241 roughly about one half of the year. Some of
● 786 the ama have no nu'a luka, for example, Ama
784 Rere. Indeed, Roy says they must not be too
strict about this system because there are
plenty of holes in the ideal scheme. As we
115 were finishing up the work he got a note tell-
124 ing him to meet the Radja at the kakang's
house for a conference. Evidently he is be-
coming a big man here. We are perhaps partly
responsible.

He is making a map, and his daughter, who goes to the nun's school in Larantuka, is doing the drawing.

The next morning, Sunday, we went back, and
632 arrived while church services were being held.
796 They expected the Radja to visit today, so they
had removed a section of the fence to let his
car in. He never showed up, which was a disap-
pointment to them, as they were all waiting
[621] around. The name of the section of Wailolong
where we saw the rite yesterday is Apukule(ng).

578 We asked about the bonds of friendship and
721 enemy relations here. It is clear that seven
of the kampongs are always friendly, and are
never at war with one another. The eighth,
Riang Kamië, has been the traditional enemy of
each of them in turn. They are all descendants
of Lenurat, whereas the folk of Rian Kamië are
descended mainly from Kroko Putang folk, mixed
in with some Sina Djawa. Most enmity against
Riang Kamië has been, as usual, by kampongs
bordering Riang Kamië. Always, border wars are
the most frequent here. Thus, Leloba, Wailo-
long, and Lewohala are involved. The tradi-
tional enemy kampong is Lewowitin. The others
are brothers, just as in fact or legend their
founders were.

The main causes of wars were, in order:

War

578 land disputes, head-hunting, and women. Or
721 perhaps the latter two should be reversed. Another cause was molesting a child if done by a neighboring kampong. There were also radja wars, in which the people served, but this was involved in high politics. Finally, there were also the early wars against the aborigines, the Padji folk.

721 The reasons for head-hunting were linked
346 with the new korke (this is still a reason for
796 the largest feast, when all kampongs come together. Nowadays, the feast for the new church
782 takes over this function). When a new korke is built, if the six posts do not fit into the rafter posts, it is a sign that the posts are not happy because they are in need of food, so they are pledged food. Formerly the people then went out and got a head and hung it in the korke. Then everything was all right. Note that nowadays at such rites they give food to the posts. For example, yesterday they smeared rice on the four barn posts. The korke must have six posts.

346 The korke was the center of the war cult and
769 the ghost cult (ancestor cult). The barns were
343 the center of the agricultural cult. The little
241 kebang (barn) of the suku and the ama is called sebua.[1]

582 Relations between villages are kept up by
621 marriages. In fact, they are almost the sole
602 reason for such relations. This shows that genealogical relationship is nearly everything here. It shows also why descent is the basis for the whole organization of power, etc., and why marriage rules are so complex and strongly held to. There have even been marriage relations with Riang Kanié, although they have not been too pronounced.

476 Another reason for relations with other com-
582 munities is work. That is, there is mutual aid
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[1] [See cat. 116, p. 202 -- Analyst]

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693 of the three kepala kampongs, the kepala suku,
614 and the kelake. For intra-suku cases, the court consists of the kepala suku and the kelake.

608 They have blood brotherhood bonds between
721 kampongs like the pela darah of Ambon. They call this umbadja or bela badja. Badja means pledged. The bond is formed by the chiefs of the kampongs cutting their fingers and drinking each other's blood mixed in a drink. They take only a little blood. This means that the two kampongs will not wage war against each other and that there will be no infringement of recognized boundaries. It means perhaps that they will help each other in war, but this is not necessary. It is a peace bond rather than a war alliance.

About every year the umbadja kampongs (there are none here as they are brothers anyway) have a get-together like the "bikin panas pela" in Ambon. The one kampong here which they know has a bela badja is Watuwiti, which has one with the district Lewotala.

773 The whole organization and everything else
796 here has a story about it, and these stories are endless. One could fill many books with the underlying legends about one kampong here. Every single rule, relationship, rank, etc., has its legendary rationalization. And ritual keeps the belief alive. Ritual is the acting out of past events which explains and justifies the present order. The ancestors are called upon to attend these rituals.

609 To be foreign in the local sense is a matter of great concern. Anyone they do not know is treated as a foreigner. This includes anyone from another kampong, and even though they may know another kampong person, if he enters they all ask him what he is after. The communities are really closed. Persons of another district are really alien. The word for stranger is

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789 even the rice, animals, iron and trees have it. If an animal lives for a long time despite many blows, he is in possession of a lot of this power. Men differ in the amount of this power they may have. The radja has lots, and so on down the line. Thus power is a combination of ancestor sanction and real, indwelling power which comes with the blood of legitimacy. The stones and other fetishes linked with office reinforce and symbolize this power. One can even have power from animal familiars, as is the case with the assistant's father.

769 This led to a talk about how to reconcile
797 the ancestors, who were pagan, with the abandon-
182 ment of the rites they were used to. They have rationalized that God is more powerful than their ancestors, and the latter are in heaven anyway. They call on them rather than call them in person. The pagans, however, still do the latter. This is usual, and I think it is a real problem to them. Roy told how Laba, the last powerful pagan of Leloba, gradually took on Christianity after swearing that he would not. He tried it and his crops were still good. He decided that maybe it was all right. What would have happened if his crops had failed? And what if his crops failed steadily now or there was a great calamity? Could there be a nativist revival of paganism? The Catholics are working fast to kill everything before there is any chance of this.

346 I asked why the korke of several kampongs were
[656] in such bad repair. He said that this was because
[796] of the great cost in animals, etc. needed for a feast at the time of rebuilding. And, the government will not allow "wasteful" rites to be held. They say that it is a waste because so much food is consumed and so many beasts are
346 killed. But why, then, let them build a new church
797 for the one which is now burned in Riang Kamiö?

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797 works, but I wonder if there might not be trouble if the central organization of the Catholic Church knew it. Still, perhaps the Catholics are indeed less doctrinaire than the Protestants. Surely the Jesuits are, with their different approach toward ends and means. There is a big contrast here with Ambon, surely.

788 Much of the former pagan ritual still survives. For example, there are field rites, beliefs, illness treatments, etc. The pagans still carry on plenty of the old ceremonies. Even the elaborate rites for planting, etc., continue.

241 782 ●796 The tuno wudjo is still an important figure in planting rites of Wailolong, but has disappeared in Leloba since Vatter's[1] day. The story is that she is a girl who was sacrificed in Lio by her seven brothers, to make the fields fertile. (They say that this is "to make the gardens fat.") Indeed, she told them to kill her in order to help. And the pieces of her body were sent to places all over Flores to make the fields fertile. The story is also found in Adonara.

Note: Lio is a great place for human sacrifice in relation to agriculture. The Radja of Lio not long ago was executed by the Dutch, and among his crimes was listed the killing of young girls for agricultural field rites. The people of Ende know this, and it seems generally known throughout Flores.

[614] [173] Note also: according to Vatter,[1] one of the suku in Tandjung Bunga is Lio, and they are supposed to be descended from people who came from there. I wonder if perhaps this myth is not a sign of former human sacrifice in relation to agriculture all over Flores (or at least for East Flores), and it may also have originated in Lio and thence spread to here. Anyway, the

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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796 story is clear in their minds.

241 Note also that a Sumba girl was sacrificed
782 for dry springs and fertility. The pieces were sent all over the island. Here we clearly have a pattern. I wonder if perhaps the proto-Malay
[174] strength in Lio may show a Sumba link, and human sacrifice of this sort may not have come into Flores with an eastward migration. There is a fair chance, I think, that they had at least two migrations into Flores: one from the west, the proto-Malay (and thence perhaps the stories in regard to Sina Djawa); and the other from the east, the Negroid migration, and thence the stories in regard to Kroko Putang and other ancestors from Timor, etc.

The tuno wudjo, ideally one for each suku and ama, are still used in ceremonies of all the kampongs here except Leloba and Lewoneda. Wailolong still uses them. The Catholics do not make much fuss about this. The Catholics must allow the rites. The tuno wudjo must fast for half a year or thereabouts, that is, there is a taboo on animals sacrificed for agriculture for them (could it be because they are substitutes for the tuno wudjo themselves, or is this too wild a guess?). It is notable anyway that only two kampongs have discontinued the tuno wudjo so far in this largely Catholic area. It shows how recent and relatively partial the Catholic hold on the population is here. It also shows how strong the agricultural base of paganism is and how important food can be in these terribly poor areas. The people cannot afford to take a chance, even with the old gods.

[771] I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements here at all.

[346] The korke is the kampong temple. In addition,
[614] each suku and each ama has its barn for the "adat" rice, corn, etc. This is like a kind of temple too, and ceremonies such as I saw were

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796 held under the ama kebang.

241 Note the food symbolism in these most impor-
782 tant rites. They take place under the barn.
[887] There are present at these ceremonies the old women (in the old days young virgins) who act as tuno wudjo and food divider. The high point is the killing of a pig, and the meat is mixed with the rice and the blood and the four posts are smeared with this food. Everyone eats. The whole thing is completely linked with fertility. And the ancestors are summoned in the litany and are invited to come and eat.

778 There are plenty of holy places, such as the
[346] kampong lama, the place where the tuno wudjo is (what does this mean?), the place where they used to assemble before a war (did they do this before the recent war against Waibalun? Perhaps the few who did the active part of the warfare did). Then there are also holy stones: nubanara, and saonivang. There is also a church or rather a chapel!

The stones are especially important, and this is a real stone cult area. He admits this, and if I had time I could get much about the stories, beliefs, etc., in regard to these stones. I told him about the Stonehenge, the dolmens, etc., and he caught onto this fast.

241 The festival calendar is largely one of agri-
527 cultural feasts. The main ones are at planting and harvest. There are other agricultural feasts too, at all stages. For example, there are festivals at the time of burning the fields, clearing the fields, etc. In all, the agricultural cycle includes thirteen rites. At the thirteenth the harvest comes, and a big time is had by all. Everyone eats and there is a lot of noise. During the growing period everything
[824] is quiet in order not to disturb the spirit of the crops. This is a period of danger and much

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000 much of a waste of animals.

796 614 346 I finally found out which kampongs do the main ritual functions when they have a general Belakang Gunung feast at which all kampongs are represented. This is when they have a new korke (or church). The order is as follows:

1. Kottang is Mudakaputu (descendants of Bampowa).

2. Keleng is Lewohala (descendants of Kewaka).

3. Hurint is Leloba (descendants of Belawaburak).

4. Marang is Wailolong (descendants of Keweluk).

5. The passer of food and drink and betel ingredients is Watumiti (descendant of Mado). Thus they are the five brothers.

624 614 793 565 789 756 Hence we have the "sistim" which he himself is so impressed by. There are priests in the sense that the radja tuan and the kelake are really suku and ama priests. They are administrative and ritual officers. In addition, there are priests and gurus of the new religion. And there are the molang or medicine seers. These have more power and influence if they are of bangsawan descent. Thus again the magic power of proper descent comes to the fore and we see that blood and rank affect even the influence of medicine men. Then there are the dukun, who are doctors but with magical aspects.

798 They are extremely liberal toward all religions. The only sign of any animosity I ever saw was toward Mohammedanism, and it was not even here except in Kampong Baru. The pagan resistance was more pronounced formerly. Today the two cults work together without much, if any, friction.

871 797 658 The schools are government schools, but the mission runs them and evidently provides, but does not pay, the teachers. The schools were

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585 come mainly in the "free months" after harvest,
[221] that is, July, August, September. (Note here
● 796 that the tuno wudjo fasting period comes in,
261 which he said lasts for about six months. It
just jibes with the quiet time.)[1]

721 Head-hunting was done formerly for a feast
346 for a new korke (they can't do it for the new
178 church; too bad!). I have already mentioned
782 how they would give the new posts of a korke
some food if the posts did not fit into the
rafter holes. This showed that they were hungry. Formerly the food given was human heads. They were hung in the korke. (I suspect there was more of this than Roy[2] says, but he is honest, and perhaps this simply was not done during his time.)

[241] I asked about the blood and the heads needed
for making the land fertile and the crops plentiful, etc. He was very vague about this, and my guess is that it is not native in this area. Still, I note the tuno wudjo myth. But this may indeed be a Lio importation. Anyway, they know the connection between blood, human sacrifice, and "fat land." There must be a link here.

226 He says there is no cannibalism here. He
727 says Seegeler[3] was wrong to suspect that they
ate parts of the human beings killed in human sacrifice. In fact, he says they didn't even have the human sacrifice. But then he hedged a bit when I reminded him how the Keweluk had forbidden the killing of the Padji women. Then he corrected my previous version of this tale and said that when they had these wars, they didn't, as I thought, kill half the defeated at once and bring the other half back to the kampong and there kill them. He said that actually what they did was to kill only one person and bring the head back. Thus, in the Padji case, they killed one woman and brought her head back. It

[1] [i.e., January-June; see category 116, p. 276, #2 --Analyst]
[2] [the assistant] [3] [a former Controleur --Analyst]

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124 will tell them. He says that the pastors do
[797] not like it if a guru gets too zealous. They
want him to respect the old ways and go slowly.
This is indeed crafty.

771 Among the thirty-nine dalu, about twenty of
565 them are Christian, says the kraeng. About
● 796 thirty per cent of the gelarang are Christian,
183 says the kraeng, but the assistant says that
this is true only of their heirs apparent.
The trouble in regard to the rites which the
gelarang must lead is still to come. For example, the heir apparent of the Veol gelarang is Serai, who is about twenty-five years old and a Catholic. What will happen? The assistant says that he must lead the rites, but they will have troubles reconciling the old with the new Catholic ways. But so far everyone, including the Catholics, must go through the ceremonies, because they are so closely related to their livelihood. Agriculture, on which everything depends, is unthinkable without the rites!

601 Larantuka: I met Oudehand, "controleur" at
[115] Waingapu in Sumba, and had a talk with him.
He worked in Leloba and is writing an article for "Indonesia" about the adat there. We got onto the subject of kinship terms, and he had this to say. He says that opu is the term for affinal relationships. This goes for both sides. Thus, with the qualifier belake (my term for mother's brother) opu belake means all the relatives with whom a man is related by marriage, that is, his wife's (mother's brother's daughter) group. And on the other side, he says opu wai(ng) means all the relatives-in-law on the father's sister's side, i.e., the man's sister's relatives-in-law. The general term opu, he says, he got for mother's brother, mother's brother's son, and father's sister (all man speaking), and perhaps also father's sister's son (man speaking).

764 kampongs with plazas and tombs all over. The latter are usually rectangular stone piles with flat covers, which are evidently lifted in
342 order to put in more bodies. Some of the houses have high pitched roofs coming down to the floor on all sides. They appear to be hooded, and are rather ragged inasmuch as they use alang-alang grass for thatch. Some houses are simpler and follow a more usual design, but all have a different look from those in, for
[531] example, Celebes or Ambon. I saw no gaba-gaba here, but rice stalks are used in the same way and they look like narrower gaba-gaba strips. I
[778] asked at one kampong if they had pusaka houses, and the answer was yes.

[782] I have seen no offering posts yet. I stopped
●797 to talk with the priest at Ndetosoko. He was named Nalles and has a church and school and is starting to plant coffee for the church. The nearby kampongs look pagan to me, but he says that about half of the population in these villages have been converted. It is the usual story: the older ones stay pagan. I talked
121 quite a while with him and he advised my choos-
124 ing a kampong near Wolowaru. We then went back toward Ende, and at 7 km. out we stopped at Roworeke. It is on the side of the road, and then we stopped at another kampong, Watu Roga. The whole place looked ideal, with old style houses, tombs in the plaza, primitive looking folk, etc., and it is all very near Ende. We talked with a couple of the men, and they said that the kapitan (district chief) was in the garden at kilometer 10. We said we would come back later. I decided to take this kampong, or rather this double kampong.

634 In the afternoon we went to see the Ende radja.
124 There was a large gathering there including five Chinese, two hadjis (one kapitan of Nggobe, the northern half of Ende town, and the other from

634 Keo), and the kapitan from Gunung Rodja (the
124 southern half of Ende town). After a long sales talk, the Radja offered all of his aid and said that on the next morning the kapitan of Gunung Rodja (evidently a kind of crony of the Radja, and one who usually wears an overseas cap, even while eating) would come to the pasanggrahan and take us to Roworeke. Meanwhile I asked a-
[611] bout Tana Ai, and they knew that it was matrilineal. Then the hadji from Keo said that it was matrilineal too, which was news to me. Then I asked about Wolo Wae, and they said it was in the mountains to the north, in Ende.
614 They seemed to think it was matrilineal too. I
582 then asked about clan exogamy and they said
178 that Mohammedanism was breaking it down, just as had happened in Tulehu in Ambon. But as in Ambon, clan exogamy is kept by the Christians here.

583 Incidentally, the priest in Ndetosoko said
178 that the Catholics are in favor of keeping the
●797 bride price, as it strengthens marriages.

We finally left, and the next morning the
124 kapitan of Gunung Rodja appeared without his overseas cap. We got into the jeep and went to Roworeke, but the kapitan there was again in the garden. We went to kilometer 10 and saw the kapitan with several men wading across the river to the garden on the other side. We called him back and he got in suspiciously and we then drove back to his house. There he called the kepala kampong of Watu Roga. This fellow was a relative of his, an old man with an old sarong and short betel teeth, who looked somewhat like a Toradja. Later he called the djurutulis [scribe].

I gave a long sales talk and the kapitan
124 warmed up. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja helped
634 out and was quite enthusiastic. He is evidently
632 a powerful man, but the Controleur says that the

614 R They did
582 say, however, that Mohammedanism is tending to
178 break down this suku exogamy. Here in Roworeke, however, the old adat is still strong and the exogamous rule still holds. The young people who have gone to school are beginning to rebel, but the elders remain strong and hold to the adat.

771 I asked about religion and they said that at least fifty per cent of the people here are pagan.
●797 Most of the rest are Christian, although there are a few Mohammedans. The picture is the familiar one of the younger generation becoming Christian while the older generation remains pagan.

565 If I can believe the story about the nobility,
632 it looks as if there are about ten noble fami-
614 lies eligible to the kapitanschap in all Rewarangga, because there are five suku and about two families of this nobility to each suku.

632 Then I got onto the subject of the officers. In the kapitanschap there is the kapitan, and he is assisted by a scribe, a mandur and an oppas. Evidently these are a secretary, a sort of public works man, and a messenger--sheriff.

622 In the kampong the chief is the kepala kampong,
565 the ata nggaeh nua (ata nggaeh itself is a term
624 for noble). Some of these belong to the nobility and others not (I must find out more about this). The assistant to the kepala kampong is the oro kuni. Then tere are four mosa laki, which seems to them to be the equivalent to the tuan tanah elsewhere. One of these is the main adat chief (thus exactly like the tuan tanah) and he is called the mosa laki mere, or mosa laki pu'u (pu'u is the term for clan, and I must check on this as it may be a survival of a purely genealogical localization of clans in a single kampong). He may also be called merely by the term laki pu'u. The three other mosa laki are: the giri tumba,
624 the ndeto au, and the sikesani. The giri tumba

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764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I must find out how the funerals are run now. Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.
[797] The assistant has finished five grades of schooling in Ndona.

291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
178 men (old style) although this is changing fast, a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
[302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
286 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
531 looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the designs are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
124 I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan. Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they have a holiday whenever there is the slightest excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I must find out about later, is how the kepala kampong is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some re-
624 marks about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan and others are not. I must get this kepala kampong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

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551 I asked about personal names and found that the suku name is not used as a personal family name. What they do is the same as the Scandinavians and Arabs and old Jews. They indeed usually employ only their own names preceded by their Christian names, if any. But if asked, they will also give their father's name after their own name. Thus my assistant is Migo. His church name is Adrianus. His father's name was Pega. Usually he calls himself Adrianus Migo, but if pressed he will say Adrianus Migo Pega. The same holds for the kapitan, who is Mani and whose father was Api. The giri tumba is Raki, and his father Dura. Thus in full, Migo is Adrianus (Church) Migo Pega of suku Odja. They
197 said that no one in the kampong could speak Dutch, and perhaps only a little more than ten per cent could speak Malay. There is one man
[212] (Bapa Ketjil of Aiutu, an old man who chews betel and has almost no teeth) who can write in the Ende script. They call it tulisan lontar. They say that in Ende town alone it is well known, but outside of the town it is rare.

595 The wife of the Controleur says that the
183 Radja of Manggarai is a Catholic, although he has two wives. This is a nice problem. The former Radja of Lio was brought back from exile by the Japanese during the war. Later he was executed by the Dutch because he murdered so many Dutch, Australians, etc. But he also killed many children for the fertility of the rice fields. Nevertheless, he was a Catholic. The Radja of Sikka has had several wives, even at the same time, and many concubines. At one time he had a Mohammedan wife and also a Mohammedan concubine. Each time he confesses and reenters the mother Church, to the rejoicing of the priests.
793 The priests here are evidently worse than death
178 for the old adat, much worse than the Protestants
797 in Ambon, and the people are scared of them, for

F 793 178 797 if they do anything against Catholicism, the guru tells the priest, and the latter or the bearded bishop will condemn them to hell. Thus the threat of hell fire keeps them in line, and the priests are no better than the old witch doctors. This is why so much of the old religion is dying out fast.

F 634 In the afternoon, at the Radja of Sikka's house, we met the wakil radjas of Ngada (the old Radja has many wives and hunts all the time), Manggarai (a Hindu type, the man with two wives, a Catholic), and Nageh. These plus the new Radja of Lio and several others will meet tomorrow at the pasanggrahan.

F 344 Note on the "office" of the kapitan at Roworeke: While we were talking a horse entered the office from the rear and stood there attracting flies. After a long while the secretary went out and chased the horse away.

A 753 789 Note on Ambon: In Makassar, I met Drop, who said that he had never heard of Baier, former Controleur of Piru, Ceram, having had a matakau cause trouble for him, as I was told in Ambon. I remember it was said that old Gaspersz met him and his face was twisted and his eyes crossed after he unsuspectingly ate a bit of a snake which was cooking in the Ceram hills. The story in Ambon was that within a week he was stricken agonizingly and had to be removed to Makassar where the doctors could not tell what the cause was. Evidently, the truth is, or at least seems plausible, that he was sick when Gaspersz met him and looked bad. He was then told the story about the snake, and Gaspersz with true superstitious Ambonese imagination, filled in the whole business, which then grew with each retelling. I got it from Rehatta finally. Drop said there was nothing wrong with Baier now. Of course, this is a couple of months later, and he may have been worse before.

302 Kattenburg in a mountain kampong reported that he had seen a girl wearing lipstick. It was betel stain to which he is not used.

487 We left Ende for Larantuka on Tuesday, December 20, and after a long run through the mountains we reached Maumeri at noon. Then we went on an even harder run to Larantuka. This took all afternoon. The rain in the hills was bad. We passed through Tanai Ai and Lewotobi areas without knowing it. The land was very empty. I suddenly found that I was in Konga.

[485] Larantuka is the end of the world, and the pasanggrahan there was pretty primitive.

[443] It is hard to buy anything here in Larantuka.
[377] There is no electricity except in the mission,
797 and the latter runs the town and everything else of a western nature evidently. The place has an air of having been asleep for a long time. Behind it is the Ili Mandiri, the storied mountain of the ancestors of the Larantuka people. The
144 town is a mixture of natives and descendants of intermixed Portuguese as well as Malays from Malaya who came in a long time ago with the Portuguese. One can see all sorts of physical types. Outside the town along the coast is a
361 Mohammedan kampong, Kampong Baru, but there are few Mohammedans elsewhere. Most kampongs are behind the mountain. There are also a few on the way to Lewotobi.

632 The next day we started out to see the area
361 behind the mountain, especially Leloba, where Vatter[1] worked. We passed through several kampongs of rather large but shabby look. This was especially true of Mudakaputu (seat of kakang of Mudakaputu formerly, although he is now at one of the other places, in Riangkamiö, I think), Watuwiti, Riangkamiö, and Wailolong. These are all together in one kakangschap (called gemeente here too by the people, and it is also one adat
632 area). This is the Blakang-Gunung. The Radja

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

632 told me that his mother is from this area, and later I had her kampong pointed out (Lewoleda). It is the twin kampong of Wàtuwiti. As we passed every kampong the children came out in droves shouting greetings and then running after and hanging on the rear of the jeep, just as Vatter[1] described them almost twenty years ago.
[178] Indeed, many things of his are still the same, but some are different, for example, Catholicism has finally destroyed the nubanara, nama, and the korke of Leloba.

346 797 583 438 At Wailolong we went off on a new side road to Leloba, and the road ended at the kampong, barred by a fence. As we were talking here, a priest, Krol, came up on his motorcycle and invited us to his hut. He is temporarily here because the church and pastorie in Riangkamiè was burned two months ago. The people there caused the fire by burning the hills on the windward side, and the kampong elders voted to give a percentage of the bride prices for quite a long while in order that they might have the new church. This will be paid in elephant tusks,
[435] which the mission will sell for cash to the Mohammedan traders (eight tusks of varying lengths will sell for about fl. 2000.00, and the priest knew the exact price). The Mohammedan traders will then resell the tusks to the people in Larantuka who need them to pay a bride price. They will probably sell them in the Tandjung Bunga (Cape Flores area).

797 197 177 The priest told how the Catholics work here. They try to keep as much of the old culture as possible. For example, he and others are learning all about the Solor language, which is the local language here, so that they can make prayers in it. They also make prayers in the
797 177 533 old style, as though praying to Lerawulan. They use native songs with words in the native language and in the native style, too. He, musical,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

797 sang a few, and they are quite good. He says the
177 Gregorian chants are liked by the people here as
[533] they are similar to theirs. Perhaps both are primitive. Also they like marches. Then too, said the priest here, on Christmas they retell the old story, saying that the shepherds brought mangos, bananas, and other native fruits to the manger. I think he said he has them bring such fruits to the church manger. They interfere as little as possible with the old practices. An old pageant concerning cosmogony and the descent of man has been kept, but they put in Adam and Eve and Sem, etc., in place of the native figures. As Kattenburg rightly remarked, it is a question as to whether they are adjusting native religion to Catholicism or Catholicism to native religion.

797 Later, in the Larantuka mission headquarters,
177 the priest said there was much argument among
578 the priests whether this is right. Krol, how-
[197] ever, is on the native side. He says, for example, that if they had hymns in Malay the old folk would never come to church. On hearing their own language, however, they come in and sit in the rear. This is an interesting reversal of the methods employed by the Protestants in Ambon, and Krol could see this. Protestantism does not compromise. The hymns are in Malay and are simply Dutch. They will take nothing from the old religion and they refuse to compromise. The priest said that the Catholic method is a matter of tactics, and I thought, "Here is the Jesuit view of an end justifying the means." Anyway, here the old is intermeshed with the new, and is gradually weeded out. In Ambon the two are kept separate, and there is a conflict between the adat and the agama lama, and Protestantism. This is not to say that there is no conflict here, and I think there is more than meets the eye. But the difference in method is notable.

000 notable.

797 The church in Riangkamiē is built with refer-
177 ence to the four ritual sibs of Kottang, Hurin,
346 Keleng, and Marang. This is an example of the
[614] rule used: anything of a social nature is all right, but if it is of a religious nature and related to the old spirits or ghosts, etc., Catholicism won't take it. This is like the
[171] death feasts in the Toradja country, where the Protestants will let the Christians go to these social rites but not to the great exorcism rites. Thus the Catholics here are not allowed to go to the old rites on the nama in front of the korke, but as the priest admitted, it is hard for the folk here to see the difference, and they tend to regard these retained aspects of paganism as full paganism because they are symbols of the whole pagan system.

797 He told much that was interesting. There is
178 in paganism here a need for a girl to be the
243 rice maiden for the fertility rites (Vatter[1]
796 tells the story too), and the old adat chiefs insisted in one kampong that at least one girl should not be converted, as at least one is needed to be the rice maiden. This shows the desperate plight of paganism. They must beg to have something vital allowed to remain. "Give us one only," they ask. He said it is true that just about all of the young people are Catholic, but many of the old remain pagan.

[771] Later, in Wailolong the guru Roy said there are few, but very few young people who are pagan.
578 He told us about a war in which a man was killed
411 yesterday. It was a border war between Leloba and Waibalun and the police had to stop it. They fight these wars all the time, with bow and spear and knife. I asked if maybe it were not
511 because they were hungry and need land. And
[578] hunger and misery cause aggression anyway. He denied this, but I think it is true, especially

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We
511 as I see more of this country. This area is terribly poor and overcrowded, full of stones, and has little water. The girls and women have
[312] to haul water for Leloba from the coast, which is three kilometers off. And there is little food in the town. They are really hungry.

Vatter told of great illnesses here, and I
164 can see many examples of this today. Sore eyes
511 are terrible and probably caused by lack of vitamins. There are many children with large bellies, skin sores, etc. Nowhere before have I seen such misery in regard to mere existence. Last year, a priest told us later, there was a famine here. And now I can see how vital the old rainmaking and the practices of the tuan tanah must be here.

797 At the mission headquarters in Larantuka we
634 were told that it is hard for the mission to
661 make plans here, because every time they get an
423 improvement, for example, in the land system,
427 the radja comes in and seizes the best land.
624 Also the tuan tanah stands up against all changes, and he is a "chiseler" also. Thus if they have a project which brings acres of improved land, the bigwigs wait until the work is done on it and then take the best part for themselves. The local people thus lose their land and many have thus been forced to work on the radja's land or for other big men as sharecroppers. Evidently the common division here is one-fourth of the crop for the sharecropper. The priests seem to regard the tuan tanah, who is the ritual and adat leader, as the worst.

622 We had some gin with the priest and then went
159 to the house of the guru Roy. He was Vatter's[1] assistant, and his house is the biggest in the kampong. He could be the kepala kampong, but because he is a guru, he passed the post on to his younger brother. They belong to the Hurin suku, which is different from the usual thing,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113—Analyst]

159 wherein the kepala kampong is a Kottang. This is
[622] all right according to adat, he says. The guru is
an old fellow, sick with a cough. He was not there,
and his daughter, who might be any age from eighteen
to thirty, talked with us. She seems to be a queer
type, and it is strange that she is not married. I
get the idea there is some friction between her and
her father. She had five years of schooling at the
sisters' school in Larantuka. A son of the guru is in
Makassar as a clerk (I think in a church office),
and he married a Leloba girl recently. The guru
[582] married a woman from the same suku, but the daugh-
ter says this is all right as she was from Laran-
tuka. If she were from any kampong behind the moun-
tain, this would have been impossible. The house
was adorned with holy pictures. The guru said he
[797] was converted in 1907, and as he is now perhaps
771 sixty, that was when he was about eighteen. There
178 are no more pagans in Leloba, a change from Vatter.
The old pagan stuff in a material form is all gone.

124 After our talk we decided that perhaps Wailolong
121 was the best community in which to work, because
Leloba is entirely Christian. In addition, Leloba
was done by Vatter. Wailolong is about the same
size as Leloba and at the crossroads below. We
talked a great deal about adat and then came back
to Larantuka with the guru, who wanted to visit
the children in the school there.

312 In the afternoon we picked him up and went to
Wailolong. On the way we picked up the kepala kam-
pong Leloba and a few others. They were at the
[515] other crossroad near the spa, and here there were
many women bathing (there is no water in the kampong
for this). Women were also hauling water from this
place. The guru said they had to go even farther
778 for water originally. It seems as though all of the
kampongs have a higher negri lama, as in Ambon.
There are holy stones here too.

361 Wailolong is along the main road and is located
161 on both sides of this highway. It may have as
many as one hundred houses and a possible population
of seven hundred.

[See bibliography, Cat. 113-Analytic]

Wa
000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass
thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in
area where there is a large bench for sleeping.
There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the
roof and often in front too. Here sit the women
while they work. If there are two families to a
house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
797 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel
as in other kampongs. The church to which every-
one here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamiö, but
since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are stan-
dard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are
nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have
brown hair or hair which is partly brown.

[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk
along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-
bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue
and black mostly. The designs are even poorer
than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used
for men and for women. They say that a cloth
takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many
men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
304 few old people, it seems especially the women,
have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

771 I see many old pagan men and women here, un-
301 like in Leloba. They wear necklaces, earbells,
291 and ikat sarongs. I saw one old man getting gin with bamboos. Many women here go about bare breasted.

304 Most people have their teeth filed. They are flattened.

621 The kepala kampong, who has sore eyes, say
124 that Leloba and Wailolong were combined in the negri lama. There is still much intermarriage and a very close relationship between these two. Later, when I got to work with the guru and he saw that I needed to get every name, etc., he was scared and said that it is easy if he has to do this in his kampong but hard in Wailolong. Thus there is a big gulf between even nearby kampongs. This question took us until 7:30 to talk over and we are still in trouble.

124 I knew this morning that I should not take a
123 man who is not a member of my kampong, but he is
115 so good in other ways that I yielded to the priest. It is clear that the main rule in this kind of research is: never take an assistant who does not live in the kampong. If you do he will not be received easily and he does not know the local gossip and intimate personal matters which would prove helpful. Also, I can't sit in his house in the kampong, and this is important for impressions. I may be able to work out a compromise at greater cost by using the Leloba guru but another assistant in Wailolong. This is a mess and from now on I follow my instinct on choosing an assistant. We finally left after dark.

797 At noon today I went to the mission headquarters to get gas. It alone has any, because V. and W. has no trucks here. I can see that the mission has everything. It is really the administration here. The pasanggrahan boy said that the Catholics here do not use the name "Christ" because this is taken to mean Protestant. In-

797 stead they nearly always use the term Orang Katolik or Orang Serani. The usual pattern seems to be recurring, the Protestants not being accepted as of the same religion in any way.
797 The mission headquarters has a large building
346 for priests (there are always three here, but
874 others come to rest and get supplies), several
793 workshops (where boys who are dormitoried on the grounds learn woodworking, machine work, etc.), a lower and a following school of five grades with one thousand pupils in which boys and girls are kept separate (boys and girls from other islands sleep in dormitories), a household school, a laundry, a library, etc. It is really a great plant. There are four brothers of a "working" type here, who run the workshops and handle the technical education, including one Pole who was interned during the war. He speaks
[792] Dutch with an accent. There are many nuns here, and they also help in the small government hospital. Evidently all or nearly all the schools in this area are "government," but they are really run by the mission. I haven't found out exactly how the system works yet. The Mission is ingenious. There is an old tractor which is used for lathe power, an old Japanese machine used for electricity, etc. They have a very large coffee plantation on the road to Maumeri and it looks good.

797 It is remarkable that such a great number of priests and nuns are here in this miserable spot, which can never be any good. Maybe they regard it as a sure foothold in a Mohammedan area, a foothold which may later be expanded.

244 There are practically no vegetables except
262 tubers here, and fruit is rare. So is all other food.

582 The suku marriage custom is evidently still
614 in force, and I will work on it in detail.

578 It is notable that there are so many border
721

We The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof,
are easier to keep clean and are better in
general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the
kampong, and even fewer move out of or into
the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration
from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas
beyond Larantuka.

20 The kakang has the only telephone here.
There is no telegraph. There is no mail ser-
vice. There is no postman. The priest has a
battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië.
Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not
Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to
change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few
people have much knowledge about the world.
This is really the lowest place I have been in
yet. Most of the people are strongly attached
to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is
very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong
is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they
had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at
war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an
enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

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796 done in an excited pagan style, although on the
535 occasion of a Christian festival. We saw
144 clearly the difference between East and West Flores as far as racial composition is concerned. As you pass into Lio hills the proto-Malay becomes much more marked, though the Negroid element is still there. Some of the women are remarkably white. Such women are seldom or never seen in East Flores.

797 About the Malay here: When they want to say someone is converted, in Larantuka, they say that he "ikut Rom" [follows Rome]. The titles
554 are interesting: the territorial priest of
783 Flores is Tuan Regionale; then there are the Tuan Boswesen, Tuan Landbouw, Njonja HPB, Njonja AR (Assistant Resident), Njonja and Tuan Bestuur (Bestuurshoofd), and for a nun
[792] they do not use Njonja, but Tuan Zuster.

647 Note: The Controleur here is C. B. Arriens.

Although there is a general similarity in
342 house style all over East and Central Flores, there are differences. The tremendous high roofs are typical of Lio and Ende. The flat and large four-sloped ridges are found in Larantuka, and in between, in Sikka and Tana Ai, there is an intermediate form, with the four-slope ridge a bit on the rounded off side, and the whole thing appears to be smaller.

411 In East Flores especially the bow is still
224 used. We met a large band on Christmas not far
126 from Larantuka with bows and spears. They were coming up from a kampong with a large church. I asked if they were going to war or to hunt, and they said they were going to hunt deer. I took a photograph of them. They are always glad to be photographed. I can hardly take photographs, however, because they all rush in to be included, especially the children.

291 The style of clothing changes from place to
184 place, though here again there is a general

487 of dirty, mixed kampongs, and then went up along
the cliffs over the sea to Nangapanda. Then
the road headed into the mountains, and after
[361] a long stretch which appeared to be practically
uninhabited (as usual between the coast and
mountain folk, here as in the Toradja country),
797 and finally we arrived in Badjawa. Before we
reached Badjawa we saw a large mission station
at Todabelu, where there were many modern
buildings, a seminary, and a model farm as well
as a trade school. All of these were notably
advanced over anything else we have seen in
Flores. As usual, it is connected with the
526 mission. In Badjawa there was a great crowd
for the day, and football games were held.
These are the great sport all over Indonesia
now, and it is coming even into the remote kam-
pongs. It is the national sport [i.e., soccer].

We saw here the dirty but spirited Ngada,
291 with dull clothes. The adat dress, however, is
striking, especially that of the men. It con-
sists of a dark blue cloak and a red headcloth.
304 We also noted that a lot of the people had filed
teeth, and in addition many had blackened them.
Earboring is a general practice here, but as
usual the younger men may have the holes but no
rings. (For example, the assistant in Roworeke
is like this and so is the younger guru in Le-
[771] loba.) This is a pretty primitive looking lot,
although most of them are Christian.

361 The Ngada kampongs are hard to see as they
342 are nearly all behind bamboo thickets. Ngada
houses are rectangular with low hanging hooded
roofs. They are built on piles definitely,
unlike Ende (or at least most of the houses in
[778] Ende) and Larantuka. In these kampongs there
are not many stones that I could see, but as
769 yet I have not seen a kampong fully. Notable
346 are the inverted pyramid-like ancestor houses
built on a single post. They are called nadu

311 241 cover for agriculture too, and this causes a great, economic problem.

114 124 159 634 He[1] said that much of Arndt's[2] and other scholars' findings were wrong as they use Christian gurus as assistants, and the latter do not tell them exactly what the old men say. The young assistants "doctor up" the information. They also misunderstand some of the old ideologies. This was one of many implications in his talk that showed he was not uncritical of the Christians. He has been radja longer than any other in Flores, thirty-one years and seven months. In his youth he was a Dutch army man too. He says that there was no road built when he was first made radja but the mission was already there. He also says that he is the most important radja in West Flores, although all of the royal families here are interrelated. He says he represents the older sibling branch, and Nageh and Manggarai radjas are the younger sibling branches. It is true that the Manggarai radjadom dates only from 1929, and before this there were only dalu, three of whom were most powerful.

194 The Radja speaks Malay with remarkable gutteral sounds which Arndt[2] says are characteristic of Ngada folk. They also have at least one implosive, as in bhaga. He has his house in the kampong Radja, not far from the town.

361 797 The town is notably modern in appearance, with the mission influence as usual. In the center there is a large plaza where the football field [485] is located, as usual. The pasanggrahan is a 622 good one, and the mandur looks like a nickel-634 head Indian. He was in the army once too and served in Sumatra, especially in Atjeh. He is evidently a friend of the Radja, as he enters [565] and talks with him freely. The Radja mixes 443 freely with the people here, as we noted at the pasar malam. The latter, to which we went at

[1] [i.e., the Radja of Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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621 or drum. Thus they may speak of his house as
624 the rumah gong-gendang. These instruments are
534 used in the rites, and as tuan tanah he must have
342 them. If there is a branch kampong, the tuan tanah tjabang must get a gong and a gendang from the mother kampong tuan tanah. Thus the gong-gendang is a symbol of power, like the Celebes aradjang.

There have been men who from time to time try to become tuan tanah-like by getting a gong and a gendang. This is not possible, however, as they must come directly from the old tuan tanah. Sometimes a tuan tanah tjabang is not happy in the branch kampong and he may come back to the mother kampong, taking his gong-gendang with
621 him. I think he said that a branch is often
614 caused by the fact that there are two va'u in a kampong, and one may split off and move to a new location. Evidently there is a tendency to keep the rule of one va'u per kampong. Thus I note that he says that the Ruteng kampong, which has two va'u, is having internal trouble between the two. There might be a split off in such a case.

797 He said finally that Catholicism has made
178 just about no change at all in the adat. It stands fast. Maybe here we have a case of greater technical change than in Larantuka or Ende where there has been practically no technical change, but on the other hand, there has been very little change in the adat here, which has been much modified in Larantuka and Ende.
[242] Thus one can see beautiful farming techniques here, and the mission is strong in this type of development. There are also wooden houses with nails (cost about fl. 2000.00 in meat and gift salaries and materials). In Larantuka and Ende the economic conditions remain at the same old miserable level. Thus the mission changes adat and religion a lot in Ende and Larantuka, but only technical changes have occurred here.

We

614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the relationships linking the individuals in this area became more and more distant. Thus they gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed, since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols, showing the effect of having worked with van Bekkum.[1] The priests try to discourage mother's brother's daughter marriages, but they always give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get the idea that the priests here are less firm regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka. This is probably because it is a relatively new field, and the Catholics go slowly and gradually in destroying what is old. The dodge they use here is special dispensation. This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price, is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with his wife's family until the bride price is paid. This may take ten years or he may never pay the bride price, but the children belong to his va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
177

[1] [pastor at Ruteng; see also bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

582 I asked if there were many marriages between
614 Wailolong and Leloba. He said that before
177 there were many because they were allies and
578 nearby. In 1912, however, when the Dutch came
797 in, his father, who was the head man of Leloba, decided it was useless to fight. Wailolong, however, decided to resist. This strained the friendly relations which had existed before, and until recently there have not been too many marriages. I also wonder, inasmuch as he mentioned in this connection that missionaries entered the region in 1907, whether the more rapid Christianization of Leloba might not also have strained relations with the relatively resistant Wailolong.

124 After telling me that he was in fine spirits
177 because my pyribenzamine had cured his asthma,
578 he said he was also happy because he got such
123 a fine reception in Wailolong when he went from
609 house to house getting the census material. He had been afraid of this, and thought that the people would snub him. This would have made him much ashamed. This was also why he insisted that we get the kakang to order the Wailolong folk to give the information. Now he reports that he was received with open arms and that the Wailolong folk say they are delighted that a big man of Leloba is coming among them to work, and that also big men from the United States are getting their names and their customs down on paper. They said that they felt submerged for many years (and their kampong looks a bit dingy and dispirited) and that now they are having a rise. It looks to me as though Roy really feared a bad time, and this shows that the probable relations between these two communities were really distant until we came. We may have brought peace and good
609 will to the two kampongs. It is also amusing
123 to note his remark that when we first appeared,

We

123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

We discussed a certain rank which appears in
614 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
343 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
562 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala
243 suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

We also noted a possible error in Vatter.[1]
[114] He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
614 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
796 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
831 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
784 gins, but now with so few young girls still
241 pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[857] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost
[887] babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic
● [797] note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

1 [See bibliography, cat 113 -- Analyst]

Wor

829 a small scale.

Everyone here knows the places in and the arrangement of the kampong and the district and the Larantuka town road. Perhaps only ten people know about the setup as far as Maumere, and probably only the guru is clear about the rest of Flores. Perhaps only two people know about the general arrangement of the geography of Indonesia. And except for a few place names and countries, no one knows about world geography.

One boy who is in the fifth grade knew the population of Indonesia, and he also knew the population of the United States! He was absolutely correct. Other people could not give this information, and as for other countries even he had no idea.

As usual we got a terrific reaction when we told them how few people there were in Holland. They muttered for several minutes. They said [197] that two men in Wailolong and one in Leloba [204] receive the mission paper. Perhaps ten other people borrow and read it.

484 The very few people who have visited towns 521 outside of Flores are loquacious in telling 203 about their experiences, mostly limited to kampong life. Others listen to this, but there is evidently very little reaction.

178 There has been just about no change in the 632 political structure in the last fifty years 651 here. The kakang and all others were here long ago. The kakang has shifted from one kampong to another and that's about all. The traditional system of government has seen little change. Taxation started forty years ago. Now they pay a tax of fl. 1.00 for each animal killed for food, and fl. 10.00 for each animal killed for sale. (This just about stops any chance of a meat-selling market or animal industry.)

000 Today there are more meetings and greater

We.
789 even the rice, animals, iron and trees have it. If an animal lives for a long time despite many blows, he is in possession of a lot of this power. Men differ in the amount of this power they may have. The radja has lots, and so on down the line. Thus power is a combination of ancestor sanction and real, indwelling power which comes with the blood of legitimacy. The stones and other fetishes linked with office reinforce and symbolize this power. One can even have power from animal familiars, as is the case with the assistant's father.

769 This led to a talk about how to reconcile
•797 the ancestors, who were pagan, with the abandon-
182 ment of the rites they were used to. They have rationalized that God is more powerful than their ancestors, and the latter are in heaven anyway. They call on them rather than call them in person. The pagans, however, still do the latter. This is usual, and I think it is a real problem to them. Roy told how Laba, the last powerful pagan of Leloba, gradually took on Christianity after swearing that he would not. He tried it and his crops were still good. He decided that maybe it was all right. What would have happened if his crops had failed? And what if his crops failed steadily now or there was a great calamity? Could there be a nativist revival of paganism? The Catholics are working fast to kill everything before there is any chance of this.

346 I asked why the korke of several kampongs were
[656] in such bad repair. He said that this was because
[796] of the great cost in animals, etc. needed for a feast at the time of rebuilding. And, the government will not allow "wasteful" rites to be held. They say that it is a waste because so much food is consumed and so many beasts are
346 killed. But why, then, let them build a new church
797 for the one which is now burned in Riang Kamiö?

346 This costs money, at least. With cleverness,
•797 Pastor Krol told how the scheme is working to get the folk to sell their tusks in order to get money to contribute to the new church. This works on the grounds that the people were careless with their fire in the fields when there was a high wind, and this caused the burning of the church. It is all a wily game, and the pagans are lost.

797 This whole religious matter is endless. It
182 is the most powerful acculturation thing here,
769 and the whole weight of Catholicism is on the last few pagans. The guru is full of the propaganda of rationalization. For example, he says, how do we know where the ancestors are? If they led good lives they are in heaven; and if not, they are in the sea (hell). And if they were good they must be in heaven, even though they were not Catholic, because they knew nothing of the Word when they lived.

632 The next day we started by clearing up a point
614 about the radja tuan. He may come from another ama than the No. 1 or waru'ing ama. Thus in Ama Datong suku the present Radja tuan is the kelake of Ama Radja, which is the No. 3 ama.

789 Roy said that not only officials have magic
565 power, but that also all members of the noble
171 families have some, though not so much as the
865 chiefs. They definitely have more than common folk. This is why one must show respect to the uppers. It is like Bone in Celebes, but less so perhaps. For example, they are very much afraid of hitting a noble child.

756 A sorcerer (molang) receives respect too,
754 even though his post is not hereditary. Some
[462] sorcerers, however, are noble. Sorcerers may be male or female, and indeed Roy thinks most of them are women. I asked how one got to be a molang, and he said that in general they get a call while dreaming. It is a matter of getting

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000 This is an example of radja tyranny.

888 178 622 Formerly, politicians were older than they are today. Indeed, they would not follow a younger man formerly very well. Today there are plenty of cases of an older radja tuan giving his rightful kepala kampong post to a younger brother. At least it is usually the latter, for this keeps it in the proper family. The older man keeps the adat post. (This is what Roy himself has done here). He said that this is done: (1) because if there is trouble in the kampong, the kepala kampong bears the brunt of this and may have to go to jail. It is better to have two men so that one can carry on the administration; (2) the older man is often unable to read and write. Formerly the three kepala kampong were always the same men as the radja tuan of the three main suku.

[561] 178 797 177 This led to a long talk about the conflict between generations. Roy says that there is no conflict here, as they give in if the children are firm enough. He also says that although the old resisted religious change before, they have surrendered now and know that it is hopeless. When they are dead they know that paganism will be finished. It came out clearly here that the only real force of change has been Catholicism. And the only area of change has been religion, although other aspects have been affected thereafter. Thus we got again onto the subject of religion.

797 178 I asked if, if there were a long period of misfortunes, there might not be a reversion to paganism. He said that this is conceivable, but that it has gone too far now for this to be a strong probability. He gave a case of a kampong on the neck of Tandjung Bunga, Riang Koli, which not long ago decided that it would not give up paganism but would merely make a deliberate combination of it and Catholicism. How-

797 178 ever, he says that this was not caused by misfortunes. I asked about the Catholics trying to kill all of the old culture, and he said that they use no force. I gave the case of [346] the church and the taboo on the expense of rebuilding a korke, and how the Catholics allowed for the great cost of a new church in Riang Kamië. He saw my point, but then when I asked about the sale of tusks in order to pay for the church, he said that this was a suggestion of the Riang Kamië folk themselves (no urging by the priest?) and that this was to be done only by a few families or groups which set the disastrous fire.

583 452 This led us on to a talk about the tusks. He says that they do not need many to keep the marriage system going. Thus both in Wailolong and Leloba they have about twenty-five left today. This is enough. But they must have at least five, as this is the minimum price for a girl. As long as they have the price for one girl they can keep the system going on a credit scheme. This is amazing. It is necessary, and absolutely so, to keep five.

I told about Roworeke, which has lost all their tusks, and he said haggardly that this might possibly happen here, but he didn't want to think of the results. The minimum number of five holds for this part of the district, but in the Riang Kamië sector it is only three, so they could keep the system going with a minimum of three. The reason Roy is so firm on this matter concerning the tusks is that he insists that one cannot get married without tusks, or at least credit for tusks. There is nothing else that can be used for the bride price. Thus there are no animals, gold, money, or anything else used.

684 231 Error: I said before that the animals killed in the incest cases were part of the bride price.

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648 Dutch said there would be no release unless he
578 signed. He signed on a promise that the case
609 would be reheard, but then after he signed the Dutch refused to reopen the case. I get the idea that there was real hostility to the Dutch here, but that the people were so scared that there was no revolt. Indeed, this is what the Roworoke men said: at first the people resisted, but when many of them were sent to jail, they gave up. The Dutch came here late, and the rough stage of colonialism was a recent one. It came earlier elsewhere. At any rate, there is no sorrow at all here that the Dutch have gone. They really hated the Dutch except the pastors. The lack of politeness of the Dutch seems to have impressed the folk here very much. There were radjas, however, who sided with the Dutch, and in fact I think this was the previous line of the radja kedua family.

829 In regard to Holland, they all thought that
648 it was a very big and powerful place. This is why there was great muttering yesterday when I told of the population of Holland. They regarded the Queen as their Radja, because her head was on the money. This is an illustration of the primitive political views here. They also saw that the Larantuka radja was well under the Dutch, and his rank fell very far.

609 The pastors here are the great exception.
797 The people love them, and when Roy tries to ex-
758 plain why, the first thing he mentions is medi-
177 cine, and then comes the standard stuff in regard to religion. This is a good example of how religion rides in on the advanced culture's material strength. They indeed have more powerful "medicine." This kind of thing seems to have been the wedge. Then the schools would come in, etc. That is, primitive people can see
797 quickly the obvious advantages in material and
177 job terms, etc., of the outside superior culture,

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797 and the price the outsiders ask is giving up
177 the old religion.

829 The people know nothing about other lands
565 and certainly nothing about their governments. However, they know the names of other countries and a bit about the roles they play in world events. I asked if they knew about demokrasi, and he said that the word is used all over here now, although it is brand new. They don't know what it means. He says that they tend to think that it means a kind of anarchy where anyone can take anything, with no respect for rank. I wonder if maybe in this thoroughly ordered and stratified place, where inherited rank and inequality prevails (rank, class, ritual, respect, etc.), and indeed exists in the very heart of the society, whether when they first heard that democracy meant that all people were equal, this did not sound like anarchy, as they could not imagine an ordered world where there was no rank.

829 They know nothing about the actual facts of
648 the United Nations, but they have heard plenty about the "Kumpulan Medja Bundar". [Round Table Conference]. This all came out when they saw the red and white flag and asked what all of this was about. They got the story that there was the Round Table Conference, and that at it Indonesia became free and this was the new flag. The flag was the symbol that produced the story. They also have heard a lot about the United States and that it helped in obtaining Indonesian freedom (perhaps we managed to salvage some touted good will in Indonesia). Beyond this, however, they know nothing of world politics. They did know about the Allies (Bangsa Serikat; Kattenburg says "Pemerintah Serikat"), as they were partly involved in the war. They think that this union, and especially the United States, beat the Japanese. When asked if the Dutch helped, Roy said that they have no thought on this matter, as

794 Catholic, has two wives, but he was adamant.
665 As for Mohammedanism, he says that they are dormant politically, or at least they have been until recently. Now that Dr. Sutomo is here he is becoming a kind of Mohammedan leader. However, the Mohammedans are few and they are important only in Kampong Baru. There was a
798 rumor here on the Japanese entrance that the
203 Japanese were Mohammedans. It went further to the effect that all Christians and pagans were to be killed. The theme was that you had better get your songko boys. There was a new version, when the red and white flag went up. It went that this was really the flag of Islam and that the Christians and pagans would have no voice in the government. He thinks that perhaps this rumor was started by the Mohammedans. It was here that he joyfully parroted several times my word desas-desus [whispering, rumors]. He learns new words fast.

178 The situation here is the reverse of the usual thing. The Catholics are the radicals,
●797 in the sense that they are against the old
565 things which are pagan, and the pagans are the
177 conservatives in the sense that they want to
769 keep the old ways. This will change later, surely.

This led to a long talk about the entry of Catholicism here. Roy admits that he may be the most powerful factor in the fast and one hundred per cent conversion here. He said that the main reason was that he gave good lessons (ketranggan [interpretation, clarification, proof]) and the second reason was that he happens to be a real noble. The latter meant not only that he had a good name and respected rank, but that he was in close touch with and had real privileges in the pagan ancestral stuff. Indeed, his own rank depends on the ancestor cult. If he was willing to take a chance with the new

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178 religion, when he knew so much about the old
797 ways and his ancestors were so important in
565 it, then this new religion must be all right.
177 (Here we see the old theme of converting the
769 chiefs first. And all the magic aspect is clear too.) He admitted that if the nobles had been against Catholicism it would have been much more difficult (impossible? Note India, where the handicap of missions has been that most of the people converted have been untouchables; and the joy of the missions has been whenever they could snare a Brahmin.)

797 Roy says that they received Catholicism at
175 first gladly and were interested and liked the medicine. Then there came trouble, however, when they saw that the Catholics were determined to wipe out the old things. Then came resignation. The trouble started when the Catholics began to win. Thus there were three phases, starting with the conversion of the first man, Guru Bala, in 1885:

(1) 1885--1912: period of amicable relations.

(2) 1912--1920: the pagan fight, and real conflict.

(3) 1920 to the present: the surrender and acceptance of the inevitable.

[614] Bala was of the suku Lewonuhah.

565 Even now, the asli, the men of real noble
177 descent, have the power and prestige. It is very hard, indeed impossible, for a commoner, no matter how clever he may be, to bring in alien things. If a commoner tried he would be killed. If he is a noble, he will find things easier, but he too had better be careful, for if he is a "trouble maker" he too might be thrown out (killed?).

797 In Wailolong the first Christian was Pulo,
177 converted by Bala in 1890. Conversions were
798 slower here than in Leloba, and paganism still
184 holds on. Because it was slower there, Roy says
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797 that there was less open conflict than in Leloba.
798 There was a chance to mix the pagan with the new
177 and develop a syncretism. In Leloba it was a
184 life and death struggle, and indeed it was, as
578 the issue shows, a showdown. Perhaps Roy refused to compromise. This is a very interesting contrast. They had their fight out in Leloba and gave up paganism, while Wailolong held onto a little of the old. Indeed, he says that the Catholics in Wailolong do many of the pagan rites today, whereas the Catholics of Leloba have no ceremonies left to participate in.

[665] Since there are no political parties here,
797 and the real issue in Wailolong now is religion,
177 since all depends on it, I went right back to
798 the struggle on this point too. The leader of
578 the Catholics in Wailolong is the guru from Bama. His outside origin is a handicap. (I am just about sure that Roy is the main man to destroy paganism in Leloba. He was the perfect man for the job.) The leader of the pagans is Blawa, the kelake of one of the Datong ama. He is the one who shares the office with the legitimate kelake, Doeng, who is less able to do so. The Radja tuan of this head suku is not so eloquent, and so Blawa is the center of resistance. I asked if he got along all right with the guru and with Roy, and he said yes. Again the mild-
[181] ness of the folk stands out, together with their
[152] tolerance. They simply do not show anger.

Anyway, the pagans, even Blawa, have given up. Their only struggle is over little things (please let us have at least one little girl for a tuno wudjo!). They just try to hold on, like their last gasp. They are going down the road to death, and after them the pagans will be eclipsed. It is dramatic.

166 The only people who go away from here usually
484 go to jail, as Roy says. This is the only trip they make.

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791 178 all pagans then,[1] and all parents of the present adults of about thirty or older were pagan. My assistant's father was. They were

872 [197] The lower school here consists of three grades. It is a mission school although the government evidently makes a contribution to it. In Ndona (seven kilometers by road, four kilometers across the hills, and the children walk there) there are eight grades. Until the present there is only one from here who has gone as far as class seven, and ten in class six. The school in Ndona is the highest level school around here (and perhaps in all Flores) except for the seminary. The eighth grade qualifies one for the job of guru.

There are two children here who go to school in Ende where there is a connecting or intermediate school and a middle school, I think.

[711] There are few Mohammedans here, and no Koran school. They must go to Ende for this.

871 185 178 Everyone here is very much in favor of education. Formerly, there was a bit of trouble with the oldsters who saw no sense (and I suspect did not like the mission tie-up) in such things. But now everyone wants his children to go to school. They are anxious to have both their girls and boys go to school, although they are perhaps a bit more interested in education for their boys. If a girl is clever, however, they want her to advance too.

898 212 The children do show a bit of a superiority feeling toward the illiterate oldsters, but there is almost always a great show of respect. And the illiterate old folk are not ashamed. They are only farmers, anyway, they say.

798 872 178 When Catholicism came in first, there was much trouble, and the elders scolded hard. After the school came in, in 1921, there was no more trouble. They say and insist that the pagan elders make no trouble at all for the Catholic children

1 [i.e., fifty years ago.--Analyst]

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771 families which are split (e.g., Migo has Mohammedan relatives, including a hadji) talk very little about religion except for such things as how was the trip to Mecca, etc.

582 This led to the matter of marriage. Migo
• 797 said that there might be trouble with religious differences in marriage, but there had not been much fuss yet. There are two or three cases of Catholic men who became Mohammedan in order to marry Mohammedan girls. There is no case yet of a Mohammedan becoming a Catholic in order to marry.

This led to a discussion of a case where a Catholic married a pagan. Usually the pagan agrees to a church wedding, but there are some cases where the pagan will not agree, and then they just live together.

595 Then I got some real data: There are Catho-
183 lic men who have two wives. They marry the first wife in the church, and just live with the second. The second wife is often a pagan. Thus the kepala kampong has a second wife, and she is the young beauty who was among the crowd who got into the jeep one time going to Ende. I tried to speak to her, but she was wide-eyed and said nothing. She looked like a wild animal. She is illiterate and one hundred per cent pagan. Thus he admitted that there are still young pagans (are they mostly men or women?). She was perhaps twenty years old. I asked if the pastors nag about this, and he said no. Evidently the pastors are not concerned about these people. They just preach that it is not right (but evidently they go easy on such cases, because they are afraid that they might turn some of the individuals against the church. Thus, how could they excommunicate the kepala kampong?) As for the children of mixed pagan-Catholic marriages, he said that there are some arguments. Evidently, here again the whole level is so low that it does not amount to much.

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582 or father's father's father's sister's daughter's
835 daughter's son). However, the priests will give dispensation only with a certain amount of fuss here (unlike in Manggarai, where it is evidently easier because the Catholics are newer there and maybe they want to go slower at first).

583 A bride price must be paid for a good marriage, but the very poor folk may omit it, although they try to pay a little, and merely go and live together. The price is variana. Formerly it included tusks, money, animals (buffaloes, horses, cattle). They try to give these things now, but it is degenerating into money alone. The return gift is called tau laguana. The girl's family gives it. It usually includes properly a pair of gold earrings, gold beads, and formerly slaves. The price also formerly might have included slaves, I think. In addition, the girl's family gives a kind of "household outfitting" to the couple, including baskets, gear, food, and formerly slaves. This is like a dowry. Evidently it is also called laguana.

They say that if they did not give a return gift it would be like selling a slave.

[797] The church enforced a shift to more distant mother's brother's daughter type marriages.
[178] The price is much lower now, and this constitutes a big change in the last fifty years or
[565] so. In the old days, for a noble girl one might pay one hundred tusks, ten gold units, two slaves, etc. This depended on her rank.

582 Another change is the removal of the former
178 taboo on slave-noble marriages. In the old days,
565 an upper man might take as a concubine a slave
567 girl, but they seem pretty sure that he would
684 not ordinarily marry her, although he might do so. In the old days, however, if a slave man tried anything with a noble girl, it would mean that both of them would be put to death. This

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581 behavior. Looks are a mere by-matter. The same holds for women. They like good workers for husbands (men must keep at the gardens); and as far as I could see, that is about all. I wonder if men should be decent (I doubt that looks are thought of much if at all), as long as they work. These people are way beneath any aesthetic stuff in love (but it may be there in its own way!).

836 [848] They insist that there is not one case of a bastard in their memory. However, yesterday I got the impression that boys have a chance with, for example, widows sometimes. But evidently the girls just stay virgin. They hammer on this; it is and always was a one hundred per cent rule, and that a girl would try to fool on this is considered a terrific thought.

177 797 595 587 582 In the family the Catholics have tried to stop: (1) polygny (but this goes on), (2) levirate and sororate (but this goes on), (3) mother's brother's daughter marriage (they do this with more distant relatives in order to keep up the form). This is interesting.

789 753 [565] In regard to the nobility, I can get no reaction on ideas of magic power, and they say that even the Radja of Ende does not have any. They say that he is new anyway. He is just a big man from the Djari Djawa suku (but the radja must come from this, but I got the idea that Nggobe might get in too). I asked if maybe the mosa laki had any, and they said no. If they do not obey they just become angry, and it is better to stay on their good side as they control the land and they are the big men anyway. There is no magic punishment. Thus they are different even from Larantuka. The only things which have magic power are taboo places, for example, the rumah pemali, the grave-bone shrines, and the old ancestor places. Breaking such taboos can cause illness, and the

411 I also noted many spear bearers. The one I talked with in Tana Ai said that his spear (with a regular head) had been bought from a traveling seller who had brought it from Adonara. Over the line in Lewotobi, I asked a man with a spear, whose head had only one barb, what kind of spear he was carrying. He said that it was unique to Lewotobi, and later I saw others like it. I guess they make them themselves.

Then I went on to Larantuka, where the
443 pasanggrahan disintegrates more all the time.
515 This time the place was full of medicine
514 sellers who follow fairs about and do tricks on bicycles. They sang Mohammedan chants endlessly, washed clothes and urinated in the bathroom, and sat around in the way. I had already ~~run~~ into a similarly unsanitary Arab couple in the Ende pasanggrahan. The medicine people were from Celebes. Now this place is really going native. The toilets are falling into ruin. I noted on my way that the tele-
206 graph wire was down at kilometer 44, and I told the next road foreman. Four days later I found the wire still down. The bridges will
491 never be rebuilt, it seems. The road simply uses fords, that's all.

797 I hear from Arriens that letters are coming
648 to the Flores Council asking how long the Dutch
178 are going to remain in their posts. The whole place is on the way down. I hear that Radja Sikka, has appointed Pastor Raats, a Dutchman, as a special adviser. Thus the mission alone will remain of the West here. The new superstition is substituted for the old.

797 I get more and more depressed by Larantuka with its constant Catholic processions. On the way in at a suburb, a long procession with crosses, chanting, etc., came winding out of a church (I wonder if it was the old time one at

797 Waibalun?). There must have been hundreds of them in this procession. Following this there was a long parade of a lot more. Perhaps this was the Confreria Santa Maria, the underground men's organization that kept Catholicism going in the kampongs during the long time when the Portuguese missionaries were not here. The second guru in Leloba told me that the white sheet cloak I saw on him as he was leading a funeral last week was the robe of the Confreria. In spite of everything, the mission is the only modern, efficient, and perhaps one of the few honest (how honest?) things in Flores.

I am glad I shall be leaving this truly
377 forsaken island before long. It gets on one's
181 nerves. One can't buy anything, few places have electric lights (the ones here just went off, but miraculously came on again after a few minutes), everything is broken down, the people are stupid, the radjas are hopeless.

124 Larantuka: I spent a final three days in Leloba finishing up the schedule on Wailolong, and it was lucky I did this, because, as usual, my assistants (the same everywhere in Indonesia so far, except in Makassar) did not finish the answers. They did do the census and the map. Anyway, I got onto the schedule at once, covering old spots which were not filled in yet, and finishing what was left undone.

Wai In 1913 the Dutch forced the people to move
648 down from the old hill location to the present
361 location of Wailolong. Formerly, it was located one-half kilometer from Leloba. Then, in 1922, it was allowed to move back, but it moved not all the way back to its former location, but only as far as it is now. This whole business is typical of the Dutch administration in the worst days, when, for the sake of "peace, order, and taxes," and for all I know, the mission, they made these poor people move out of the

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000 ring system.

829 Since the war, there has been plenty of talk and interest in Indonesian affairs. Before the war one never heard of such things. Formerly, the people knew only of the Dutch as far as the outside world was concerned. They knew very little about other parts of Indonesia. The war "opened the world" to these remote people. (But, I'd say, this was still a very slim opening.)

871 There was no school here at all fifty years ago. In those days, however, there was one guru in Wailolong and one guru in Leloba who could read and write. No students from here have studied at a university or at an HBS. Two students from here are now attending the middle school, in class six. All children from here now go to the lower school. One from Wailolong goes to school in Larantuka. There is also a middle school at Maumere. There are no native schools here.

[185] Roy reports that the people here like school today, and want their children to go as high as possible. (I doubt this. I think many, if not most, are rather vague about this subject. But I have to take his word for it.)

[463] There are no noticeable differences in activities connected with the level of education achieved by individuals in this area. This is because everyone is a farmer. The only exceptions would be the guru, but there are no local men of Wailolong who are guru.

[876] There is no non-official individual training. At one time they tried (evidently under government propaganda) a system where "everyone teaches another" but it stopped fast.

[797] The mission runs the schools here, but the
[658] government subsidizes them. I think this is true for nearly all of the schools in Flores (check).

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793 The first real pastor was placed in Riang Kamiö in 1926. Before this there was only a guru (a chapel, that is).

771 About eighty per cent of the population here
162 is Christian. (Note from the partial Leloba census that there are still pagans there too.)

Roy repeats that there were three phases in
●797 the Christianization of this area: the easy welcome, the troubled period, and that of resignation. There are two gurus in Wailolong: one from Larantuka town and the other from Bama. This, he says, delays the speed of Christianization, because they are "aliens." It is better to have local gurus. He clearly implies that the reason Leloba became Christian so fast is that he did it, as a powerful local man. He repeats that Laba, the last powerful pagan, argued against him quite a bit.

Leloba now has one guru (the assistant of my assistant). Roy resigned actively in 1940. Nearly all of Leloba is Christian.

Roy says that they are first given instruction in Christianity and then baptized. Thus there are a lot of "aspirants."

771 There are no Mohammedans here. When I
797 asked why, he said it would be impossible,
782 because pig killing and pig eating is so important a part of the ritual life that a Mohammedan could not get along here. (I see clearly in this the real actual importance of the pork taboo in holding back Mohammedanism. I remember this being said in Toradja country, and I think also in Ambon.)

Another deterrent to Mohammedanism is that Mohammedans could not slaughter in accordance with the old rules. They would have to kill according to Mohammedan custom, and this simply couldn't be. Thus it is remarkable to see how strong the old killing theme is here, that is, the ritual and the custom, and how all of this

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771 actually makes Mohammedanism impossible. Mo-
797 hammedanism is out here because it (1) taboos
782 certain kinds of flesh, which Christianity does not and (2) because it requires a special kind of slaughtering, which Christianity does not. This is an amazing case of how a "small" thing can explain why a great religion fails and why another succeeds.

624 Roy went further and said that it is impos-
782 sible to have a radja tuan system or even several radja tuan without pigs and ritual killing. The pig killing rite is thus the very center of the whole social scheme. (I had some
[262] pork here, and it was fat, greasy, and tough. But these folks are always hungry evidently, and even more so perhaps now than ever. Again I see how meat means so much.)

162 Perhaps twenty per cent of the Wailolong
771 population is still pagan (see the census). In Leloba there are perhaps only twenty persons who are still not Christian. But these are, or at least some of them, preparing for baptism. They are mostly old people. However, they burst out, there are plenty of persons in both kampongs who are only partially Christian. They think of them as being half pagan as they do not understand much about Christianity. They are Christians in name only.

797 And, Roy said, when I said that Krol said that Catholicism allowed plenty of ceremonies that if this were not so perhaps Catholicism would lose many adherents. The Catholics must compromise. Thus the gurus agree with the priests. Moreover, just as Krol said, they wouldn't get any more converts if they became too rough on the pagan customs. Thus I see that the way here is to make haste slowly, and to let the pagans keep as much as possible, and to gradually wean the young to the true one hundred per cent faith. This is clever and it

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•797 works, but I wonder if there might not be trouble if the central organization of the Catholic Church knew it. Still, perhaps the Catholics are indeed less doctrinaire than the Protestants. Surely the Jesuits are, with their different approach toward ends and means. There is a big contrast here with Ambon, surely.

788 Much of the former pagan ritual still survives. For example, there are field rites, beliefs, illness treatments, etc. The pagans still carry on plenty of the old ceremonies. Even the elaborate rites for planting, etc., continue.

241 782 796 The tuno wudjo is still an important figure in planting rites of Wailolong, but has disappeared in Leloba since Vatter's[1] day. The story is that she is a girl who was sacrificed in Lio by her seven brothers, to make the fields fertile. (They say that this is "to make the gardens fat.") Indeed, she told them to kill her in order to help. And the pieces of her body were sent to places all over Flores to make the fields fertile. The story is also found in Adonara.

Note: Lio is a great place for human sacrifice in relation to agriculture. The Radja of Lio not long ago was executed by the Dutch, and among his crimes was listed the killing of young girls for agricultural field rites. The people of Ende know this, and it seems generally known throughout Flores.

[614] [173] Note also: according to Vatter,[1] one of the suku in Tandjung Bunga is Lio, and they are supposed to be descended from people who came from there. I wonder if perhaps this myth is not a sign of former human sacrifice in relation to agriculture all over Flores (or at least for East Flores), and it may also have originated in Lio and thence spread to here. Anyway, the

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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000 much of a waste of animals.

796 I finally found out which kampongs do the
614 main ritual functions when they have a general
346 Belakang Gunung feast at which all kampongs are represented. This is when they have a new korke (or church). The order is as follows:

1. Kottang is Mudakaputu (descendants of Bampowa).

2. Keleng is Lewohala (descendants of Kewaka).

3. Hurint is Leloba (descendants of Belawaburak).

4. Marang is Wailolong (descendants of Keweluk).

5. The passer of food and drink and betel ingredients is Watuwiti (descendant of Mado). Thus they are the five brothers.

624 Hence we have the "sistim" which he himself
614 is so impressed by. There are priests in the
793 sense that the radja tuan and the kelake are
565 really suku and ama priests. They are admin-
789 istrative and ritual officers. In addition,
756 there are priests and gurus of the new religion. And there are the molang or medicine seers. These have more power and influence if they are of bangsawan descent. Thus again the magic power of proper descent comes to the fore and we see that blood and rank affect even the influence of medicine men. Then there are the dukun, who are doctors but with magical aspects.

798 They are extremely liberal toward all religions. The only sign of any animosity I ever saw was toward Mohammedanism, and it was not even here except in Kampong Baru. The pagan resistance was more pronounced formerly. Today the two cults work together without much, if any, friction.

871 The schools are government schools, but the
● 797 mission runs them and evidently provides, but
658 does not pay, the teachers. The schools were

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871 once solely in the hands of the mission, but
658 they are now given government support. This
797 is a curious situation. I see more of the same thing in Roworeke, where the Mohammedan problem enters.

771 There are plenty of debates in Leloba about
798 religion always, and this was especially true in the days when Catholicism was coming in. Roy talked ceaselessly with the last pagan power, Laba. However, there was much less debate in Wailolong. In fact, Roy says that Wailolong is not much interested in religion, and he says that this is largely because the gurus there are outside men. They have little influence. And thus again we see the closed world aspect of this situation. Even when preaching the universal religion, a man has to be from the Belakang Gunung region and even from the very same kampong in order to get much of a hearing. I suppose the pastors are an exception. They are such big medicine that they can even be Dutch. I note, however, that probably Holland is so far off that it is like "a far-off heaven" and there is therefore no friction with the little closed world here. Roy says that Wailolong is not much for Christianity at all. Thus I see what I first saw, that Wailolong is really a pagan kampong with a Catholic name. That is why paganism shows up so clearly. And it may also be why there is no particular love for Leloba here, and why Roy is so much afraid to work there, or at least why he was so afraid at first. He actually feared being snubbed.

Roy predicts that the last pure pagan will have died in another ten years. There is knowledge only of Catholicism and pagan cults here. Hence there is no "comparative religion." Note again that Christianity means Catholic. Protestants are evidently seldom mentioned. How nice for tolerance!

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114 Roworeke: I started on the last two days, January 21 and 22, and went to work on the schedule.

797 Fifty years ago there were no Christians here at all. In 1922, and the kapitan says that it was in October or November, the Catholics entered. They cannot remember who the first convert was. At first acceptance was very slow (and this may be linked with the wars against the Dutch), but there was no strong resistance. These folk took it, they say. But I note that there are plenty of pagans even today.

771 The assistant says that this area is about
162 sixty per cent Christian. All have been in contact with Christianity, as even the pagans have relatives who are Christians. There are also relations with Mohammedanism, as there are many Mohammedans near here, although few in this kampong. There are no troubles with any religion.

875 There are two school teachers in Watu Roga,
797 and two religious teachers. The school build-
[658] ing belongs to the mission, but the government pays the costs and the salaries of the teachers. Perhaps it is a mere subsidy. There are no real troubles in regard to religion in school, partly because the teachers do not propagandize much, and partly because the people seem not to worry about religion. In fact, they kept on saying that I, as an educated man, might fuss over points of religion, but they knew so little that they would not know if they were being propagandized. Thus, I suspect that the gurus do not ever attack paganism directly, as this might cause trouble. Instead, they just slide in the Christian belief as though it were normal.

They have no trouble with Mohammedan teachers, as there is only one such in the whole Ende area. He is the son of the big kapitan Nggobe. The

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875 reason for this is that Mohammedans are not
797 educated enough to have many teachers yet. Thus, the mission has given Catholicism a big head start, as is the case in Ambon.

771 There are only about ten Mohammedans in Ro-
797 woreke. They had a mosque at kilometer five formerly, but it is gone now. The maximum number of converts in the kampong, to Mohammedanism, per year is from one to two. There is a chapel here, and the priest comes once a month to hear confessions, hold mass, etc. Otherwise, the people here go to Ndona for mass (I see them on Sunday walking; rain means nothing to these people). I get the impression that many people do not go to mass. For example, every Sunday I have been there, the kapitan and the assistant and many others do not go to church so far as I can see. And I don't see many women who look as though they had gone. I should have asked about this.

778 There are two ancestor grave-bone shrines, i.e., one in Roworeke and one in Watu Roga. There are also plenty of stones and the usual graves. There has never been a real rumah berhala here. But Manunggo'o had one.

527 The principal feast time is at planting. The tuan tanah (mosa laki mere) must be there at that time. There is no illness exorcism
[755] feast held any more. Thanksgiving feasts for good crops are held privately, not communally. There is a great feast for rebuilding the grave-bone shrine.

788 There is plenty of private pagan rituals, for example, to ward off illness, to make offerings to trees, and the dukun stuff. In addition, there is the bisa mari. (Having seen the dukun
[753] and how he diagnoses, I understand Migo when he said that he has a personal-family buffalo totem taboo because the dukun said it caused his illness.)

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527 A small feast is given at the birth of a
852 child.

304 There is no supercision, except for Mohammedan circumcision, and this is done only in a few cases. (Evidently, in Indonesia, where supercision was in before, they may continue it under Mohammedanism, for example, in Makassar. But where there was no cutting before, they take on Mohammedan circumcision only.)

They say that they never had any cutting here. However, they say that they know of at least two kampongs in Lio where cutting did take place.

622 The mosa laki are of course religious as well
793 as adat chiefs. The Catholic priest has a house here, but does not reside there. He makes periodic visits. There are two religious teachers.

771 I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements.

798 I wonder if the new bureaucracy, and also the Mohammedan majority, may cause trouble for the Catholic-oriented education of Flores. So far there has been no trouble.

798 There is very little discussion of religion here. They seem to let it slide by, and I get the idea that there is no great trouble in regard to paganism because (1) they never had any real resistance here, and (2) the pagans are too dumb, and so are the Christians, and (3) the Catholics do not evidently attack directly.

782 There was no trouble here in regard to the
● 797 acceptance of Mohammedanism from the standpoint
[231] of sacrifice, because they have plenty of non-taboo animals, for example, the buffalo, cattle, and goats. Therefore, it is not necessary to have a pig for pagan rites, and even the Mohammedans would get their share at a feast. This is different from Larantuka, where a Mohammedan would go hungry at the largely pork provided feasts. And also, in Larantuka, the all-essen-

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797 tial rites require pigs, but here other animals
782 can be used.

Three religions are known: pagan, Catholic,
771 and Mohammedan. They know little except about the pagan religion, which they probably know better than the others!

771 I asked about the religion here as given in
my notes from Elbert,[1] who was here in the pre-
114 Catholic period. They said that my notes were all right, including the god names, and that
[775] Mt. Iya was the deadland, etc. In fact, I see more and more that Elbert was a good man. The
[776] high god, however, they give the name Ngga'eh Dewa. They say there is no dualism, i.e., no earth mother, here. This doesn't quite jibe with Elbert, but maybe they have forgotten, or they are vague about this. Maybe they are always vague about such stuff as regards the high gods.

778 The tubu musu, indeed, has two stones, and
831 after hesitation they admitted that it is a male-female symbol. I note that in his Lio dictionary, Arndt,[1] says (I think tubu) has an "obscene" significance with reference to "male." Thus it seems clearly a sex symbol. They never heard of yoni. They seem to say that there are two stones, one lying and another standing. Like a fool, I did not check this. I will have to look in Elbert,[1] and Suchtelen,[1] for this.

[789] They have the matakau, and it is called nabe.
776 The term Ngga'eh Dewa means the god above. I guess that ngga'eh means big or high. They say that ata ngga'eh nua means "pembesar kampong."

764 At death, the bodies were formerly placed in
big trees, cocooned. This was true for big men. For about a month they were left there while a feast was prepared. When all the animals and other things were ready, the bundle was brought down from the tree and bones cleaned. Then they

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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582 has several wives. (This shows the recency of
578 conversion here. Here is this smooth and smart
835 lad, almost sophisticated, one who could get
along almost anywhere in the world, whose father
is a completely benighted heathen. He says that
the family will be torn apart if one of the sons
835 does not marry the mother's brother's daughter.)
582 Then I asked what happens to the Catholics.
797 He said that usually they are given isin (dis-
[183] pensation), but the priests do not like it at
all. However, he saw the point when I said
that after all it was only one brother in a
family who had to get the dispensation, and
so maybe the church would not be too worried.

This led me to a speech, and I think the
point was not bad, and perhaps the priests
[182] think of it. If they destroy the mother's
brother's daughter marriage, the whole social
organization falls apart, as this is the keystone
all over Flores (and all through this part of
Indonesia, I think). If they do this, perhaps
the adat will fall apart and cause a breakdown
of all the good rules, from the Catholic view-
point. However, perhaps the reason is more
realistic, i.e., it is hard to get converts if
they make it too hard on the old adat.

Anyway, they can use the three generation
up and three generation down dodge to get a
classificatory mother's brother's daughter and
keep up the old system.

583 Then we got onto the records again and ran
591 into some trouble. But before that I note that
No. 167 is a girl who lives with her father's
sister. She may well be already spoken for and
even paid for, for the son of the latter. There
is a son of nearly the same age there.

There are several families in the kampongs
of outside origin in the case of both spouses
(46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62,
63, 64, 65). There are several men in Ndung

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871 old people have been heard to say that they
185 wished they were young again so that they could go to school. "We didn't have these advantages in my day."

871 There is no trouble between the educated and
212 the uneducated. Until recently there was no
[578] conflict between the illiterate older people and the schooled young. Of course, they have only three grades anyway, but in all events they haven't had the problem of the stuck up children at all. There is no disobedience. There are still a few dalu and kepala kampongs who are illiterate, but this is becoming less and less so all the time. And they have assistants who help them.

The young do not teach the old here. The literacy campaign of the East Indonesian government failed here as everywhere. It started and then stopped. (Why learn to read when there is nothing to read? Why learn to write when no one writes? This is my interpretation.)

[787] The schools are run by the mission, but the
[658] government pays all of the expenses except for what the mission wants to give, for example, books. This is a system found all over Flores, I think. Mission schools are paid for by the government. The whole administration is carried out by the mission.

874 There is not a single person from here who
797 has gone to seminary. After the six grades the gurus go to OVO (Opleidingsschool voor Volksonderwijzers), a two year course at the mission in Ruteng. There is also a trade school at the Ruteng mission. The trade school gurus must go to a two year course in Ende Ambachtsschool, in the mission there, after they have finished six grades. There is no other available special education.

614 The assistant worked until midnight getting information for the outline in Veol and Ndung,

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212 one could read or write. In fact, this goes
for all of Manggarai. Everyone here speaks
191 the local language. About fifty per cent of
the people here speak Malay, and most of those
who are not able to speak it are oldsters. No
one can speak Dutch or English here.

212 Only those who have gone to school can read
204 and write. No one reads Bentara, a mission
797 paper (although the guru does). Two people
read the sheet which the mission puts out for
Manggarai. It is called Palita.

212 The only books here are religious books and
song books (and books in the school?). Note:
I saw many children with their school "tackle"
hanging on a string around their necks. They
wear them on their backs. They are a piece of
chalk stuck in a bamboo, a ruler, and a bamboo
with a wet cloth. These are for writing on
slate.

[651] The children and other literates write in
[217] order to "keep books." Thus there are the "tax
books" showing how much each person must pay in
palm wine, etc., to the tuan tanah. These are
written for him. All sorts of transactions are
"recorded," e.g., prices, borrowing, gifts for
such things as marriage feasts, etc. This is
brand new. There is practically no other form
of writing done here.

185 Everyone is eager to learn here. The only
191 language other than their own which is taught
here is Malay, but in class four they are start-
ing to learn Dutch, taught by the guru who was
in a seminary for two years.

207 There are no radios here. Once a pastor in
546 1941 brought a movie projector here, and many
people saw movies then. That's all.

412 There are many new tools here, for example,
shovels, drills, and axes. They are even able
178 to make some of these now. There is much more
415 use of iron tools and utensils than was formerly
the case.

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609 presence too. They are always apprehensive. They are afraid of new things, such as schools (at least when they first came in). They are an apprehensive lot, and their history offers a good explanation. I can see this even in the assistant. Also, as the Maumere pastor says, they are extremely respectful. They hold one hand to receive a cigarette, and the tuan tanah [576] and others, when they leave me, bend way over. Sikka, he says, is different.

576 171 These people remind me of the "oppressed" and noble-ridden Buginese and Makassarese, and indeed through their contact with Bima they came under the same system of respect and the like. The pastor says that fifteen years ago they crept before a superior. How different they are from the Ambonese, or even to some degree different from the Larantuka and Ende people, although the latter are more this way (but how much less!). The Toradja were much different too. They were not hit so hard by the Buginese slave raids evidently. And it must be remembered that Buginese administration never really penetrated Toradja land.

797 The church does not mix in politics here. The Catholics entered here about 1922. They went slow, and they are still not moving at a very fast rate. About fifty per cent of the population here now is Christian, says the assistant. In getting information for the records [595] the assistant found it difficult to get information on polygamy. 124 I note that there are several interesting cases. For example, the tuan tanah of Veol rode to Ruteng with me today, with his second wife, who is young. She is a Catholic, but they were not married in church. The kepala kampong has six wives, and number five is Catholic, but there was no church wedding in this case either. However, there are other troubles in getting information, and he

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124 will tell them. He says that the pastors do
[797] not like it if a guru gets too zealous. They
want him to respect the old ways and go slowly.
This is indeed crafty.

771 Among the thirty-nine dalu, about twenty of
565 them are Christian, says the kraeng. About
796 thirty per cent of the gelarang are Christian,
183 says the kraeng, but the assistant says that
this is true only of their heirs apparent.
The trouble in regard to the rites which the
gelarang must lead is still to come. For example, the heir apparent of the Veol gelarang is Serai, who is about twenty-five years old and a Catholic. What will happen? The assistant says that he must lead the rites, but they will have troubles reconciling the old with the new Catholic ways. But so far everyone, including the Catholics, must go through the ceremonies, because they are so closely related to their livelihood. Agriculture, on which everything depends, is unthinkable without the rites!

601 Larantuka: I met Oudehand, "controleur" at
[115] Waingapu in Sumba, and had a talk with him.
He worked in Leloba and is writing an article for "Indonesia" about the adat there. We got onto the subject of kinship terms, and he had this to say. He says that opu is the term for affinal relationships. This goes for both sides. Thus, with the qualifier belake (my term for mother's brother) opu belake means all the relatives with whom a man is related by marriage, that is, his wife's (mother's brother's daughter) group. And on the other side, he says opu wai(ng) means all the relatives-in-law on the father's sister's side, i.e., the man's sister's relatives-in-law. The general term opu, he says, he got for mother's brother, mother's brother's son, and father's sister (all man speaking), and perhaps also father's sister's son (man speaking).

601 Manggarai: I remembered in relation to the opu belake and opu wai(ng) which Oudehand[1] said were woman-giving and woman-receiving groups (man speaking) for Larantuka, that Cornelius said that the woman-giving group is ana rona and the woman-receiving group is ana vina (man speaking) in Manggarai. This checks out, as the belake and rona are comparable and the wai(ng) (or wae or kawaing, meaning wife) and vina are comparable. In Manggarai the term for the woman-giving group has a male connotation, as in Larantuka, and the woman-receiving group's term has a female connotation in both instances. The Manggarai terms are taken from the words for husband (father's sister's son) and wife (mother's brother's daughter), respectively, with ana (child) put in. Since rona and vina have the meaning of male and female, the ana rona and ana vina could mean "sons" and "daughters." However, this all seems complicated. Anyway, the Larantuka terms for the two groups are taken from the words for mother's brother and father-in-law and "female" respectively. The general idea seems clear, but there is a difference in the exact meanings.

[114] 533 797 We I got onto the last two days of work in Veol on January 29 and 30. On the evening of the former, Sunday, van Bekkum[2] had the school put on a singing demonstration for me, and it was remarkable. The songs were Manggarai, written by Manggarai gurus, and they are like Debussy, but with weird progressions and peculiar slides and part-notes. The voices are fine and very impressive in the failing light, with the hills around, and especially good were the single, sweet, girls' voices in solo form from time to time. This is very rich material. The boys stood on one side, led by three lads with ornate headcloths and sarongs; and the girls stood on the other side. The whole thing was good. The

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]
2 [pastor at Puteng --Analyst]

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533 797 [562] school[1] is overcrowded, and it is the only place where girls can rise above the lowest level in Manggarai. There were plenty of sisters around. The whole thing shows the good organization of the Catholics here.

[124] I used the last two days of work here to get through the rest of the schedule.

585 For weddings, the Christians go to church for a service as well as going through the old rites.

583 Formerly the bride price was not payable in money, but today it is, in part. The bride price (padja) includes buffaloes, horses, and formerly copper or brass (?) boxes. There are no more of these last objects, and money has been substituted for them. Also, cattle are now used, but were not included formerly.

The return gift (vida) includes cloth, bracelets, ear ornaments, etc. Also included are small elephant teeth (used as pendants on bracelets). They are about two inches long. The bride price goes to the girl's family, and the return gift to the boy's family. Formerly the bride price was not very high. Today it is higher. An average bride price includes about five animals.

Both Catholics and pagans still pay the bride [591] price and make the return gift. If a bride [611] price is not paid, the couple must live matrilocally until it is paid. However, the children are always patrilineally descended.

582 614 The distances of mate selection are about the same as they were fifty years ago. There is a bit more marriage within the va'u, which was taboo before. However, the panga remain exogamous.

476 602 614 If the relatives-in-law live too far off, there is no real, actual mutual aid. If they are near, mutual aid is carried out between three groups: one's own va'u ana rona, and ana vina. The help comes especially in aiding a help-mate

1 [ie., at Veol.—Analyst]

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565 of Flores, so unlike the radjas of Celebes.
582 This is a correction of some of the previous notes, because he had said that radjas, dalu and gelarang intermarried only among each other. The truth seems to be that all except the mendi are intermarriageable.

There is still great feeling against marrying a descendant of a mendi. For example, in Pau, where there are about ten persons descended from mendi, there have been a few marriages of these families with commoners, but never with gelarang families (e.g., the assistant's). The assistant says that he would never want his daughter to marry a mendi descendant. I pressed hard on this, and asked him if he would not be willing to have his daughter marry a mendi descendant if, for example, he became a great man in Indonesia, along with the new democracy. He said absolutely not. This is a Catholic, young and educated fellow. Then I asked about his son, should he want to marry a mendi girl. He said there would be much less resistance in this case.

Among the uppers there is a great deal of inter-district marriage, for example, at the radja, dalu, gelarang and kraeng levels. There is also some inter-district marriage among the commoners.

789 The only magic power known is in the hands
756 of the mbako. They can give magical strength
565 to individuals. Thus again I see how important and powerful are these secret persons. The nobles, however, have no kekuatan adjaib.

797 The only major change in the local religion has been the introduction of Catholicism, and it has been epochal.

771 About fifty per cent of the local people are
788 Catholic. Just about every family has at least
183 one Catholic in it. If a Catholic wants to attend community rites, this is all right, but he

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771 should not pray. Also, a Catholic may not
788 initiate ceremonies by himself, for example,
183 house rites. I wonder what happens to a Catholic who lives in a house with the little hanging shelves for the naga. There the shelf is over their heads, and I wonder if they do not give offerings. If I had the time I would like to trail a Catholic around; my guess is that most of them do not worry too much about orthodoxy. There is still a lot of friction here.

875 There is a guru agama for Veol and Ndung,
793 but he lives in Rai. Usually there is a guru agama for each kampong, but these are twins. Usually one pastor serves one or two dalu. Rahong has the Maumere man, who lives in Tjantjar.

797 Most conversions are made of the young through the school. There are no cases of children converting their parents. There are relatively few direct adult converts. The school does the trick. A convert must first be a catechumen and learn the ropes. This lasts for one to two years.

797 The priests worry a lot here about what to
183 do, because adat is so dependent on the old
578 ceremonies. In Larantuka they have tried to
595 Christianize the pagan rites, etc. Right here there is a real problem, as the heir apparent of the big tuan tanah of Veol is Catholic. The assistant says van Bekkum[1] has discussed what should be done with him. Then too there is the matter of polygamy, which is very strong here. Most of the outright opposition to Catholicism comes from men or women who, because of a plural marriage, are not looked upon favorably by the
[783] church. There is no possible idjing (dispensation, according to Oudehand's version)[2] for this. This is a head-on conflict, especially because they desire so many children. The polygamists

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]; [2] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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797 are the ones who most often get lost to the
183 church, and they are the ones who fight bitter-
578 ly against the church. Perhaps here Mohamme-
595 danism might have an advantage, but the pig necessity at ceremonies would stop it cold. These people can get along without more than one wife, but without pigs the whole ritual life would be unthinkable. Thus each church has its weakness.

634 The first Radja of Manggarai, Baruk, was
595 put in by the church, actually. He was a
797 Catholic. The present one has two wives, one
578 of them a Minahasan. The mission is worried.
183 This is why the radja is only a deputy or acting radja and not a full radja. The mission runs Flores and will not agree to let him become a real radja as long as he remains a polygamist. The mission is on the spot. Probably the present man will never get the full status. This is checked by Degens, the Controleur.

Later, in Waingapu, Oudehand, the former Controleur in Larantuka, told me that the Radja of Larantuka also has several wives and keeps them, although he is "Catholic." One of them, the head one, is the daughter of the Sikka Radja.

This is all beautiful material in regard to acculturation and Catholicism. The Catholics are as tolerant as they can be, but they can't accept polygamy.

554 Note: The title nyora (from Portuguese sen-
177 hora) is used here as in Ambon for the guru's
171 wife. I don't know whether it is also used, as in Ambon, for a chief's wife.

There is no Mohammedanism here, and no ten-
771 dency toward Mohammedanism. Polygamy would work out all right, but the pig taboo would be very difficult indeed.

162 Degens says that the population of Manggarai is about one hundred and ninety thousand. Of these, about ninety thousand are Christian.

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162 Here in Veol the Christians and pagans are also about fifty-fifty. It is notable that here in Veol many of the young people are still pagan. There is plenty of paganism still, and the Catholics, I am sure, are largely pagan. The [578] main conflict is over polygyny. But there is also plenty of general friction. It is especially bad if a man has a barren wife. He must remarry. Who will feed him when he is dead? Also, what about the ceremonies? It is all right for the Catholics to say that Christians may attend community rites, if they do not pray in pagan style, but what will happen if all of them turn Catholic? Who will be there to do the rites?

797 769 775 788 Note also that the last of the rites means the end of relations with the thousands of dead inhabitants of the kampong. The Catholics try to fix this up. For example, Roy tried to do this by saying that they are probably not around the graves but have flown off to heaven. But this is revolutionary, and changes the whole character of the settlement into a kind of "empty" place, with only living persons living in it. He told how his father's father, when his father was a boy and the guru tried to convert him, had ordered the boy not to change. And the boy didn't. He now has four wives, one of whom is the assistant's mother. Note the [711] similarity with Toradja Protestant rules. Catholics may not pray in pagan style and may not hold private rites, and they may not officiate at the rites, but they may attend.

865 Note: At the Sunday singing performance I was impressed by the good behavior of the children. This always seems to be true here in Indonesia. They are amazingly unmischievous. The guru says that almost never is there a disciplinary problem. I can see this all over. The children are adults really while still very

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771 conservative, but not fanatic. Cornelius[1] says that they do not analyze the situation by thinking of what good things Catholicism has brought. Opposition is in the form of criticism, not in terms of a balance of good and bad. Just a-
[871] bout all education is in the hands of the mis-
[797] sion, although schools are paid for mainly by
[658] the government. Even in Mohammedan Reo, I found, the schools are mission run.

The people here do not debate very much
[521] about religious matters, but they do criticize the Catholic opposition to polygyny and feasts. There are no real debates or discussions, however, not even within families.

In regard to other religions, they know only
[829] Catholicism. All they know about Mohammedanism is that they eat no pork and are allowed four wives. There is no knowledge of other cults.

764 Formerly, in disposing of the dead, a mat
[178] was used, not a coffin. Today boxes are used everywhere. The big change in funeral rites has been the addition of Catholic rites, but the old ones are carried out too, as in the case of the wedding. When someone dies, everyone howls, and this includes men and women. Then two or three children carry a spear around the area, telling who has died. A few people from each house come to the house of the dead. They place the dead on a mat, on the floor, with the head toward the door. A cloth is placed over the whole body including the face. Thus the body remains on the floor for one day. A coffin is made. The dead is dressed in fine clothes. A few carefully saved silver coins are usually put in the mouth of the dead.

At the cemetery a man hits the ground five times with a stick before the grave is dug. When the grave is ready, they bring the coffin and bury the body. The reason for hitting the ground five times is in hope that in this way

1 [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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186 This may come later. The truth seems to be that they are not "Flores-conscious" or "Larantuka-conscious."

186 Indeed, the only slight flare of criticism
•798 of any other section or group on Flores was Roy's statement that the Mohammedans cause a bit of trouble (but this seems to be a fear or perhaps a recognized resemblance to the previous troubles here; for example, see the history of the Mohammedan attacks on Christian settlements in Flores). They are singularly mild on all this, especially when contrasted with Ambon and the chronic "gripers" there.

648 The people here all knew that they were a
609 subject group. Although they were not happy,
578 there was no revolutionary spirit. There was
681 some secret criticism, and everyone was sure that it would be better to be free. Roy said that one impressive thing was that the people disliked the coarse quality of the Dutch, and he said that there was too much of the "god verdomme" stuff. He imitated a coarse Dutchman swearing at the natives. And in the prewar period, all the people here would gladly have seen every single Dutchman leave, except the pastors. They liked the latter, but hated the officials. A sore point, of course, was that of taxation, but they also hated the summary way they were so easily put in jail. He keeps on saying how if a man tried to press his case with the Dutch, the latter just waved his hand and said, "To the bui with him."

648 When the guru had his famous case concerning
578 the land, and the kepala kampong was put in jail
609 because Roy and he would not sign the paper, twenty soldiers surrounded his house. The kampong people were so angry that they wanted to start a battle then and there. Roy dissuaded them, however, and then offered to pay a fine in order to release the kepala kampong. The

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829 they only saw them run away when the Japanese
[648] came in. He then said something which was quite interesting: that it is not hard for even the illiterates here to understand the government of any land in the world, as they have had so much experience with a system of government here. All they have to do is imagine the alien organization in terms of their own political organization.

875 As for information spread about in regard to
203 politics and current events, Roy says that the guru do a lot of this. The people ask them questions, and they are really big men.

521 The people here do not talk much about poli-
829 tics. Even when they had the big day of celebrating independence and the flag was flown, after the main information about the Round Table Conference was out, the people began to talk about their gardens, etc. They know about Sukarno, because his picture is everywhere [the Hitler theme?]. The thing which really settled
[798] the rumor that the red and white flag is that of Islam was Sukarno's speech that all religions were free. Priests must have publicized this.

The local people know that Java is the center
829 of all Indonesia, but there is little talk about
203 this yet. Roy sees the importance in this of
521 the complete absence of movies, radio, and the relative absence of papers. If the people had these, they would talk more (as do the backward Buginese who see movies of other lands and are curious about them).

Roy says that Catholicism does not mix itself
794 up with politics here at all. When elections
665 are held, the priest says in church that they must be sure to choose the right man. At least, he insists that the church is not involved in politics. I tried to press Roy by telling him how the church tried to get another radja for Manggarai, because the present one, although

794 Catholic, has two wives, but he was adamant.
665 As for Mohammedanism, he says that they are dormant politically, or at least they have been until recently. Now that Dr. Sutomo is here he is becoming a kind of Mohammedan leader. However, the Mohammedans are few and they are important only in Kampong Baru. There was a
798 rumor here on the Japanese entrance that the
203 Japanese were Mohammedans. It went further to the effect that all Christians and pagans were to be killed. The theme was that you had better get your songko boys. There was a new version, when the red and white flag went up. It went that this was really the flag of Islam and that the Christians and pagans would have no voice in the government. He thinks that perhaps this rumor was started by the Mohammedans. It was here that he joyfully parroted several times my word desas-desus [whispering, rumors]. He learns new words fast.

The situation here is the reverse of the
178 usual thing. The Catholics are the radicals,
797 in the sense that they are against the old
565 things which are pagan, and the pagans are the
177 conservatives in the sense that they want to
769 keep the old ways. This will change later, surely.

This led to a long talk about the entry of Catholicism here. Roy admits that he may be the most powerful factor in the fast and one hundred per cent conversion here. He said that the main reason was that he gave good lessons (ketranggan [interpretation, clarification, proof]) and the second reason was that he happens to be a real noble. The latter meant not only that he had a good name and respected rank, but that he was in close touch with and had real privileges in the pagan ancestral stuff. Indeed, his own rank depends on the ancestor cult. If he was willing to take a chance with the new

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178 religion, when he knew so much about the old
797 ways and his ancestors were so important in
565 it, then this new religion must be all right.
177 (Here we see the old theme of converting the
769 chiefs first. And all the magic aspect is clear too.) He admitted that if the nobles had been against Catholicism it would have been much more difficult (impossible? Note India, where the handicap of missions has been that most of the people converted have been untouchables; and the joy of the missions has been whenever they could snare a Brahmin.)

797 Roy says that they received Catholicism at
175 first gladly and were interested and liked the medicine. Then there came trouble, however, when they saw that the Catholics were determined to wipe out the old things. Then came resignation. The trouble started when the Catholics began to win. Thus there were three phases, starting with the conversion of the first man, Guru Bala, in 1885:

(1) 1885--1912: period of amicable relations.

(2) 1912--1920: the pagan fight, and real conflict.

(3) 1920 to the present: the surrender and acceptance of the inevitable.

[614] Bala was of the suku Lewonuhah.

565 Even now, the asli, the men of real noble
177 descent, have the power and prestige. It is very hard, indeed impossible, for a commoner, no matter how clever he may be, to bring in alien things. If a commoner tried he would be killed. If he is a noble, he will find things easier, but he too had better be careful, for if he is a "trouble maker" he too might be thrown out (killed?).

797 In Wailolong the first Christian was Pulo,
177 converted by Bala in 1890. Conversions were
798 slower here than in Leloba, and paganism still
184 holds on. Because it was slower there, Roy says
578

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797 that there was less open conflict than in Leloba.
●798 There was a chance to mix the pagan with the new
177 and develop a syncretism. In Leloba it was a
184 life and death struggle, and indeed it was, as
578 the issue shows, a showdown. Perhaps Roy refused to compromise. This is a very interesting contrast. They had their fight out in Leloba and gave up paganism, while Wailolong held onto a little of the old. Indeed, he says that the Catholics in Wailolong do many of the pagan rites today, whereas the Catholics of Leloba have no ceremonies left to participate in.

[665] Since there are no political parties here,
797 and the real issue in Wailolong now is religion,
177 since all depends on it, I went right back to
798 the struggle on this point too. The leader of
578 the Catholics in Wailolong is the guru from Bama. His outside origin is a handicap. (I am just about sure that Roy is the main man to destroy paganism in Leloba. He was the perfect man for the job.) The leader of the pagans is Blawa, the kelake of one of the Datong ama. He is the one who shares the office with the legitimate kelake, Doeng, who is less able to do so. The Radja tuan of this head suku is not so eloquent, and so Blawa is the center of resistance. I asked if he got along all right with the guru and with Roy, and he said yes. Again the mild-
[181] ness of the folk stands out, together with their
[152] tolerance. They simply do not show anger.

Anyway, the pagans, even Blawa, have given up. Their only struggle is over little things (please let us have at least one little girl for a tuno wudjo!). They just try to hold on, like their last gasp. They are going down the road to death, and after them the pagans will be eclipsed. It is dramatic.

166 The only people who go away from here usually
484 go to jail, as Roy says. This is the only trip they make.

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791 178 all pagans then,[1] and all parents of the present adults of about thirty or older were pagan. My assistant's father was.

872 [171] The lower school here consists of three grades. It is a mission school although the government evidently makes a contribution to it. In Ndona (seven kilometers by road, four kilometers across the hills, and the children walk there) there are eight grades. Until the present there is only one from here who has gone as far as class seven, and ten in class six. The school in Ndona is the highest level school around here (and perhaps in all Flores) except for the seminary. The eighth grade qualifies one for the job of guru.

There are two children here who go to school in Ende where there is a connecting or intermediate school and a middle school, I think.

[171] There are few Mohammedans here, and no Koran school. They must go to Ende for this.

871 185 178 Everyone here is very much in favor of education. Formerly, there was a bit of trouble with the oldsters who saw no sense (and I suspect did not like the mission tie-up) in such things. But now everyone wants his children to go to school. They are anxious to have both their girls and boys go to school, although they are perhaps a bit more interested in education for their boys. If a girl is clever, however, they want her to advance too.

898 212 The children do show a bit of a superiority feeling toward the illiterate oldsters, but there is almost always a great show of respect. And the illiterate old folk are not ashamed. They are only farmers, anyway, they say.

● 798 872 178 When Catholicism came in first, there was much trouble, and the elders scolded hard. After the school came in, in 1921, there was no more trouble. They say and insist that the pagan elders make no trouble at all for the Catholic children

1 [i.e., fifty years ago --Analyst]

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000 much of a waste of animals.

796 I finally found out which kampongs do the
614 main ritual functions when they have a general
346 Belakang Gunung feast at which all kampongs are represented. This is when they have a new korke (or church). The order is as follows:

1. Kottang is Mudakaputu (descendants of Bampowa).

2. Keleng is Lewohala (descendants of Kewaka).

3. Hurint is Leloba (descendants of Belawaburak).

4. Marang is Wailolong (descendants of Keweluk).

5. The passer of food and drink and betel ingredients is Watuwiti (descendant of Mado). Thus they are the five brothers.

624 Hence we have the "sistim" which he himself
614 is so impressed by. There are priests in the
793 sense that the radja tuan and the kelake are
565 really suku and ama priests. They are administrative and ritual officers. In addition,
789 there are priests and gurus of the new religion.
756 And there are the molang or medicine seers. These have more power and influence if they are of bangsawan descent. Thus again the magic power of proper descent comes to the fore and we see that blood and rank affect even the influence of medicine men. Then there are the dukun, who are doctors but with magical aspects.

● 798 They are extremely liberal toward all religions. The only sign of any animosity I ever saw was toward Mohammedanism, and it was not even here except in Kampong Baru. The pagan resistance was more pronounced formerly. Today the two cults work together without much, if any, friction.

871 The schools are government schools, but the
797 mission runs them and evidently provides, but
658 does not pay, the teachers. The schools were

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871 once solely in the hands of the mission, but
658 they are now given government support. This
797 is a curious situation. I see more of the same thing in Roworeke, where the Mohammedan problem enters.

771 There are plenty of debates in Leloba about religion always, and this was especially true
●798 in the days when Catholicism was coming in. Roy talked ceaselessly with the last pagan power, Laba. However, there was much less debate in Wailolong. In fact, Roy says that Wailolong is not much interested in religion, and he says that this is largely because the gurus there are outside men. They have little influence. And thus again we see the closed world aspect of this situation. Even when preaching the universal religion, a man has to be from the Belakang Gunung region and even from the very same kampong in order to get much of a hearing. I suppose the pastors are an exception. They are such big medicine that they can even be Dutch. I note, however, that probably Holland is so far off that it is like "a far-off heaven" and there is therefore no friction with the little closed world here. Roy says that Wailolong is not much for Christianity at all. Thus I see what I first saw, that Wailolong is really a pagan kampong with a Catholic name. That is why paganism shows up so clearly. And it may also be why there is no particular love for Leloba here, and why Roy is so much afraid to work there, or at least why he was so afraid at first. He actually feared being snubbed.

Roy predicts that the last pure pagan will have died in another ten years. There is knowledge only of Catholicism and pagan cults here. Hence there is no "comparative religion." Note again that Christianity means Catholic. Protestants are evidently seldom mentioned. How nice for tolerance!

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527 A small feast is given at the birth of a
852 child.

304 There is no supercision, except for Mohammedan circumcision, and this is done only in a few cases. (Evidently, in Indonesia, where supercision was in before, they may continue it under Mohammedanism, for example, in Makassar. But where there was no cutting before, they take on Mohammedan circumcision only.)

They say that they never had any cutting here. However, they say that they know of at least two kampongs in Lio where cutting did take place.

622 The mosa laki are of course religious as well
793 as adat chiefs. The Catholic priest has a house here, but does not reside there. He makes periodic visits. There are two religious teachers.

771 I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements.

798 I wonder if the new bureaucracy, and also the Mohammedan majority, may cause trouble for the Catholic-oriented education of Flores. So far there has been no trouble.

● 798 There is very little discussion of religion here. They seem to let it slide by, and I get the idea that there is no great trouble in regard to paganism because (1) they never had any real resistance here, and (2) the pagans are too dumb, and so are the Christians, and (3) the Catholics do not evidently attack directly.

782 There was no trouble here in regard to the
797 acceptance of Mohammedanism from the standpoint
[231] of sacrifice, because they have plenty of non-taboo animals, for example, the buffalo, cattle, and goats. Therefore, it is not necessary to have a pig for pagan rites, and even the Mohammedans would get their share at a feast. This is different from Larantuka, where a Mohammedan would go hungry at the largely pork provided feasts. And also, in Larantuka, the all-essen-

614 maybe it is a matter of the older and younger
582 lines. I must check on this. The mandur said
[624] there was no tuan tanah in Ruteng kampong.
Later the assistant said they must have one.

124 In the evening the assistant came to the pasanggrahan and talked with us. He seems to be the best one yet. He knows plenty about the old customs, and Christianity has not caused him to scorn the old ways. He is so enthusiastic that it was hard for us to stop him. We got onto the question of Weol.

178 He said that in the old days there was only
342 one large round house per kampong. The diameter
614 was perhaps twenty meters. If you saw two
624 houses, it meant that there were two va'u. And
582 up until twenty years ago (1927) all tuan tanah
778 lived in round houses. After that, however, a
801 change took place. For example, the tuan tanah of Weol now lives in a rectangular house. In the old clan house there were nine posts, in rows of three. The very center pillar was the main one and here sat the tuan tanah at religious rites. Others ranged around the walls in the front half of the house. The rear section of the house was for the tuan tanah and his family. Other panga had sections around the walls. In the center, behind the main post, was the kitchen. Later, when more than one round house was built in a single kampong, the tuan tanah occupied the main house, and here the main pillar of all was located. This pillar is especially holy, and the setting of it in place requires certain rites, sacrificial animals, etc. Other round houses had nine pillars too. Each house was inhabited usually by one panga, and in each there was a kepala panga, and smaller rites were held at each main pillar.

243 The circular rice field arrangement shows
782 certain similarities here. He says that even
778 now when they begin planting or have some other

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844 graves or go to funerals. The umbilical cord is not cut until the placenta is out. In doing this a knife of bamboo is used. In fact, they use five bamboo cutters. They cut with the first four a little, and then throw them aside. The fifth bamboo knife cuts through.

846 614 [851] When the child is born, a man (maybe the father) comes to the house and bangs five times on the wall from the outside with a spear, and asks, "Boy or girl?" (The assistant said he banged the spear himself.) The word used for boy means "kampong child"; for girl "outside child," reflecting that the former will swell the population of the kampong, but the latter will leave the kampong on marriage. The placenta is put in a box with ashes, along with the umbilical cord (mba'u means placenta with cord). The box is hung in front of the house until it falls apart and disappears. He says usually a dog or some other beast finally eats it up! However, this holds for some va'u only. Other va'u throw the afterbirth in the river, and others bury it. Thus the custom in Pau is hanging; Pongkor buries, Veol throws in the river, Tjepang throws in the river.

● 805 The calendar starts with planting. They count the months thereafter. The year has ten moons. The two moons extra (May, June, July period) are not counted. They are "empty." (This may explain the confusion Papajungan had in explaining the Toradja calendar, because there too they had extra, unnamed months.)

The ten months, he said, are named. This is unclear, because later it seemed that he reneged on this at Anam when I pointed out that Anam was just having a New Year feast at the end of January, while other kampongs had had theirs long since. Maybe they just count from the planting time, and the "New Year" feast does not take place at the start of the counting, but is just

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805 held some time after the planting is done. I think this is it. He says that in other parts of Manggarai they may have twelve moons. The European calendar is seldom used and only by those who have gone to school.

793 The only priests here are the tuan tanah.
622 The tuan tanah of the pusat kampong is the most
614 important. Cornelius agreed that he was like a bishop. The other tuan tanah of the branch kampongs are like parish priests. The tuan panga have certain roles in panga rites. Below the kampong and the panga there are only small rites.

756 Cornelius says that the mbako went secret even before the Dutch came in. He says he doesn't really know why the people keep the mbako identities so secret. Or perhaps he simply will not tell me. He keeps on saying it is because "they do not want to show any pride." Maybe this means that they do not want to appear to "brag" about their special power, or perhaps it is the idea that if they talk about it they may lose it. They are certainly sensitive on this matter. Van Bekkum says that in all the years he has been in Manggarai he has never found out who a single mbako is. This is amazing. There are no dukun apart from the mbako. In a kampong Cornelius says there are usually from one to three mbako.

[754] There are no suwanggi here.

Cornelius says that even though all the people turn Catholic, they must still have a mbako, in the sense of a dukun.

A new point is that in addition to the troubles of the mbako with the police (maybe because of poison? or is it mere suspicion of magic murder?) they have also gotten into trouble with the hospital because of their "practice" of medicine.

771 In terms of religion, the people here are
{I.e., the assistant--Analyst}
{pastor at Ruteng--Analyst}

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614 barn rites, with only the ama tuno wudjo and
796 members present. All of this is done in order
241 to make the rice in the fields perfect. The
343 other great ritual complex of an agricultural nature is at harvest time, and they may have a third type if there is an especially good harvest (like the thanksgiving feasts of the Toradja).

778 I asked about the saoniwang, the magic stones
789 which are in front of the houses of all suku
342 and ama chiefs. Some have disappeared in Le-
614 loba and have not been replaced, but most of
● 823 them are still there. For example, the guru has the mother stone before his house, and one child stone, but other child stones are used for foundations of houses. They are inserted with many other stones in the masonry, but he pointed to the specific ones. These saoniwang, like the nubanara, which are placed in front of the korke, are the big ones in the heap, the mother, and the little ones, her children. They hold the magic power of the chiefs, and without them there is no power. Nevertheless, in Leloba, even when the chief has no more stones, he still holds some power, as if they were still there. The guru has three for his house, for war power, marriage power, and power among suku, respectively. One of these is in the hills behind. This, he says, has tremendous power. He says such things seriously.

[773] These stones suddenly appeared long ago. They came down from heaven after, or rather with a heavy rain. Thus they are like the descendance stones of, for example, Goa. Sao means anchor and so does niwang. Thus the meaning is that the power and with it the group or man holding it are firmly and inextrically tied to this land. However, all sorts of stones are believed to have power. Many of them are very little. Thus the kakang has a

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778 notable little stone with lots of agricultural
789 power. The objects which are possessed by the
614 suku and ama have no magic power; they are
823 only a form of wealth.

The eight kampongs of the Mudakaputu ge-
621 meente are:
832

1. Leloba
2. Wailolong
3. Lewohala
4. Lewoneda
5. Mudakaputu
6. Watuwiti
7. Riang Kamiß
8. Riang Kanali

237 Economic note: The tusks are like the stone
583 money of Yap. They are the basis for the local
436 economy, but have little intrinsic value. The
452 non-existent tusks of Larantuka are even better,
and the folklore concerning them is fantastic.
They are reckoned with and theoretically ex-
changed when they don't even exist. They keep
the marriage system going. They are parallel
to pure paper credit--something like interna-
tional balances.

621 The first six kampongs are the old time kam-
173 pongs. They were founded by the five sons of
Lenurat or their descendants, who came out of
Ili Mandiri. Thus the situation runs something
like this:

Sons: (1) Belawaburak founded Leloba. (2)
Keweluk founded Wailolong. (3) Kewaka founded
Lewohala and Lewoneda. (4) Bampowa founded
Mudakaputu. (5) Mado founded Watuwiti.

Daughters: (6) Emma married a man of Tand-
jung Bunga (and the folk there call the people
of the Blakang Gunung region "blake," i.e.,
mother's brother). (7) Hingi married a man of
Adonara (perhaps the people there would also

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764 in a new place and have children there, a tjompang, etc. (thus the Tjepang do not go back to their old home in the west).

764 614 ●823 Also, all women who marry out become members of their husbands' va'u and are buried there. If it is impossible to take the body back to the kampong of origin, they at least get a bit of dirt from the cemetery there and take it to the far-off grave (a spot of land that is forever Veol!). This is a real duty, and they may travel very far to get it. Thus, if a Veol man dies in a far away kampong where there is no tuan tanah and no privilege, a bit of earth from the Veol cemetery (near the road here) is taken to his grave. A small feast is given, at which time only a fowl is sacrificed. This is done in the far-off kampong at the burial. However, then the family travel to Veol, no matter how far off it may be, and there [775] they have the really big funeral feast. This is because the soul of the deceased always returns to the home kampong, that is, unless the clan section is already settled in a new place and has its own cemetery.

775 769 782 The souls of the dead live around the graves. There is no special deadland here. Thus, whenever there is a feast in the kampong, people go to the cemetery and invite the souls to attend. The assistant sang a song which they use. Also, they kill a fowl there, in order to give a little food in advance (he said "voorschot"). [776] Also, they go to the spring and invite the water spirits, and give them a fowl too. (Now I see why they have the cry, "Who will feed me when I am dead?")

161 769 The real population of Veol--Ndung is not three hundred and fifty, but thousands, as the dead live there too. The ancestor cult is thus tremendous in regard to the stature of the kampong.

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789 father told him to shut up. This was another
776 of his familiars. He also had a seven-headed
178 snake as a familiar. I asked what ever happened
[825] to these familiars, and he said that they do not appear any longer because the people do not feel the need for them. But if one called them, they could come to the old guru. That is, the familiars are inherited from father to his successor son. This is amazing, and shows clearly that the old guru, at least, and indeed the young one and the kepala kampong, still take seriously much of the old belief despite Christianity. I eased
[123] into this by talking like a kafir myself, as usual, and they came along to a stage of talking in a way that would horrify the priests. At one point the guru stopped and said, "My, we're talking like Kafirs [unbelievers, infidels]." There is plenty left here of the old paganism, and I can see why the priest said it would be easy for them to slide back into their former habits.

241 People must keep quiet when the crops are
824 growing as they would scare away the food spirit in the plants otherwise. When there is a harvest there are feasts and many gatherings. This may be the reason for the harvest feast pattern.

361 Wailolong was originally located in the hills. Then they moved down to the coast where there is a crossroads at Okka. After that they moved only about thirty years ago to their present location. The first move was the result of the government pressure to make them come down out of the hills. The second move was halfway back to the hills. Leloba has moved only once, that being the original move down from the higher hills. Wailolong and indeed other kampongs here have grown fast in recent years because of cleaner conditions, better medicine, etc. They know this well. Wailolong has grown apace and keeps grow-
000 ing. The houses in the oldest negri lama were

611 I think he[1] also said it is possible to pay part of
614 the bride price and then to give some of the
583 children to the mother's group. This is not so
582 important, however, as the usual marriage is endogamous. They prefer to marry within the sib. They may marry out also. They have the same term for all cousins, and may marry with any cross or parallel cousin. Descent is patrilineal. Female descent is traced too, and thus there may occur cases of double descent with patrilineal emphasis and endogamy and clans. This is remarkable.

784 They also have totemism here with animal de-
824 scent and tree descent. A member may not kill or eat the animal totem and may not cut or burn or use in any way the wood of the tree totem. Two of the latter are ficus and lontar. The
583 amount to be paid as a bride price is a matter
554 of pride. Many kampongs have only one voi,
614 but others have several.

197 The language of Ngada is related to that of
193 Ende and is very close to Nageh. Manggarai speech, however, is quite different. Arndt says there are no affixes in Ngada, but instead they use particles.

614 Correction: Not all voi have women as an-
565 cestors, but most of them do. There are four
582 classes (not three as van Staveren[2] says). These are the nobles (ata gai or gai meze), upper commoners (ata gisa or gai giza), lower commoners (azi ana) and slaves (ata hoö). An upper woman may never marry a lower man, but the reverse is all right. The peo still stand.

124 We talked about the possibility of working in a Ngada kampong, but the Soa area has already been covered, and Arndt has a book nearly ready on the sociology of Ngada. There is practically nothing on Manggarai, so we decided to go to Ruteng first. We left in the afternoon, and after a hard drive, largely in the rain, we

1 [i.e., Arndt, pastor in Ngada area--Analyst]
2 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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614 All the people in Weol gelarang are of va'u
166 Weol. There is one exception, the va'u Tjepang. These folk came in before from Boleng, in North Manggarai. They settled in kampong Weol, but when things became crowded, they went below to kampong Tjantjar. The latter alone has many people who are not of the va'u Weol, except for real newcomers, such as the Ruteng folk in Ndung, who came to work in the gardens (evidently as coolies) and settled down. There are many outsiders in the mixed and new kampong Tjantjar.

The original ancestors of the va'u Weol came
614 out of a bamboo at a spot near the present spring
773 below Weol. There are bamboo trees there de-
● 824 scended from the original one. The original an-
784 cestors were a pair: Vako Dangka and Ine Karas. Not only is the bamboo taboo but also the lusa (red beans). For example, if a child eats these unwittingly, a fowl must be killed. They do not "cut off" the tongue symbolically with a leaf as is done in some other areas.

614 Women from other clans marrying into Weol
784 must take on the taboo of their husbands. A
562 Weol woman marrying into another clan may eat
783 lusa, but only after performing the rite called ela penteng pitak, which means "to clean off the mud." She must take on the totem taboos of her husband's clan. The woman marrying into Weol gives up her own taboos, but must also do the ela penteng pitak. This ceremony involves a pig sacrifice. Thus every woman marrying into another clan must do this rite to give up her own totems. The name of the totem taboo is tjek'ki.

565 There is a nobility which applies to the
632 radjas, dalu, and gelarang. The gelarang are
624 the tuan tanah (and kepala kampong) of the cen-
622 tral kampongs of the gelarang districts, for
[634] example, Weol. Thus Weol has two gelarang, and Ndung has only one, because the kepala kampong

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614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and Rundu.

784 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol
824 clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The
614 other kinds, for example betong, which is thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung pesi is also tabooed for the members of the Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only on the first-born of each family. The first-born is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his
114 material. There are now two more kampongs in
624 the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas is in error in stating that Ladja is the fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung. Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung. The Manggarai
624 name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Teno is the
824 kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post
796 which is set in the center of the star of fields for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a
[533] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum.
[562] Some of the beats are the same for the men and for the women, but others differ by sex. Another term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to
423 the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which
651 are basically the property of the tuan tanah. Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay tribute for his house space. This tribute is used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus
778 this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in
[104] kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on the side of the highest hill. It is in the form of a rough human figure, which used to have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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524 In the afternoon on the alun-alun in Ruteng we saw a bamboo-clapping game. Two parallel bamboos were placed on the ground, and squatting behind them, facing each other, were two pairs of women. Each pair held two bamboos in their hands. These bamboos were placed athwart the lying bamboos. In unison they banged the bamboos three times against the sticks which were lying down, and on the fourth beat clapped them together, sliding them across on the sticks. Then the girl tried to hopscotch between the moving bamboos so that her ankles would not get caught on the clapping together of the long horizontal bamboos. The clapping went faster and faster--one, two, three, four --until she got caught. A man tried it too, and then some others. This is unique [actually [171] rather widespread in southeast Asia, for example, in Hainan, Philippines, Indo-China]. The mandur said they usually do this in moonlight with long rows of clappers, and with several pairs, male and female, doing the hopscotch stuff. They also have this in Larantuka and Ende.

● 824 Teno does not mean tanah, the latter being the same in Manggarai. Teno means the kind of wood used for the lodok post. Hence, tu'a teno.

342 531 237 [171] On the house ridge of the tuan tanah of Ndung between the wooden buffalo horns is a human head of wood. Could this be related to the Toradja use of human heads berween horns, and also connected with the horn headdresses of the dancers and whippers here? The horns are used only on the houses of the tuan tanah. On other houses different decorations are used. The horns indicate that there is a drum located in the house on which they are placed.

114 Notes from Mennes (Koloniaal Tijdschrift, XX, 1931; (1), 384-390): h

h [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 237 224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. 776 I got a real rise when I asked him 784 about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh 124 tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must ●824 have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read 769 that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo [789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

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796 held under the ama kebang.
241 Note the food symbolism in these most impor-
782 tant rites. They take place under the barn.
[887] There are present at these ceremonies the old women (in the old days young virgins) who act as tuno wudjo and food divider. The high point is the killing of a pig, and the meat is mixed with the rice and the blood and the four posts are smeared with this food. Everyone eats. The whole thing is completely linked with fertility. And the ancestors are summoned in the litany and are invited to come and eat.

778 There are plenty of holy places, such as the
[346] kampong lama, the place where the tuno wudjo is (what does this mean?), the place where they used to assemble before a war (did they do this before the recent war against Waibalun? Perhaps the few who did the active part of the warfare did). Then there are also holy stones: nubanara, and saonivang. There is also a church or rather a chapel!

The stones are especially important, and this is a real stone cult area. He admits this, and if I had time I could get much about the stories, beliefs, etc., in regard to these stones. I told him about the Stonehenge, the dolmens, etc., and he caught onto this fast.

241 The festival calendar is largely one of agri-
527 cultural feasts. The main ones are at planting and harvest. There are other agricultural feasts too, at all stages. For example, there are festivals at the time of burning the fields, clearing the fields, etc. In all, the agricultural cycle includes thirteen rites. At the thirteenth the harvest comes, and a big time is had by all. Everyone eats and there is a lot of noise. During the growing period everything
[824] is quiet in order not to disturb the spirit of the crops. This is a period of danger and much

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582 the previous talk of the tuan tanah that there
614 are preferred clans. I will clinch this when I get the va'u membership of the inmarriers.

The next day I started in on some more question in regard to social organization.

[103] Note that the name of the kampong below is
346 Tjantjar, not as I have spelled it above [Tjantsia]. I went there halfway through the morning as I heard drums and gongs. There were girls (looking very Hawaiian) sitting on the porch of the house next to the new one of the tuan tanah now being built. The timbers are up. It will be a rectangular house, although the one it replaces was round (I made a photo of the latter only a month ago, which shows how fast the old type is vanishing). The drums and gongs were being beaten because this is necessary when a new tuan tanah house (rumah gong-gendang) is being built.

346 There were several drums and several gongs
533 (and I found that each tuan tanah house has
776 several of each). They must be beaten all the
●824 time, with short pauses, and the girls take
[562] turns. The men may help too (for garden beating, only men may play the instruments). This has to go on all the time while the big house is being built. The reason is that the wood (always spirit-ridden here) must be constantly kept pacified and told that it is being used for a great purpose, a big house. For ordinary houses this is not necessary. (I wonder if the idea is also in order to get the wood used to being in a rumah gong-gendang?) Before the trees are cut for the wood, they are told that they are being cut for a high purpose. Each grove of trees has a local spirit called darat. These are tree spirits. The generic word for spirit is ro.

778 I notice each day on my way here that there is
776 a grove of fine trees standing isolated on a
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778 high hill, which is otherwise bare, like most
776 of the land here. It is taboo, as special
824 darat dwell here. And now I see many such sacred groves in the hills, carefully left when the land was cleared. It is as though they have to leave places here and there for the darat whose trees have been largely cut away. One has to watch out for feelings of the spirits always. The assistant also uses the word roro for spirits in general.

346 As the big timbers are carried in, the bear-
776 ers sing all the time, moving about slowly, and
533 telling the setan not to sit on the timber and
824 make it heavy. A small girl, elaborately dressed, sits on the timber, showing the setan that someone is already sitting there, so that they won't. A flag is set on the timber (now usually a merdeka, red and white flag) to show the kampong folk from two to three kilometers away that they are coming. In the kampong, they begin to beat gongs and drums "to receive the wood" into the kampong. They may not be quiet as the wood enters. There is much singing, etc.

[335] While the carpenters are at work with modern tools on the house, the gongs and drums are beaten constantly (technology and adat). There has been trouble here in Tjantjar with the tukang from Ruteng. The timbers were already set
[578] when an argument started over the contract, etc. Tempers rose, and the carpenters picked up their tools and left for Ruteng. I saw them on the road two days ago. Now the kampong folk are worried stiff because there lies the wood and there is the wood in the half-finished house, and nothing is being done. The wood may get impatient or angry, and if so they will always have trouble with the house. And this is important, as it is the main house, the cult house,
[753] of the kampong. Also, if the wood gets angry, there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.

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346 there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.
824 They beat the gongs and drums to keep the wood
533 satisfied and I suppose to make it think that
776 the work is going on. Also, I notice that a few men carry planks up now and then to the rafters, perhaps making as though they were carrying on the work. Meanwhile a delegation is in Ruteng to persuade the carpenters to return. The situation is desperate, and perhaps the folk regret having argued with the tukang in the first place. They must "make the wood cool," they say. This is dramatic.

I also noted that a pig was being skinned in the shed nearby. This is for the workers, but it had been ritually killed with prayers, etc. The drum and gong rhythms constantly changed, and the girls are really clever. This
[562] is beautiful stuff. There are beats which are peculiar to men and women, and also some which are used by both. These people are really virtuosos. All day the women sit thus, doing their duty by the wood spirit.

There is a main post in the rectangular house too, and when it is set in, animals are killed and blood is placed in the hole.

Until about ten years ago all houses here
342 were round. Today there are very few of the
178 old round houses left. Cornelius[1] says there is
346 scarcely a single tuan tanah round house left, because everyone must contribute to the cost of a new one, and when they build one they want one that will be a strong rectangular type so that it will last for a long while. The cost of this new type tuan tanah house is nearly fl.
[435] 3000.00 in addition to the free labor contributed. Each family contributes to the cost and also gives animals for the workers, ceremonies, etc. It is a big thing.

342 I went into one of the two round houses left
178 in Tjantjar. It is a bit different from the

[1] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

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538 but many are still remembered. I get the idea that the decline here is not so great as in many other areas.

484 There is practically no desire here yet to go to places which are "happier."

721 There was no head-hunting here at any time,
266 nor was there any cannibalism, although they did drink blood for revenge pleasure in war. There was no human sacrifice and no torture.

681 The death punishment was given for murder, a slave having sex relations with a kraeng woman, primary incest (but more distant incest was punished by a purifying rite only). The way the death punishment was carried out here and in Pongkor was to throw the victim down into a river from a high point.

411 Note: To kill a beast the people here use
231 a spear or a long knife. It is nearly always the latter.

778 The tjompang tree may be only either waringin
824 or dadap.

515 I see plenty of lice-plucking here. The pretty wife of the head guru I saw plucking the head of another woman. And I see this all over. And here, judging by the smell, they seldom bathe. I see no bathing places. Toilets are evidently holes in the ground enclosed by a screen. I don't remember seeing lice-plucking in Makassar or Buginese areas, but perhaps they do it too. I also do not remember seeing it in Ambon. The Toradja certainly do it. Note that the Endenese and people in Larantuka bathe. The Toradja don't. I think it is probably mountain people (especially the dirty Ngada) who do not bathe and also who have more lice. In this regard, note the Manggarai Ngada, Toradja, and Batak. The Minangkabau, although living in the mountains, bathe (a sign of former coastal life?).

124 Thus ended the Manggarai work, and the as-

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584 true no more for the Christians in Leloba. Here
184 they have only adult betrothal. In Wailolong, however, there is still plenty of this child betrothal business. This may take place at the age of three to four years. They are told of this when they are from five to six years old. As children they think nothing of this until
584 they become older. Sometimes the tusks are paid
583 early; at other times they wait until actual marriage. If the boy's father agrees to pay for a girl and later the boy refuses, he must pay the bride price anyway. In the old days, however, a boy never refused, or almost never. The younger brother of the guru hated the girl he was betrothed to as a child and ran away to Badjawa. His father paid the tusks anyway and they were lost by so doing. Later the brother married a woman from Roti.

621 The guru was the first man from the Belakang
582 Gunung [behind the mountain] area (consisting of eight kampongs) who married a Larantuka woman. His wife was from Balela. Later, the present kakang (who is a Leloba man) married a woman from Balela too. Balela is a foothill kampong now a part of Larantuka town.

595 A man may have up to three wives, but no more.

The guru's father had much magic power. He
789 was the panglima perang [war leader] here. He
776 had familiar spirits who helped him and usually
178 he alone saw them. Other people would see them
825 sometimes. Thus the guru heard a noise like a horse in front of the house one night when he was young. He looked out and there stood a buffalo. There are no buffaloes in this area. He called his father and the latter told him to shut up. This buffalo was one of his father's familiars. Another time the guru was in the fields with his father and heard stones rattling. He saw a crocodile. There are no crocodiles here either. He called his father, and again his

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789 father told him to shut up. This was another
776 of his familiars. He also had a seven-headed
178 snake as a familiar. I asked what ever happened
[825] to these familiars, and he said that they do not appear any longer because the people do not feel the need for them. But if one called them, they could come to the old guru. That is, the familiars are inherited from father to his successor son. This is amazing, and shows clearly that the old guru, at least, and indeed the young one and the kepala kampong, still take seriously much of the old belief despite Christianity. I eased
[123] into this by talking like a kafir myself, as usual, and they came along to a stage of talking in a way that would horrify the priests. At one point the guru stopped and said, "My, we're talking like Kafirs [unbelievers, infidels]." There is plenty left here of the old paganism, and I can see why the priest said it would be easy for them to slide back into their former habits.

241 People must keep quiet when the crops are
824 growing as they would scare away the food spirit in the plants otherwise. When there is a harvest there are feasts and many gatherings. This may be the reason for the harvest feast pattern.

361 Wailolong was originally located in the hills. Then they moved down to the coast where there is a crossroads at Okka. After that they moved only about thirty years ago to their present location. The first move was the result of the government pressure to make them come down out of the hills. The second move was halfway back to the hills. Leloba has moved only once, that being the original move down from the higher hills. Wailolong and indeed other kampongs here have grown fast in recent years because of cleaner conditions, better medicine, etc. They know this well. Wailolong has grown apace and keeps grow-
000 ing. The houses in the oldest negri lama were

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582 marriage was preferred, it was not required, be-
178 cause the boy could also marry a girl of an en-
614 tirely different group from his mother's, for
835 example, Belepe Lolong A or Waktukang.

Nowadays, the easiest thing to do is merely to disregard the mother's brother's daughter stuff, as this requires care in observing that the relative must be at least a third cousin, and they marry in one of the other allowed groups. This is the leeway that the traditional system allows. When it is a question of close figuring, Roy says that they usually ask the priest to settle the situation for them. A good case of this was with the guru's son, who is now in Makassar. He was in love with a Belemang girl, but this was the ama of his grandmother, and the girl was his mother's brother's daughter--cousin via his grandmother, i.e., only a third degree relative. Therefore Roy went to the priest, and the latter (I suspect they are always indulgent in this matter if it is not a first cousin) said that if they were that desperate he would give a special dispensation (he uses a word for this that sounds like isin, but I must ask about this) (idjing). And so the boy was married. The way to do this correctly is for the boy to marry his mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's son's daughter. This is via the great grandparental generation. Note that it has to go up via women and down via men. This works out all right if one notes that under the mother's brother's daughter rule this brings the proper amas into the relationship (I may be wrong on this and must check on it later).

582 I was much impressed when he said that there
835 is a good reason for the Catholic rule. I had
827 tried to say that it is not in the Bible and
177 that Protestantism had not worked out this rule and yet they were Christians too, that the ancestors thought it was all right and indeed de-

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582 sirable and that for hundreds of years the folk
835 had been doing this sort of thing (first cousin
827 marriages) without any ill effects, to counter
179 his saying that first cousin marriages caused poor offspring, for example, feeble-mindedness. He took this barrage with polite resignation, but said that he had seen plenty of bad cases of close inmarriage children. The probability is that there is some inbreeding chance of recessives coming out, at least enough to use this argument of rationalization, and surely the priests have played up this "scientific" justification. It is interesting, however, that he uses the pseudo-rational explanation and not the appeal to divine authority, which would at once raise the issue of the wrongness of a strong pagan rule.

562 The next day, our last, was a half day, as
887 I had to get to Maumere in order to get Kattenburg on the place to Makassar. At the end of the session we had lunch with the two guru, and the younger daughter served. Then I found out that in every house the oldest woman is the nu'a luka rumah tangga, paralleling the ritual functions for the women of the nu'a luka suku and the nu'a luka ama. The mother is in Makassar, and the eldest daughter is in the hospital, so this one acted as the server. The nu'a luka is important here, as she directs everything in regard to cooking and eating and also for caring for small animals, weaving, etc. She is the household manager. In this poor area food division is especially important.

127 I looked up the 1930 census material in the report of the Controleur then and found the following:

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124 wai, a kampong a kilometer to the north which used to be part of Roworeke. Later still a policeman came from Ende who was there to help collect taxes. The kapitan drifted in and out and played around with the policeman's bike, and asked Kattenburg to get him a watch. He then asked Kattenburg to sell him some U.S. gold pieces. In general, he is a nuisance. If he could settle down he knows a fair amount about the genealogies, etc.

124 197 ●829 We started, as usual, with social organization and had a terrible time with it. They are all mixed up, or it is so partially wrecked that there is no order to it. I can't get to it because they don't get much of my Malay. Regarding the latter, they said not even twenty per cent of the people here can speak Malay, because the school has taught Malay only since the 1920's. Before that nobody here could speak Malay. Their Malay is full of queer words. Also, they know very little or nothing about the kampongs even a little way off although they may still be in the same gemeente. They know little about anything except in a very narrow circle.

632 621 I got the names of the kampongs in the gemeente (kapitanschap) Rewarangga:

My spelling	Kapitan's spelling
1. Roworeke	Rowo Reke
2. Worowai	Woro Wae
3. Manunggo'o	Mano Nggoö
4. Worowaku	Woro Wekoe
5. Arereke	Are Reke
6. Pu'uperi	Poeöe Peri
7. Kekawi'i	Keka Wiï
8. Koavena	Koa Wena
9. Vavoeü	Wawo Eoe
10. Ratebedi	Rate Bedi
11. Kekambero	Keka Mbero
12. Nioreko	Nio Reko

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614 which is the main one and the largest. In most cases this may also be the oldest one. This does not hold for Roworeke, where the main one is Odja, but the original one was the now nearly extinct Rewarangga. Anyway, they knew that Odja was the main one in Roworeke, Reandona the main one in Manunggo'o, and beyond this they did not know the situation in other kampongs. They said
● [829] that they would have to ask each kepala kampong. This shows how little they know about anything beyond their own village. Even the kapitan, who is head of the whole eighteen kampongs, did not know this.

624 The giri tumba of Rewarangga, who is head giri tumba of all the others, didn't even know the personal names of the other sixteen giri tumba.

693 If there is a small adat case, the Little Four sit for the judgment, but they tell the Big Four of the local kampong of the decision. Thus they have a kampong court for little cases and a gemeente council of the Big Four for bigger ones.

632 We got into a terrific muddle about how a new
624 kapitan is chosen. When an old one dies, all eighteen kepala kampong come together and also the Big Four and the mosa laki mere of the other sixteen kampongs. The giri tumba, ndeto au, and sike sani of the other sixteen kampongs may come, but evidently they have no voice in the matter. Thus the electoral college includes eighteen kepala kampongs, mosa laki mere Rewarangga, giri tumba Rewarangga (Odja), ndeto au Rewarangga, sike sani Rewarangga, and the mosa laki mere of the other sixteen kampongs (excepting Roworeke and Worowai, whose Little Four are also the Big Four). Thus in all there are thirty-eight members of the electoral college. The manager of the convention is the giri tumba Rewarangga, who was sitting there. His other title (wiwiria, etc.) means "big mouth long tongue." He goes around and sounds out the opinion of all the others and

We The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof,
are easier to keep clean and are better in
general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the
kampong, and even fewer move out of or into
the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration
from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas
beyond Larantuka.

20 The kakang has the only telephone here.
There is no telegraph. There is no mail ser-
vice. There is no postman. The priest has a
battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië.
Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not
Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to
change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few
people have much knowledge about the world.
This is really the lowest place I have been in
yet. Most of the people are strongly attached
to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is
very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong
is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they
had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at
war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an
enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

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166 property and status are kept for them. If any youth wants to go out to seek his fortune, his family and the kampong officers oppose this. They do not want people to leave. There is a [186] strong sense of localism here. For example, [829] I asked why they knew so little about the kampongs which are not far away from them when I had come all the way from the United States to find out something about them. They said that they never went to other kampongs unless it was necessary. This seems to be the Flores pattern.

166 Very few people have immigrated. There are some from other kampongs in Ende and Lio, and in fact these areas account for the examples of immigration aside from the women coming to marry in. Normally, women who marry men from another kampong go to live with their husbands. There are a few individuals from Savu, one [563] Chinese family, and a fair number of Ende town folk on the lower border. They are not members of the kampong.

423 There are evidently two kinds of land: the kampong land in the older parts of the kampong, which is used by members; and border land, which used to belong to Ende or other kampongs and which was bought by either the kampong folk or the Ende folk who live there. Thus the borders have expanded by the latter means. The fields may be used only four to five years and then must lie fallow for a long time. I must get more on the system of land ownership.

614 I had a hard time getting the truth about the 124 suku organization from these people. They are dumber here than in Larantuka by far, and they have lost much more of the memory of the actual rules involved. Still, in Larantuka, I notice that I have to ask many people in order to get answers to some of the complicated questions, for example, in regard to marriage rules. But

634 166 861 into the hills with their Christian and pagan relatives and leave the lower lands for the Mohammedans.

632 634 771 578 I wonder if the kapitan of Nggobe, the fat and aggressive man, plus the kapitan of Rodja, who seem to be the right hand men of the Radja, may not form a triumvirate of Mohammedan rule here. The Christians rely on the priests to intervene (the Dutch are no longer here for appeal), and it will result in a funny situation if there is Mohammedan-Catholic trouble here. Note also that of the seven radjas here, only one (Ende) is Mohammedan; and one pagan (Ngada). The others are Christian (Manggarai, Nageh, Sikka, Lio, and Larantuka). This presents a curious pattern, especially when one considers [:71] that the RIS is mainly Mohammedan. This is similar to the Ambon situation. The Christian majority locally is in a difficult situation with the former local Mohammedan minority now in the majority group of all Indonesia. No wonder the Christians of Indonesia are frequently against independence.

632 829 The former kapitan is quite bitter, but he is clearly glad to see us and talked a lot to us about his troubles, with the obvious although vague idea that we might get the United States to help in some way. He was impressed by the United States elective system and especially gasped with pleasure when we told him that if a leader was not good to the majority of the folk he would not get reelected. He was also impressed with the fact that we told him there are no radjas. But I reminded him that his claim to office rested on inherited succession, and he began to think. They like succession when it is to their advantage, but see the useful points in the elective system when they can visualize that such a condition might ruin their rivals.

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443 basis. They obtain products by purchase in the backland and sell them in Ende. They also sell gewgaws which they bring along with them.

186 Interest in local, foreign or international
●829 news is at a very low level. They insist that nearly everyone here knows just about nothing in regard to anything outside of the kampong. They are even ignorant of Rewarangga.

614 They said that originally each kampong con-
621 sisted of only one suku. Then others moved in. Thus, at one time Wawatonda was the kampong of suku Rewarangga. Then they came down to Worowai. Here today there is a rumah berhala,
[764] but it is a mere bone-grave hut, like Odja in Roworeke.

Rabu is now in three kampongs. It was one at some former time. It is ten kilometers from here. This is the place where the original kampong of the Odja suku was located. But they have now lost contact, and indeed, so complete was the move to Roworeke that probably no Odja folk are left in Rabu today.

124 The kapitan said an interesting thing when
829 I was pressing him to give information in this regard. He said that only since I came here had he learned very much about the culture and the past of Rewarangga.

778 These rumah berhala, with images and a real
614 house, or merely with the grave-bone shrines,
346 are suku shrines. There are four real rumah
764 berhala houses in Rewarangga. These are as large as a real old style high roofed house,
[753] and in them there are images (ana deo) and per-
[782] haps bone bundles too. These run as follows: (and anyone who visits them and looks into them must leave an offering, for example, money or cigarettes, etc.; otherwise he may get sick):

1. Volofeo has a real house and in it there are four ana deo, wooden images. There are no bones. This house was used by all four suku

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614 unknown. Nioreko also has a rumah berhala, an
778 actual house, but it is merely temporary and
346 lasts only seven to eight years. Then it is
764 rebuilt. It has no ana deo. This is a kind of intermediate type of situation.

14. Marunggo'o has no shrine. Thus suku Reandona evidently has none.

15. Pu'umbindi has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

16. Mbago has a shrine, but the suku is unknown.

17. Pemodjera has a shrine, but the suku is unknown. Also, like Nioreko, Pemodjera has a temporary rumah berhala house, which is rebuilt when it collapses.

18. Sokopedji does not even have a shrine. It is a new kampong.

614 This is interesting and goes to show that
178 the suku were localized before. I asked why
●829 there were so many in the census for which the suku were unknown. They said that if their parents did not tell them, they never learned this information. It shows a breakdown in the system, but it is still very important. Real disintegration is just beginning. I scolded them to the effect that they as government men of Rewarangga did not even know the suku of the kampongs in their district. I said that the people in the United States would think that they were poor administrators. They said that this suku business was adat only and that they were concerned with government only. I pointed out that even the giri tumba besar seemed vague about all of this outside of his own kampong, and he is a leader of adat. They begged off saying that perhaps he didn't understand what I was after.

778 It is notable that only the four kampongs
769 with real rumah berhala (Volofeo, Bu'ubedi,
346 Ratebedi, and Vavoëü) have annual ancestor
574

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000 story.

●829 People here all know the arrangement of the
186 kampong, and maybe thirty per cent know the general arrangement of the kampongs in Rewarangga. Perhaps only five per cent know the general arrangement of Flores. They have heard of the radjas, but they know little about where they come from. For example, it is not known where Sikka is or what kind of a place it is. Perhaps only one per cent know very much about the arrangement of Indonesia, geographically. These are the ones who went to the Ndona normal school. Practically nothing is known of world geography. They know at least the names of Japan, Holland (the assistant thought that Holland was the second or third largest country in the world!), the United States, Australia, China. India was a bit beyond their ken, and they knew nothing of other countries. Perhaps they know something about or have heard the name of Russia a bit. They have also heard of Rome and Jerusalem.

They have no ideas about the population of Indonesia. This includes the guru, the assistant, and the kapitan.

People here simply like their own kampong and their own district. They have developed no local chauvinism and it simply does not exist. However, they scorn the mountaineer population of Lio. They do look down on them a bit. They say that they have never seen the big town. They know practically nothing about other tribes in Flores anyway. They also have a bit of scorn
[518] for the mountain people in Rewarangga. There seems to be no feeling of enmity toward any other place, tribe, or Indonesian folk of any kind. There is no dissatisfaction evident in the village.

829 No one could draw a good map of the kampong, even though they know the arrangement. The

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●829 assistant said that he just did it, and that it was a revelation to him. They simply do not think in such diagrammatic terms.

769 186 The ancestor cult is strong here and there are many stories about it, but it is not used to glorify the place. In fact, there is no real pride as such. They are simply satisfied as they know nothing else. There is no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village.

178 There has been very little change here in regard to the expanding horizons of social and economic contact.

721 578 178 The old wars and head-hunting continued until recently. Wars seem to have been caused mostly over border disputes, so far as they can remember. Heads were taken as a sign of victory. But I got very little regarding a real head-hunting cult. They said that the heads were placed on the borders, evidently on the borders over which the war had been fought. [789] [246] They said voluntarily that they ate the hearts of enemies in order to increase their magic power. They are quite clear and vivid about this. The hearts were removed through an incision in the back under the shoulder blade. The main enemies were Nggobe and Rodja, but there is no hostility now. More seldom, war was waged against the Lio folk. Spears and [411] guns were used, and formerly bows. Bows were used especially by the Nggobe folk. Circular shields were made of buffalo hide and wood. There were alliances of mutual aid too. For example, Rewarangga (Worowai) and Odja (Roworeke) were in such an arrangement. Also, they [634] went to war for the Ende radja who paid wages for this.

721 634 The radja bitjara (a post no longer present in Ende; he was a kind of minister of foreign relations) (and he was able to talk all lan-

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721 guages and thus carry on negotiations) would
[634] request soldiers. Such wars were usually
against the coastal folk on the north, that
is, Lio and Ende there. In the old days, just
721 about every outside kampong was considered
484 dangerous and it was seldom that a trip was
578 made there unless a bond of friendship existed
178 between one's kampong and the area visited.
[608] Now all of these kampongs are friendly. Still
I note that they don't like to sleep all night
outside the kampong. This is especially true
of the old folks.

● 829 Note on ideas concerning the "place" of the
local kampong in the world: In just about
every kampong, when I ask about the ranking of
world countries in population, they do not
know what to say (although a young boy knew
that China was the largest), but at once the
assistant and others get paper and copy down
the exact ranking from me with figures. They
evidently want to spring the question on other
people and stick them. It does show a definite
curiosity about these things.

608 The people here have a sort of pela bond
574 between kampongs, or at least they did at one
578 time in the past. They do not drink the blood
178 of each other as in Ambon, but they hold a
feast and drink the blood and eat the hearts of
the animals killed. And they eat together.
They pledge that they will not war against each
other and that they will show a certain degree
of hospitality to each other. Thus Roworeke
has such a bond with Waturoga, Waturoga with
Ndona, etc. This was all in the past, and I
didn't find out if there are any survivals.
I think there are, because the guru from Ndona
said that it is easy for him to live in Watu-
roga as his kampong had a bond with it. In
addition, he married in.

721 War was tabooed by the Dutch in 1908, and
648 since then there have been no wars.
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We
621 call the people from the Blakang Gunung region
173 "blake").

Lewoneda is now mixed, as people came in later from Sina Djawa. Riang Kanali is a branch of Lewohala. Riang Kamië is very mixed. It includes people of the original (that is, Lenurat descended suku) and others. However, it was evidently founded by people from Kroko Putang, the island which disappeared, and whose refugees are all over Larantuka. For example, this is true of the radja kedua here. These folk are called Tenemau (meaning "sailed here in a prau"). Riang Kamië is the largest of all the kampongs. Formerly there was plenty of war between it and Leloba.

578 Lewowitin is the term for a traditional
721 enemy kampong. Formerly heads were exchanged
346 for the korke. These heads were not buried but hung in the korke (like animal jaws today? I also thought as I saw a pig killed, how easy it would be to imagine a human sacrifice instead).

614 In Riang Kamië there are many suku. The as-
621 sistant cannot list all of them, but he remembers
173 Kottang, Marang, Molang 1, Molang 2, Belowen,
829 Lowalia, Lolamaki, Keleng, etc. There is no Hurint.

He says there are four kinds of people here, according to their origin:

1. Padji. They were here in plenty before, but they were all driven out by the Lenurat people, who are here called the Ili Djadi (Ili means emerged), the second group. The Padji were driven to Tandjung Bunda where they are still numerous, and also to the islands, for example to Adonara. They were evidently the aborigines, but he says there was no physical difference, even in the legends.

2. Demon or Ili Djadi. They drove the Padji out after emerging from the mountains, or rather after their father's emergence. The Demon or

Wae The Demon or

614 Ili Djadi are the original people here because
173 the Padji are gone. They also are found else-
621 where, and where they and the Padji are found
●829 together, as in Adonara, they still fight.
[578] The constant murders there are partly caused
by this endless feud. They never live in the
same kampong together.

3. Sina Djawa. These are descendants of people who came from the west. There are suku here which came from there. Thus the suku Lewonuhah (kampong, island) of Leloba is of Sina Djawa. So is the suku Lewato of Wailolong.

4. Tenemau. These people came from the submerged island Kroko Putang. There are suku here from these people. Thus, Lewarita suku
[769] of Wailolong is Tenemau. In the ceremony this morning the genealogy used to call the ancestors went back to the Tenemau. He says you can tell at once the origin of any suku by listening to the genealogies recited at the rites, because the ancestors are called.

582 Then we got onto the inter-kampong marriage
124 system, and this is not so complicated as the intra-kampong marriage system. I jokingly said that perhaps he got so tired figuring out the internal system that he decided to make the extra kampong rules simpler. He was amused. He also seemed amazed at the building-up process of anthropological research which I use; for example, when I first asked the names of the eight kampongs and then went right on to ask the names of the sons of Lenurat, he saw that
[791] I was getting directly at the system. He said that if the folk here heard me leading straight into the heart of the complete cosmogony they would think me a suwanggi. I also said jokingly that they couldn't call me a pontianak. He was also delighted with my admiration of how everything here falls into a system. He has learned
124 the word "sistim" and uses it all the time. He

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173 can be used in war, as magic, and thus perhaps
621 Mado was the war sorcerer who perhaps did the
565 magic stuff which in the last analysis scared
789 the damned Padji away. This kind of medicine is called breni.

173 I asked if all the children and other people here know this story, and he said yes. It is evidently the main legend. He said that they do not know it perfectly, but the main facts and events are clear and everyone knows the story.

443 There is a market place at Okka crossroads every Wednesday. There used to be another on the beach on the way to Larantuka (where the Padji once lived) at Delang, but it is no longer there. It was held on Friday. There is a market place in Larantuka town, and the market is held there every day. However, there is no market week system. He knows of one in Adonara. He says it is no use to hold elaborate markets because they have no surpluses to sell.

583 The only exchange here is that connected
614 with marriage. The woman-giving suku gives fish to the woman-receiving suku, and the latter gives fowl to the former. If these suku are in different kampongs, there is the exchange, but it is a matter of suku and not kampongs. And again it shows how marriage is the basis of the whole organization.

•829 As a result of the last World War the horizons in terms of the world at large were some-
[178] what extended. For the first time, the people here heard of Japan, the United States and other countries. This was much the same thing that took place all over Indonesia. Fifty years ago no one here knew about such countries. As for other places in Indonesia, all they knew fifty years ago was Sina Djawa, to the west. Since the war they have learned at least the names of a few other islands. This is really epochal on

Wor

●829 a small scale.

Everyone here knows the places in and the arrangement of the kampong and the district and the Larantuka town road. Perhaps only ten people know about the setup as far as Maumere, and probably only the guru is clear about the rest of Flores. Perhaps only two people know about the general arrangement of the geography of Indonesia. And except for a few place names and countries, no one knows about world geography.

One boy who is in the fifth grade knew the population of Indonesia, and he also knew the population of the United States! He was absolutely correct. Other people could not give this information, and as for other countries even he had no idea.

As usual we got a terrific reaction when we told them how few people there were in Holland. They muttered for several minutes. They said [797] that two men in Wailolong and one in Leloba [204] receive the mission paper. Perhaps ten other people borrow and read it.

484 The very few people who have visited towns 521 outside of Flores are loquacious in telling 203 about their experiences, mostly limited to kampong life. Others listen to this, but there is evidently very little reaction.

178 There has been just about no change in the 632 political structure in the last fifty years 651 here. The kakang and all others were here long ago. The kakang has shifted from one kampong to another and that's about all. The traditional system of government has seen little change. Taxation started forty years ago. Now they pay a tax of fl. 1.00 for each animal killed for food, and fl. 10.00 for each animal killed for sale. (This just about stops any chance of a meat-selling market or animal industry.)

000 Today there are more meetings and greater

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648 Dutch said there would be no release unless he
578 signed. He signed on a promise that the case
609 would be reheard, but then after he signed the Dutch refused to reopen the case. I get the idea that there was real hostility to the Dutch here, but that the people were so scared that there was no revolt. Indeed, this is what the Roworoke men said: at first the people resisted, but when many of them were sent to jail, they gave up. The Dutch came here late, and the rough stage of colonialism was a recent one. It came earlier elsewhere. At any rate, there is no sorrow at all here that the Dutch have gone. They really hated the Dutch except the pastors. The lack of politeness of the Dutch seems to have impressed the folk here very much. There were radjas, however, who sided with the Dutch, and in fact I think this was the previous line of the radja kedua family.

829 In regard to Holland, they all thought that
648 it was a very big and powerful place. This is why there was great muttering yesterday when I told of the population of Holland. They regarded the Queen as their Radja, because her head was on the money. This is an illustration of the primitive political views here. They also saw that the Larantuka radja was well under the Dutch, and his rank fell very far.

609 The pastors here are the great exception.
797 The people love them, and when Roy tries to ex-
758 plain why, the first thing he mentions is medi-
177 cine, and then comes the standard stuff in regard to religion. This is a good example of how religion rides in on the advanced culture's material strength. They indeed have more powerful "medicine." This kind of thing seems to have been the wedge. Then the schools would come in, etc. That is, primitive people can see
797 quickly the obvious advantages in material and
177 job terms, etc., of the outside superior culture,

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797 and the price the outsiders ask is giving up
177 the old religion.

829 The people know nothing about other lands
565 and certainly nothing about their governments. However, they know the names of other countries and a bit about the roles they play in world events. I asked if they knew about demokrasi, and he said that the word is used all over here now, although it is brand new. They don't know what it means. He says that they tend to think that it means a kind of anarchy where anyone can take anything, with no respect for rank. I wonder if maybe in this thoroughly ordered and stratified place, where inherited rank and inequality prevails (rank, class, ritual, respect, etc.), and indeed exists in the very heart of the society, whether when they first heard that democracy meant that all people were equal, this did not sound like anarchy, as they could not imagine an ordered world where there was no rank.

829 They know nothing about the actual facts of
648 the United Nations, but they have heard plenty about the "Kumpulan Medja Bundar". [Round Table Conference]. This all came out when they saw the red and white flag and asked what all of this was about. They got the story that there was the Round Table Conference, and that at it Indonesia became free and this was the new flag. The flag was the symbol that produced the story. They also have heard a lot about the United States and that it helped in obtaining Indonesian freedom (perhaps we managed to salvage some touted good will in Indonesia). Beyond this, however, they know nothing of world politics. They did know about the Allies (Bangsa Serikat; Kattenburg says "Pemerintah Serikat"), as they were partly involved in the war. They think that this union, and especially the United States, beat the Japanese. When asked if the Dutch helped, Roy said that they have no thought on this matter, as

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829 [648] they only saw them run away when the Japanese came in. He then said something which was quite interesting: that it is not hard for even the illiterates here to understand the government of any land in the world, as they have had so much experience with a system of government here. All they have to do is imagine the alien organization in terms of their own political organization.

875 203 As for information spread about in regard to politics and current events, Roy says that the guru do a lot of this. The people ask them questions, and they are really big men.

521 829 The people here do not talk much about politics. Even when they had the big day of celebrating independence and the flag was flown, after the main information about the Round Table Conference was out, the people began to talk about their gardens, etc. They know about Sukarno, because his picture is everywhere [the Hitler theme?]. The thing which really settled [798] the rumor that the red and white flag is that of Islam was Sukarno's speech that all religions were free. Priests must have publicized this.

829 203 521 The local people know that Java is the center of all Indonesia, but there is little talk about this yet. Roy sees the importance in this of the complete absence of movies, radio, and the relative absence of papers. If the people had these, they would talk more (as do the backward Buginese who see movies of other lands and are curious about them).

794 665 Roy says that Catholicism does not mix itself up with politics here at all. When elections are held, the priest says in church that they must be sure to choose the right man. At least, he insists that the church is not involved in politics. I tried to press Roy by telling him how the church tried to get another radja for Manggarai, because the present one, although

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521 At feasts, when the old rites are put on,
178 the old people reminisce over the old days and
887 the old ways, especially when they get drunk. Then they are mournful.

562 There are no women in politics. They do not
641 come to the election meetings and have no voice in the government. They are not even reckoned in when the population is totaled to determine the number of electors. They have no political representation, and Migo says that everyone would be against having women take any part in politics. It is simply not right.

829 He says that they are stupid here. By this he means only a few people know anything or ever say anything about Flores or Indonesian politics. And even about the local affairs they say almost nothing. It is starting today, and there are a few people who are thinking a little. But how absolutely rudimentary it is! This is the most backward place yet, by far.

Locally the people have a vague idea that Roworeke is the most important kampong in the district, because it is the center. The fact is, and the kapitan and a few others know this, that rank and influence of the districts in Ende is in the following order: Nggobe, Rodja, Rewarangga, and Pulo Ende. Below this are the other five. About all the people know is that Nggobe is by far the largest, the most populous, and thus the greatest.

They do not know what Ende's place in Flores is, or anything about the place which Flores occupies in Indonesia. This is beyond their ken. There are no political ambitions (yet note that the suku Reandona has been trying to get a man into the kapitan post). They are politically dead. They know and talk nothing about the Dutch, the Indonesian Republic, etc.

They knew that the Queen was their radja before, but that didn't mean much. They know

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●829 that the big radja here is in Ende, and that's all.

609 648 [197] The general attitude toward the Dutch has always been one of fear. This is not a specific fear and is not equivalent to the resentment one sees in Larantuka caused by stern rule and frequent jailing. He says that the real reason is that they do not know what they fear, and they can't even talk with or understand the Dutch. The Dutch speak only Malay, and few of the local people here speak Malay. They just tried to avoid the Dutch, and that was easy. As the status of Malay began to rise, there was a bit of a change among the young people, but there was little thought about or contact with or talk concerning the Dutch at any time.

What I have just said is even more true of the mountain areas. Whenever aliens come into the neighborhood they just run away. Thus when Migo goes there for tax work, he sees only the kepala kampong, unless he lures the adat chiefs with tobacco, and other presents. I asked him why he was afraid. After all, he could speak their language. Then he shifted ground and said nothing specific, and stated that they do not even fear taxes, but they have the attitude that any outsider should be avoided. [515] Also, he says that they are so dirty in the mountains that they are ashamed to meet outsiders. (If this is so, they at least are conscious of dirt.) Their clothes are bad and dirty, and they never bathe. The women and children are especially filthy. He says it is too cold in the mountains to bathe. The water is especially cold, even in midday. This is a queer business.

771 Religion does not mix in with politics here. There is no trouble with Mohammedanism either. They don't talk much about such things. Even

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000 ring system.

829 Since the war, there has been plenty of talk and interest in Indonesian affairs. Before the war one never heard of such things. Formerly, the people knew only of the Dutch as far as the outside world was concerned. They knew very little about other parts of Indonesia. The war "opened the world" to these remote people. (But, I'd say, this was still a very slim opening.)

871 There was no school here at all fifty years ago. In those days, however, there was one guru in Wailolong and one guru in Leloba who could read and write. No students from here have studied at a university or at an HBS. Two students from here are now attending the middle school, in class six. All children from here now go to the lower school. One from Wailolong goes to school in Larantuka. There is also a middle school at Maumere. There are no native schools here.

[185] Roy reports that the people here like school today, and want their children to go as high as possible. (I doubt this. I think many, if not most, are rather vague about this subject. But I have to take his word for it.)

[463] There are no noticeable differences in activities connected with the level of education achieved by individuals in this area. This is because everyone is a farmer. The only exceptions would be the guru, but there are no local men of Wailolong who are guru.

[876] There is no non-official individual training. At one time they tried (evidently under government propaganda) a system where "everyone teaches another" but it stopped fast.

[797] The mission runs the schools here, but the government subsidizes them. I think this is [658] true for nearly all of the schools in Flores (check).

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[493] [492] 481 178 The fact that there are no buses here is a big hindrance. However, the horses help for short runs. The assistant gives the travel times on foot in the old days and now. It shows that they walk much faster now than before. The world is speeding up! It used to take a day to walk to Ruteng; now they do it in three hours!

829 789 609 In general there is no fear of the outside. In the old days they feared robbery and murder, as outsiders were fair game for such. Magical danger is only encountered in certain places which are well known.

776 784 There are many kinds of roro, or spirits, e.g., darat (tree), naga (house and kampong), potiwolo (woods). Although the others may be good or evil, the potiwolo are always wicked. They live in woods. For example, they live in the taboo grove on the way to Ruteng. Darat live there too. The potiwolo sneak up and hit their victims. Thus it is dangerous to go into the woods in such an area, and they never enter such a grove alone. The assistant tells that as a boy with his father he was afraid to enter this wooded area. These potiwolo look like men but have goat bodies. They have two arms but only one leg. They either run on all three, or hop along on the one leg. There are other local spirits, and the places where they live are avoided.

20 Formerly no letters were sent in this area at all, and even today, nearly none is written. There is no telephone here and no telegraph. There is a telephone and there are phonograms in Ruteng. There is no radio here. Letters come to Ruteng and stay there until the post office sees a man who happens to be going the right way. Then he passes the word along. A letter may take three months to be received. Even the phonogram I sent was delayed for two

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20 weeks before the letter from the pastor about it reached the assistant.

[202] There are no regular messengers, but when, formerly, the dalu were sending orders, a messenger with a kris brought the orders. The kris showed that he had the authority of the dalu. Even today a bearer of news of death carries a spear (yesterday one was going about here with a spear). Formerly, if there was a war, a messenger carried a tomato leaf and firewood. The assistant remembers in 1931 seeing the last one of these messengers, when Pau was all ready to go to war against another kampong. The police heard of this and stopped it. It was a border dispute.

[203] There are no markets and no heralds here. News travels by rumor. As yet there are no local "authorities" on the news front. The bulletins from Makassar are posted in the school at Tjantjar.

484 There are no sailors from this village at all, but plenty of the men go out to trade. However, they do not go far away.

829 In regard to interest in news, the local attention is directed to Veol and Rahong events and somewhat to those in Manggarai. Little is known about the rest of Flores or Indonesia, and nothing about the world. The war opened the doors only a crack, which is really inconsiderable. It is evident that this opening did not hit very hard here. And the effects of the Indonesian revolution have hardly hit here either. It is increasing a bit here now, but the tempo is still quite slow. This is simply a very remote place, and this kampong is especially remote. Just imagine those farther off.

In regard to the rest of Indonesia, some of the people know only various place names. Concerning the rest of the world, many, perhaps

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829 all, have heard of Holland and Japan. Beyond these very little is known. Many people know the word America. Wilcox was here recently and then they heard of England. But these are just names. The gurus in Tjantjar know a bit about the outside world.

Nothing is known about the population figures of Indonesia or even for Flores. The school level is too low for even children to know these things. The assistant, however, knows the population of Indonesia, and of the world (exact! two billion!). He knew that there were four hundred and fifty million people in China too! But he did not know about India or the rest of the countries. He was surprised that Holland was so small.

186 Formerly, in the wartime, there was a great feeling for the kampong, but no real thought in regard to patriotism. They like their place and their adat. They dislike Ngada. They say that the people in Ngada kill, are coarse, etc. They don't like Ende, Larantuka, Sikka, etc. They simply do not like the adat from other areas. This is the main point. They hate Bima, and have vivid memories in this regard. Formerly there was no criticism of the Dutch, but now they are getting onto colonialism a bit in retrospect. However, there is no real thought on these things. They know that the Chinese are tipu orang (crooks). They consider Arabs as better people; in fact, they are O.K. They are rich. They have no knowledge about other people.

166 There are kampongs which are declining in population and seem not to amount to much, but the people stay there because it is their kampong. They simply do not move unless they decide their naga is no good.

764 A dead person must be taken back to the home kampong for burial unless (1) it is too far or impossible, or (2) they are already established

[Lysaght—Analyst]

*[i.e., author of "White Stranger, Six Moons in the Celebes", London, 1949]

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614 and these are the keys to the stuff: wodja bakok are the same as lampang. The meaning is "white rice." Lampang means "stocks" wherein new slaves are put to keep them from running away. The totems newly inserted are:

[784]

lavo	mouse
kaba	buffalo
paku	a leafy vegetable
betu	a kind of mouse
pake	frog
peti	a kind of bird

614 764 784 756 778 Naked burial is called gilo. Note that this used to be a totem of the Pau va'ù, and it was given up via a big feast in 1932. At the same time, the buffalo taboo of Pau (Pau therefore does have a food taboo, or rather it did), was given up too via the same feast. In regard to the naked burial, the people decided it was too much trouble, and I suppose they felt they might as well get rid of the buffalo taboo at the same time. To do this kind of thing a va'u must consult a mbako to see if it is all right. If so, they have the feast called kaba oke tjek'i ("buffalo removes the taboo").

nggevo red bean (different from the lusa)

531 622 I asked if it was right that the radja has no horns on his house as he is not a tuan tanah. They said yes. He has no relation with the land. But nowadays there is plenty of illegal use of the horns by non-tuan tanah.

782 It is true that an offering is always made at the vatu Veol before starting garden work. This is as Coolhaas[1] says.

829 No one is able to draw a map of Flores and Indonesia and the world.

212 Fifty years ago (and even forty years ago) no

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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634 646 They said no, but that there was much free talk against the radjas in the parliament now!

622 646 624 888 All hereditary posts are genealogically linked. Most of the kepala kampong are still old illiterates. Parliament members are mainly middle aged people (the oldest literates, therefore). Age is of no concern for the hereditary posts, as one person merely succeeds to the post after another. In the kampong, however, the old men have the most influence, and the young people keep their mouths shut for the most part.

[562] Women may not hold hereditary posts. Until now women took no part in elections, but they may change things here.

829 666 There is still only a very restricted political horizon here, and there is little knowledge about such things. But at least they have elections. This is very important. They start with an election. As they say in Celebes, they catch on fast. Veol is the center of the gelarang, and Rahong is the center of the dalu, and Ruteng is the center of Manggarai. They think nothing about the "place" of Manggarai in Flores; the radja is just a "big man." Beyond this they know practically nothing about the daerah, negara, etc.

[614] [632]

648 Most of the people here thought the Dutch were all right and they were too uninformed to criticize them. Also, it must be remembered that they had been under the rule of Bima, and the Dutch at least drove Bima out. They did not even criticize the Japanese! They were simply not concerned. The great memory here is of Bima and slavery. They hate Bima.

609 Except for the pastors, everyone here knows of things and people who are Dutch only by name. Formerly they knew the local civil servants only slightly. They were always afraid of any new men who came here. This is true of my

We

771 conservative, but not fanatic. Cornelius[1] says that they do not analyze the situation by thinking of what good things Catholicism has brought. Opposition is in the form of criticism, not in terms of a balance of good and bad. Just about all education is in the hands of the mission, although schools are paid for mainly by the government. Even in Mohammedan Reo, I found, the schools are mission run.

[871] [797] [658]

The people here do not debate very much about religious matters, but they do criticize the Catholic opposition to polygyny and feasts. There are no real debates or discussions, however, not even within families.

[521]

In regard to other religions, they know only Catholicism. All they know about Mohammedanism is that they eat no pork and are allowed four wives. There is no knowledge of other cults.

[829]

764 Formerly, in disposing of the dead, a mat was used, not a coffin. Today boxes are used everywhere. The big change in funeral rites has been the addition of Catholic rites, but the old ones are carried out too, as in the case of the wedding. When someone dies, everyone howls, and this includes men and women. Then two or three children carry a spear around the area, telling who has died. A few people from each house come to the house of the dead. They place the dead on a mat, on the floor, with the head toward the door. A cloth is placed over the whole body including the face. Thus the body remains on the floor for one day. A coffin is made. The dead is dressed in fine clothes. A few carefully saved silver coins are usually put in the mouth of the dead.

[178]

At the cemetery a man hits the ground five times with a stick before the grave is dug. When the grave is ready, they bring the coffin and bury the body. The reason for hitting the ground five times is in hope that in this way

1 [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

Wa

191 is always in Manggarai. I have seen this before. "Mengerti sedikit, tidak bisa tjakap [I understand a little bit, but I can't speak it].

53 We saw a poor show at the pasar malam. It
177 was a sandiwara traveling troupe like the one
831 I saw on the ship. It consisted of torch singers and crooners. The gallery came down with a carioca in western dress. The contact was not close, but closer than they used to make it, and at the end the woman half fell into the man's arms. They shrieked. This very mild sex symbolism in dance was extreme for them. Their dances, as usual, are incredibly dull. The songs repeat themselves over and over again.
526 And they carry on their whip fighting day after day. They even abuse football, and play it from dawn to dusk. This is like the ten games
[171] of baseball a day in Micronesia. They overdo things.

201 As we were sitting in the assistant's house
576 with him and the other guru, a woman came in
123 and swiftly pushed her face into mine, holding
832 my head and rubbing noses. It seemed almost as though she were using her mouth a bit too, and I wondered if this were a combination of nose rub and sniff kiss. She then went quickly to Kattenburg and then to the two guru. Nothing would stop her, even embarrassed protests from the guru. The assistant asked who she was, and the other said she was Marcus's wife (who's that?). We were so embarrassed that we turned at once back to the questions, and we acted as though nothing had happened. We saw her later in the rear of the house, looking queer. Query: Was she crazy, or was she doing some bit of unthinking etiquette? But even if she were crazy, she must have been following a pattern here, or why do it in exactly that way? It would have been better if it had been the other guru's wife, who is a beauty.

We

123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

We discussed a certain rank which appears in
614 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
343 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
562 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala
243 suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

We also noted a possible error in Vatter.1
[114] He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
614 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
796 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
● 831 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
784 gins, but now with so few young girls still
241 pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[857] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost
[887] babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic
[797] note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

We
891 goat; and buffalo?). During other months they
614 may eat such food. This figures out to be
241 roughly about one half of the year. Some of
796 the ama have no nu'a luka, for example, Ama
784 Rere. Indeed, Roy says they must not be too strict about this system because there are plenty of holes in the ideal scheme. As we
115 were finishing up the work he got a note tell-
124 ing him to meet the Radja at the kakang's house for a conference. Evidently he is becoming a big man here. We are perhaps partly responsible.

He is making a map, and his daughter, who goes to the nun's school in Larantuka, is doing the drawing.

The next morning, Sunday, we went back, and
632 arrived while church services were being held.
796 They expected the Radja to visit today, so they had removed a section of the fence to let his car in. He never showed up, which was a disappointment to them, as they were all waiting
[621] around. The name of the section of Wailolong where we saw the rite yesterday is Apukule(ng).

We asked about the bonds of friendship and
578 enemy relations here. It is clear that seven
721 of the kampongs are always friendly, and are never at war with one another. The eighth, Riang Kamië, has been the traditional enemy of each of them in turn. They are all descendants of Lenurat, whereas the folk of Rian Kamië are descended mainly from Kroko Putang folk, mixed in with some Sina Djawa. Most enmity against Riang Kamië has been, as usual, by kampongs bordering Riang Kamië. Always, border wars are the most frequent here. Thus, Leloba, Wailolong, and Lewohala are involved. The traditional enemy kampong is Lewowitin. The others are brothers, just as in fact or legend their founders were.

The main causes of wars were, in order:

R

797 tial rites require pigs, but here other animals
782 can be used.

Three religions are known: pagan, Catholic,
771 and Mohammedan. They know little except about the pagan religion, which they probably know better than the others!

771 I asked about the religion here as given in
114 my notes from Elbert[1] who was here in the pre-Catholic period. They said that my notes were all right, including the god names, and that
[775] Mt. Iya was the deadland, etc. In fact, I see more and more that Elbert was a good man. The
[776] high god, however, they give the name Ngga'eh Dewa. They say there is no dualism, i.e., no earth mother, here. This doesn't quite jibe with Elbert, but maybe they have forgotten, or they are vague about this. Maybe they are always vague about such stuff as regards the high gods.

778 The tubu musu, indeed, has two stones, and
●831 after hesitation they admitted that it is a male-female symbol. I note that in his Lio dictionary, Arndt[1] says (I think tubu) has an "obscene" significance with reference to "male." Thus it seems clearly a sex symbol. They never heard of yoni. They seem to say that there are two stones, one lying and another standing. Like a fool, I did not check this. I will have to look in Elbert[1] and Suchtelen[1] for this.

[789] They have the matakau, and it is called nabe.

776 The term Ngga'eh Dewa means the god above. I guess that ngga'eh means big or high. They say that ata ngga'eh nua means "pembesar kampong."

764 At death, the bodies were formerly placed in big trees, cocooned. This was true for big men. For about a month they were left there while a feast was prepared. When all the animals and other things were ready, the bundle was brought down from the tree and bones cleaned. Then they

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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167 men to leave, as the tax is on each household
651 headed by an adult man (fl. 12.50 annually),
486 and thus the radja would lose income if they emigrated.

266 There was head-hunting here before. They
681 say that the only cannibalism was the eating
754 of the hearts of enemies in order to gain additional strength. There was no human sacrifice, they say, but they have heard of the Lio stuff (and I checked with Arriens[1] and noted that de Bruine[2] in a report on Lio did not list this as among the crimes of the executed Radja of Lio--whose alias was Pius!--but Arriens says that he did it anyway). The only way a person could be given the death punishment was to be proven a suwanggi.

778 More about the tubu musu. They say that
831 "musu" means "two become one." If so, this is
178 perfect, and indeed the tubu musu is similar to the linggam-yoni. Indeed, they say that it consists of an upright stone, less than a meter high, standing on a flat one. "Tubu" they say means "stone," but I note that Arndt gives it an "obscene" meaning (or is it the musu part that is obscene? check Arndt's Lio dictionary).

They have a rather vague idea that this tubu musu may represent male and female. And it can have children. Thus it is like many such stone-bearing stones in Indonesia, including the stones of Larantuka and some on Ambon. I asked if the tubu musu still had children, and this is beautiful, "no more." It is like Roy saying that the familiars of his father appear no more (but they are there and he could call them: "I can call the spirits from there, etc." "Yes, but will they come?") He has no doubt that they would come. I should have asked if the stones still could have children. Anyway, both they and Roy are completely serious about what used to happen. There are no more rites held at the tubu musu, but plenty were held formerly.

1 [Controleur at Ende--Analyst]; 2 [Probably Controleur at Lio--Analyst]

Wor

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778 notable little stone with lots of agricultural
789 power. The objects which are possessed by the
614 suku and ama have no magic power; they are
823 only a form of wealth.

The eight kampongs of the Mudakaputu ge-
621 meente are:
832

1. Leloba
2. Wailolong
3. Lewohala
4. Lewoneda
5. Mudakaputu
6. Watuwiti
7. Riang Kamiē
8. Riang Kanali

237 Economic note: The tusks are like the stone
583 money of Yap. They are the basis for the local
436 economy, but have little intrinsic value. The
452 non-existent tusks of Larantuka are even better, and the folklore concerning them is fantastic. They are reckoned with and theoretically exchanged when they don't even exist. They keep the marriage system going. They are parallel to pure paper credit--something like international balances.

621 The first six kampongs are the old time kam-
173 pongs. They were founded by the five sons of Lenurat or their descendants, who came out of Ili Mandiri. Thus the situation runs something like this:

Sons: (1) Belawaburak founded Leloba. (2) Keweluk founded Wailolong. (3) Kewaka founded Lewohala and Lewoneda. (4) Bampowa founded Mudakaputu. (5) Mado founded Watuwiti.

Daughters: (6) Emma married a man of Tandjung Bunga (and the folk there call the people of the Blakang Gunung region "blake," i.e., mother's brother). (7) Hingi married a man of Adonara (perhaps the people there would also

584 comes pregnant.) This sexual activity is about
836 the same as marriage anyway, as it leads finally to marriage. And anyway, there is no adat rite of marriage. What happened in the
584 old days and what still goes on among the
836 pagans is simply that one day, when everything
178 is all right, the girl is brought to the boy's
178 house, and the couple simply moves in. There is no ceremony.

Nowadays, with Catholicism, and with prearranged marriages, they have a church rite before they sleep together. But the other type of marriage goes on, and in this case they just confess and get married after having slept together. This is a pretty case. And even
595 prettier is the case of polygyny. In the old
178 days this was more frequent, but even now there
183 are Christians who have more than one wife. In this case the first one is married in church, but the second can have no church rites. (As he says, she has no sacramen.)

684 They are very prudish about molesting girls
832 (ganggu). If, for example, a boy squeezes the breast of a girl, and even if she likes it and
721 says nothing, her father and brothers, if they
128 hear about it, go to his house and kill his
627 animals and break up his tusks. They get directly at his property (and that of his ama or suku too) thus, and so it hurts. He has molested their property, and they get back at him in the same way. This might lead to war, and often did in the old days. Note that he mentions as the second most frequent cause of war that of molesting women.

832 He gave a fine case of trouble between kam-
684 pongs resulting from such a case. In his youth
628 three girls from Leloba were molested by boys from another kampong. The girls were getting water. The father and brothers of the girls became angry and smashed up the belongings of

Wai

832 those rascals. They scolded them, saying that
684 if they wanted women, they should ask about
628 them, and speak up about it. That is, they were willing to hear a request, but it had to be done through regular channels without chiseling. ("If you had come to us decently, etc.")

582 In regard to the relative ages of the couple when marriage takes place, the ideal is to have a couple whose ages are nearly the same. If either is older it is better for a boy to be a bit a girl's senior. If there is too great a discrepancy in age, it is not good.

595 His grandfather had four wives. I note that
183 he does not seem to regard polygyny as very bad, even now. And he does not hesitate to tell me that other Christians do this. It is simply that they do not get the sacramen for the second, or third, or even later wife. That's all. Dispensation is called isin.

582 He says that the people in Tandjung Bunga
836 marry when they are very young, and that they begin their sex life as early as nine years old.

178 In the old days, the boys in Leloba and Wailo-
513 long slept regularly in the korke or sebuang
882 (the ama korke, and this is a correction:
[346] sebuang does not refer to the barns of the ama,
[614] but to the cult houses).[1] I think he said that this is not done any more in Wailolong. It was not required, but they just did it. This took place after a boy reached the age of about sixteen. Roy did it himself. They liked this because it was more fun. They could talk, sing, discuss girls, etc. (I think it was practically a rule, and I wonder what they would have said if a boy did not go there.)

What has happened now is peculiar. The boys
178 sleep together in groups, wherever it seems
513 good. They get in the habit, for example, of
882 sleeping on the benches of a certain house, or
171 in a vacant house, etc. (Thus I see that the

1 [See cat. 116, p. 166 -- Ana 4,5]

614 ama chiefs. As for the marriage rules, many of
582 them are based on the old marriage relations
835 which were complicated by ritual stuff. He
684 talks a lot about how such and such cannot marry so and so because his group is an older or a younger brother of the latter. This could stand further investigation. Anyway, marriages are as follows:

Men of	Marry Women of
I-1a	IV, V-2
I-1b	II-2, III, (I-2) (note)
I-2	II-1, IV, V
I-3a	IV
I-3b	III-2, III-3a, III-3b
II-1	I-1a, III
II-2	I-3b, IV
III-1	I-3b, IV
III-2	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, V
III-3a	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2
III-3b	I-2, I-3a, IV, V
IV-1a	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-1b	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-1	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a

[583] The notable case of a marriage inside a suku
[178] started three generations ago when a man of I-1b wanted to marry a woman of I-2 (Ama Kottang Belepe Lolong Lango' Kene' and Waktuka(ng), thus. This was heavily taboo, but the man wanted the woman badly and the men of Waktuka(ng) said that if he paid a terrific bride price he could have her. This was done, not without some fuss, and ever since it has been possible to do this without paying the terrific price because the ice
582 was broken. All know that it is a terrible
614 thing, however. I expressed horror and asked
835 whether these two groups weren't having bad trou-
684 bles because of the curse of incest. The guru
688

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[688]

said yes, it had caused great misfortune. I told about the evils of breaking the pela and fam rules in Ambon, and he burst out with a speech about how much worse it is to commit an adat sin than it is to commit a religious sin. The latter hurts a man only when he faces God, and it may be washed away before he dies. But the former makes a man an outcast all his life, shunned and marked, and the curse afflicts his crops, children, and everything. This was a guru serani speaking!

The women run as follows (incidentally he says he knows of a case of the same sort of incest from Wailolong, which I will get tomorrow). (In the old days punishment for breaking marriage rules consisted of expulsion from the suku, ripping off of clothes, and even the death penalty.)

Women of	Marry Men of
I-1a	II-2, III-2, III-3a
I-1b	IV, V
I-2	III-2, III-3a, (I-1b) (note)
I-3a	III-2, III-3a, III-3b
I-3b	II-2, III-1
II-1	I-2, IV, V
II-2	I-1b, II-1
III-1	I-1b, II-1
III-2	I-1b, I-3b, II-1
III-3a	I-1b, I-3b, II-1, IV, V
III-3b	I-1b, I-3b, II-1
IV-1a	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
IV-1b	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
IV-2	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
V-1	I-2, III-2, III-3b
V-2	I-1a, I-2, III-2, III-3b

In the evening I tried to make some sense out of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

114 As Vatter[1] says, there are taboos of a totemic
784 sort. Ama Hurint has a taboo on a kind of
614 vegetable. Others are as given by Vatter. Vatter has a real error, however, in that there are only five suku, not six, because Marang is within Kottang.

582 Marriage with one's father's sister's sister
● 835 [father's sister's daughter?] is taboo, as are
177 marriages between parallel cousins. Mother's brother's daughter marriages are preferred, and this occurs regularly. It was interesting to note that the mother's brother's daughter marriage is considered taboo in Catholic communities. This was admitted, and no longer do Catholics
[836] here marry their real mother's brother's daughter unless the girl has become pregnant (this is evidently a fairly common occurrence, as it is mentioned freely). However, because of the classificatory system, it is possible to marry a mother's brother's daughter relative through the grandparents. Such a relative must be at least a fourth grade cousin to suit the Catholics. Thus they manage to maintain the old system and suit the Catholic demand.

601 Kinship terms are as follows:

father:	bapa
father's brother:	bosu
father's sister:	nona, kaka (male speaking); nona kaka, tia (female speaking) (Tia means mother-in-law)
father's brother's son:	kaka aring (male speaking); na'a (female speaking)
father's brother's daughter:	bine (male speaking); kaka aring (female speaking)

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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614 a. Ama Radja
621 b. Ama Belolong
c. Ama Rere

II. Leworita
a. Subamaki(ng)
b. Harutmaki(ng)
c. Tapopuka(ng)

III. Ama Hurint
a. Hadumbole(ng)
(1) Hadumbole(ng)
(2) Hadumbole(ng) Nipatale (slave descendants)
b. Marimaki(ng)
c. Melamaki(ng)

IV. Lewato
a. Ama Waru'i(ng)
b. Waktuka(ng)
c. Tuhowutung

V. Lewodoreng
a. Ama Waru'i(ng)
b. Engamaki(ng)

582 The marriages run as follows (I checked a few
614 from the woman's side and this is enough):
835

Men of	Marry Women of
Ia	IIIa2, IIIb, IIIc
Ib	IIIa1, IIIb, IIIc
Ic	IIIb, IIIc
IIa	I, IVa
IIb	Ia, Ic, IIIa, IIIb
IIc	III
IIIa1	Ic, IVb, V
IIIa2	Ib, IVb, V
IIIb	IIa, IVb, IVc, V
IIIc	IIa, IIb, IVc, V, (IIIa) (Note)
IVa1	III

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Men of	Marry Women of
IVa2	III
IVb	I, II
IVc	I, II
Va	I, II
Vb	I, II

582 614 835 583 684 178 The case of IIIc intermarrying with IIIa (perhaps it is IIIb) was one of incest which involved three virtually simultaneous marriages which occurred two generations ago. There were three men from one family who paid a very high bride price. This is like the similar case in Leloba. I asked how much higher the bride price was in these cases, and he said that they had to pay more tusks, but the man had to kill all of his animals. Thus it seems like a kind of tremendous purifying feast in order that the incest may be allowed. He said that the Leloba incestuous arrangement is still technically in, and anyone who wants to follow it now may do so without paying the tremendous price the pioneers once did. Both of the men who did it in Leloba are dead now. As for the Wailolong cases, this arrangement has been stopped, or rather, if it is carried on today it is wrong. They don't do it any more. There were the three men and then it ended. I asked about any resulting disasters and he said it is true that these sinners had had terrible troubles. I must ask what these troubles were exactly.

624 The offices are as follows:

622 614 --Kepala Kampong Kottang (Ib)

554 I. Radja Tuan Datong (kepala suku, tuan tanah) (Ia)

(2) a. Kelake Ama Radja (kepala ama (same man as I)

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000 they might try reasoning with them, they would go no further.

584 762 The same story holds for marriage. If a child does not like his parent's choice of a mate, the marriage does not occur. There have been a few cases, however, of suicide (always by hanging) on the part of both men and women, because of desperate love and mismarriage. This is interesting, and if I have the time I will try to get these cases down.

582 835 614 178 The marriage system is the thing, and it is exogamous with complicated rules. There has been no change. Even the very few cases of endogamy have not increased. The only thing that has been modified is the fact that there is no longer an allowance of blood mother's brother's daughter marriage. This is a Catholic taboo. This is true at least in Leloba, although I am not sure about Wailolong. They have to be careful to have fourth grade distance (that is, third cousins, via great grandparents). What the system allows is the choice of a mother's brother's daughter (that is, married into the suku of the man's mother) or married into one or two other suku of the ama linked with his suku by marriage. Thus a boy of Hurint Demong (the guru's may marry Belemang, Belepe Lolong A, or Waktukang Keleng. If his mother was Belemang, this would work out all right. In the old days, this would have been the best thing for him, that is, a girl of his mother's group (I want a girl just like the girl that married dear old dad). This is because of the good relations already, and anyway they like these close and reinforced linkages in suku relationships. It is not a matter of bringing back the tusks more rapidly, as one needs to make three moves anyway, and they can do this if they marry in any other group aside from the mother's. But, even in the old days, though this mother's brother's daughter

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178 cause the boy could also marry a girl of an en-
614 tirely different group from his mother's, for
● 835 example, Belepe Lolong A or Waktukang.

Nowadays, the easiest thing to do is merely to disregard the mother's brother's daughter stuff, as this requires care in observing that the relative must be at least a third cousin, and they marry in one of the other allowed groups. This is the leeway that the traditional system allows. When it is a question of close figuring, Roy says that they usually ask the priest to settle the situation for them. A good case of this was with the guru's son, who is now in Makassar. He was in love with a Belemang girl, but this was the ama of his grandmother, and the girl was his mother's brother's daughter--cousin via his grandmother, i.e., only a third degree relative. Therefore Roy went to the priest, and the latter (I suspect they are always indulgent in this matter if it is not a first cousin) said that if they were that desperate he would give a special dispensation (he uses a word for this that sounds like isin, but I must ask about this) (idjing). And so the boy was married. The way to do this correctly is for the boy to marry his mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's son's daughter. This is via the great grandparental generation. Note that it has to go up via women and down via men. This works out all right if one notes that under the mother's brother's daughter rule this brings the proper amas into the relationship (I may be wrong on this and must check on it later).

582 I was much impressed when he said that there
835 is a good reason for the Catholic rule. I had
827 tried to say that it is not in the Bible and
177 that Protestantism had not worked out this rule and yet they were Christians too, that the ancestors thought it was all right and indeed de-

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582 sirable and that for hundreds of years the folk
835 had been doing this sort of thing (first cousin
827 marriages) without any ill effects, to counter
179 his saying that first cousin marriages caused poor offspring, for example, feeble-mindedness. He took this barrage with polite resignation, but said that he had seen plenty of bad cases of close inmarriage children. The probability is that there is some inbreeding chance of recessives coming out, at least enough to use this argument of rationalization, and surely the priests have played up this "scientific" justification. It is interesting, however, that he uses the pseudo-rational explanation and not the appeal to divine authority, which would at once raise the issue of the wrongness of a strong pagan rule.

562 The next day, our last, was a half day, as
887 I had to get to Maumere in order to get Kattenburg on the place to Makassar. At the end of the session we had lunch with the two guru, and the younger daughter served. Then I found out that in every house the oldest woman is the nu'a luka rumah tangga, paralleling the ritual functions for the women of the nu'a luka suku and the nu'a luka ama. The mother is in Makassar, and the eldest daughter is in the hospital, so this one acted as the server. The nu'a luka is important here, as she directs everything in regard to cooking and eating and also for caring for small animals, weaving, etc. She is the household manager. In this poor area food division is especially important.

127 I looked up the 1930 census material in the report of the Controleur then and found the following:

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	mother's brother's son (woman speaking), brother (woman speaking)
veta	father's brother's daughter (man speaking), father's sister's daughter (man speaking), mother's sister's daughter (man speaking), sister (man speaking)
edja	father's sister's son (man speaking), mother's brother's son (man speaking), wife's brother (man speaking), sister's husband (man speaking)
ipa	father's sister's daughter (woman speaking), mother's brother's daughter (woman speaking), husband's sister (woman speaking), brother's wife (woman speaking)
hai	mother's brother's daughter (man speaking), wife, woman
aki	father's sister's son (woman speaking), husband, man
hai ada	mother's brother's wife (man speaking or woman speaking)
ine tu'a	mother's brother's wife (man speaking), mother-in-law (man speaking)
aki no'o	father's sister's husband (man speaking or woman speaking), father-in-law (woman speaking)
ambu	grandparent
ambu ata aki	grandfather
ambu ata hai	grandmother

582 I can find no flaw in the system. It is exactly
835 right for mother's brother's daughter marriage. And they say this is the right thing. Nowadays, there is some trouble with the church, and they have, canonically, to go up three generations to get the proper hai or aki (that is, mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's daughter;

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582 or father's father's father's sister's daughter's
835 daughter's son). However, the priests will give dispensation only with a certain amount of fuss here (unlike in Manggarai, where it is evidently easier because the Catholics are newer there and maybe they want to go slower at first).

583 A bride price must be paid for a good marriage, but the very poor folk may omit it, although they try to pay a little, and merely go and live together. The price is variana. Formerly it included tusks, money, animals (buffaloes, horses, cattle). They try to give these things now, but it is degenerating into money alone. The return gift is called tau laguana. The girl's family gives it. It usually includes properly a pair of gold earrings, gold beads, and formerly slaves. The price also formerly might have included slaves, I think. In addition, the girl's family gives a kind of "household outfitting" to the couple, including baskets, gear, food, and formerly slaves. This is like a dowry. Evidently it is also called laguana.

They say that if they did not give a return gift it would be like selling a slave.

[797] The church enforced a shift to more distant mother's brother's daughter type marriages.
[178] The price is much lower now, and this constitutes a big change in the last fifty years or
[565] so. In the old days, for a noble girl one might pay one hundred tusks, ten gold units, two slaves, etc. This depended on her rank.

582 Another change is the removal of the former
178 taboo on slave-noble marriages. In the old days,
565 an upper man might take as a concubine a slave
567 girl, but they seem pretty sure that he would
684 not ordinarily marry her, although he might do so. In the old days, however, if a slave man tried anything with a noble girl, it would mean that both of them would be put to death. This

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587 moved out of the girl's house, a man must pay another price for her sister. If they have not yet moved out (for example, the guru still lives in the house of his wife's father, the head guru), no bride price is paid, and the father gives a sister free.

601 Now, note the beauty of the kinship terms here. I had wondered why the terms ari and
587 ka'e were restricted to: brother (man speak-
835 ing), sister (woman speaking), sister-in-law (man speaking), brother-in-law (woman speaking), wife's sister (man speaking), husband's brother (woman speaking), brother's wife (man speaking), and sister's husband (woman speaking). The fact is that the terms mean, not really sibling, but these relations and these linkages only. The connotation is that one can marry his or her ari or ka'e, while the real brother and sister terms (nara, veta) mean a marriage taboo. Thus the levirate and sororate are beautifully reflected in these terms. Where the terms are used for persons of the same sex, they cause no trouble, because marriage here is impossible anyway. Perhaps the truth is that they mean brother and sister, in a way, but since they have to have other terms to indicate ones who cannot be married, they have also the terms nara and veta. The edja and ipa terms, the other ones for cousins, make no difference, as they also are used for persons of the same sex.

842 The belief here is that the more children
578 one has the better it is. They are sad if
181 they have only a few children. They like children of both sexes for different reasons. Boys are good to work in the gardens (and can develop new land) and are good in standing up for their father (a relic of the old war days, but even now in an argument it is good to have a big gang, and as they say, "You can trust only your

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601 does so. So much for the kinship system.

Then, incidentally, he said that an indis-
273 pensable item at each sacrifice must be palm
769 wine (tuak). Even if they have to travel for
778 some distance to get some (and it is hard to get in the Veol area, as not much is made locally), They must do so; and the reason is that the stone, which is the central point of all rites, must have a libation poured over it. The ancestors are explicitly called, and then the tuak is poured over the stone as though into the mouth of a person which the stone is. Thus I think these stones are the ancestors. They are real idols. Note that the Vatu Veol, and the removed Ine Amba too, are, (or were) in human form. I think that perhaps the popularity of statues in Java after the Hindu influx may have been due to the pre-existence of human form stone images. The point is, in this libation business, the stones are treated as though they were really human.

In regard to the mother's brother's daughter
582 or tungku marriage, this was formerly required,
578 at least for one son. He might be forced
835 brutally into such a marriage if he was reluc-
[753] tant. It should be the eldest son too. If this is not done, the family may be afflicted with illness. And it is wicked anyway. This rule still holds, although force is no longer used to back it up. A good case is that of the assistant himself. He didn't like his mother's brother's daughter, as he said, "she lived in the house" (what psychological overtones are there here?). So he refused, and married his wife. However, he has two other brothers, who are still unmarried, and his whole family is watching anxiously until one of them marries the mother's brother's daughter. He says that they talk about this all the time. It is true that they are still pagan. His father indeed

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582 has several wives. (This shows the recency of
578 conversion here. Here is this smooth and smart
835 lad, almost sophisticated, one who could get along almost anywhere in the world, whose father is a completely benighted heathen. He says that the family will be torn apart if one of the sons
835 does not marry the mother's brother's daughter.)

582 Then I asked what happens to the Catholics.
797 He said that usually they are given isin (dis-
[189] pensation), but the priests do not like it at all. However, he saw the point when I said that after all it was only one brother in a family who had to get the dispensation, and so maybe the church would not be too worried.

This led me to a speech, and I think the point was not bad, and perhaps the priests
[182] think of it. If they destroy the mother's brother's daughter marriage, the whole social organization falls apart, as this is the keystone all over Flores (and all through this part of Indonesia, I think). If they do this, perhaps the adat will fall apart and cause a breakdown of all the good rules, from the Catholic viewpoint. However, perhaps the reason is more realistic, i.e., it is hard to get converts if they make it too hard on the old adat.

Anyway, they can use the three generation up and three generation down dodge to get a classificatory mother's brother's daughter and keep up the old system.

583 Then we got onto the records again and ran
591 into some trouble. But before that I note that No. 167 is a girl who lives with her father's sister. She may well be already spoken for and even paid for, for the son of the latter. There is a son of nearly the same age there.

There are several families in the kampongs of outside origin in the case of both spouses (46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65). There are several men in Ndung

114 As Vatter[1] says, there are taboos of a totemic
784 sort. Ama Hurint has a taboo on a kind of
614 vegetable. Others are as given by Vatter. Vatter has a real error, however, in that there are only five suku, not six, because Marang is within Kottang.

582 Marriage with one's father's sister's sister
835 [father's sister's daughter?] is taboo, as are
177 marriages between parallel cousins. Mother's brother's daughter marriages are preferred, and this occurs regularly. It was interesting to note that the mother's brother's daughter marriage is considered taboo in Catholic communities. This was admitted, and no longer do Catholics
836] here marry their real mother's brother's daughter unless the girl has become pregnant (this is evidently a fairly common occurrence, as it is mentioned freely). However, because of the classificatory system, it is possible to marry a mother's brother's daughter relative through the grandparents. Such a relative must be at least a fourth grade cousin to suit the Catholics. Thus they manage to maintain the old system and suit the Catholic demand.

601 Kinship terms are as follows:

father:	bapa
father's brother:	bosu
father's sister:	nona, kaka (male speaking); nona kaka, tia (female speaking) (Tia means mother-in-law)
father's brother's son:	kaka aring (male speaking); na'a (female speaking)
father's brother's daughter:	bine (male speaking); kaka aring (female speaking)

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

582 be straight exchange. They must have one inter-
583 mediate move because of the mother's brother's
614 daughter marriage. He sees this clearly, and says that if one could marry a father's sister's daughter they could have a straight exchange. He says that they do this in Tandjung Bunga. Vatter[1] says this is not so. If they do not want to give the tusks or they do not have them, they can work out the bride price in a deal with two other sib groupings so that A will give a girl to B, B a girl to C, and C a girl to A. Thus no tusks are needed, but they act as though the tusks had actually made the rounds. It is all done in their heads. They must plan this, as not every combination will bring the exchange back to the original sib grouping in three moves. Of course, a more complicated deal can be made with many moves leading the fictitious tusks around and a girl back to the group that starts the whole thing.

836 The premarital sex relations with the arrange-
583 ment that leads to marriage which Vatter[1] calls penara is properly called penaga(ng). The guru prefers to call it bride-service, but it is not so according to Vatter[1].

The guru says there are three kinds of marriage here: capture, service (or premarital sex relations leading to marriage), and payment. He calls the last the respectable type. It requires tusks, either real or according to bookkeeping.

192 Vatter[1] makes a bad error on page 83. Kelen
114 does not mean "heaven," but only foot. The word for heaven, on which he was confused, is klng, with almost no vowels.

782 Prayer is not carried out by the Marang. The
788 word marang means to pray, and this has led to
614 the confusion that the ritual prayers at the animal killing were always done by the Suku Marang. The latter merely hands the betel around. The oldest man who is an expert, from whatever

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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582 become competent earlier. They learn to work
178 earlier now. Roy[1] says that the school helps in getting them trained at an earlier age and they begin to weave and do other tasks sooner.

836 I jumped on this to see if there was much
178 premarital sex, and he said that it was extremely
684 rare. He said that as far as this is concerned there has not been much change. I pressed, and Kattenburg got the kepala kampong aside and tried to pump him. They remained adamant, however. It is just very rare. Even when a man is not married until he is thirty-five, they claim he does not engage in sexual promiscuity. There is no prostitution here and none in Larantuka either. And anyway, they never go anywhere where they might get girls. There are very strong taboos on premarital sex. (He said that the girls would lose their name, which indicates that it has happened, perhaps.)

584 But there is an exception which came out
836 when he told of two ways to get married. These are the two: (1) Prearranged and regular marriages. This type counts for most cases. (2) Boy likes girl and begins to hang around her house at night. He slips a cloth or something into her sleeping place and she asks who is there. He tells, and if she doesn't like him she tells him to go away. If she is willing to talk, they talk, and this may go on at night for as long as five years. If a girl has several such suitors, she sends all except one away, and he keeps on having dates. Perhaps the parents do not find out about this, or perhaps in singing and gossip it comes out that they are "going together." At this point a marriage may be arranged. Or, and here comes in the premarital sex practices, the girl may at least let the boy in and they have sexual intercourse. As soon as her parents discover them, marriage must take place. (Also, I suppose, if she be-

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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584 comes pregnant.) This sexual activity is about
836 the same as marriage anyway, as it leads finally to marriage. And anyway, there is no
584 adat rite of marriage. What happened in the
836 old days and what still goes on among the
178 pagans is simply that one day, when everything is all right, the girl is brought to the boy's
178 house, and the couple simply moves in. There is no ceremony.

Nowadays, with Catholicism, and with prearranged marriages, they have a church rite before they sleep together. But the other type of marriage goes on, and in this case they just confess and get married after having slept together. This is a pretty case. And even
595 prettier is the case of polygyny. In the old
178 days this was more frequent, but even now there
183 are Christians who have more than one wife. In this case the first one is married in church, but the second can have no church rites. (As he says, she has no sacramen.)

684 They are very prudish about molesting girls
832 (ganggu). If, for example, a boy squeezes the
721 breast of a girl, and even if she likes it and
128 says nothing, her father and brothers, if they
627 hear about it, go to his house and kill his animals and break up his tusks. They get directly at his property (and that of his ama or suku too) thus, and so it hurts. He has molested their property, and they get back at him in the same way. This might lead to war, and often did in the old days. Note that he mentions as the second most frequent cause of war that of molesting women.

832 He gave a fine case of trouble between kam-
684 pongs resulting from such a case. In his youth
628 three girls from Leloba were molested by boys from another kampong. The girls were getting water. The father and brothers of the girls became angry and smashed up the belongings of

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832 those rascals. They scolded them, saying that
684 if they wanted women, they should ask about
628 them, and speak up about it. That is, they were willing to hear a request, but it had to be done through regular channels without chiseling. ("If you had come to us decently, etc.")

582 In regard to the relative ages of the couple when marriage takes place, the ideal is to have a couple whose ages are nearly the same. If either is older it is better for a boy to be a bit a girl's senior. If there is too great a discrepancy in age, it is not good.

595 His grandfather had four wives. I note that
183 he does not seem to regard polygyny as very bad, even now. And he does not hesitate to tell me that other Christians do this. It is simply that they do not get the sacramen for the second, or third, or even later wife. That's all. Dispensation is called isin.

582 He says that the people in Tandjung Bunga
836 marry when they are very young, and that they begin their sex life as early as nine years old.

178 In the old days, the boys in Leloba and Wailo-
513 long slept regularly in the korke or sebuang
882 (the ama korke, and this is a correction:
[346] sebuang does not refer to the barns of the ama,
[614] but to the cult houses).A I think he said that this is not done any more in Wailolong. It was not required, but they just did it. This took place after a boy reached the age of about sixteen. Roy did it himself. They liked this because it was more fun. They could talk, sing, discuss girls, etc. (I think it was practically a rule, and I wonder what they would have said if a boy did not go there.)

What has happened now is peculiar. The boys
178 sleep together in groups, wherever it seems
513 good. They get in the habit, for example, of
882 sleeping on the benches of a certain house, or
171 in a vacant house, etc. (Thus I see that the

A [See cat. 116, p. 166 -- Ans 145]

513 We
882 Ambon and Ceram youth-club houses are really
178 survivals of the regular thing.) In Leloba the
[171] main hangout is the "pasanggrahan" (bivak),
where there are seldom any guests, and the boys
simply take over. Kattenburg inspected it and
found that it has sleeping benches and even a
[83%] few walled compartments. He asked the kepala
kampong if perhaps the girls did not slip in,
and the kepala kampong said that this was absolutely not the case.

178 In Wailolong there is a guru from Bama,
513 where they have regular boy's houses. This
882 fellow has introduced a new type of boy's house
177 in Wailolong (but no other kampong in this area
614 has one), i.e., he has built three on the Bama
pattern and the boys sleep there. One of these
is our "office" when we use it. These boys'
houses are arranged according to suku, and are
shared by suku. This is a remarkable case of
acculturation within a pattern from one district
to another.

[562] The girls have no such houses, and never did.
882 However, before, as today, they seldom sleep
561 with their parents when they get older. Groups
887 of them have hangouts where they sleep together.
513 These groups are of friends. They weave together, etc., and like to gossip, sing, etc., at night. They just fall asleep there, together. This may be a sleeping bench, or it may be that they get a section of a sleeping bench in one of their parents' houses. There they bunch up. Everyone knows where the groups hang out. Kattenburg found that even old women sleep in groups. They may be, I think, groups of "the girls" who are old and widows, and who go back to their girlhood days and sleep with their coevals, and have a good time. If this is so, it is practically a revived age-grade for the girls who in their youth grew up and slept together and now at the end of their life bunch up together again.

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581 all it is a matter of proper behavior and
secondly one of good work. There are no taboos
[565] on interclass marriages. Note that slave de-
scendants are placed in the system. Above all
they do not want a lazy mate. The rank is the
same for both sexes: behavior, work, and
personal appearance. As the guru said, "How in
hell could we have clothes if the wives were
not always weaving? We can buy shirts and
pants only rarely, as money is dear. Therefore,
they must weave sarongs, etc." It is a simple
necessity. I said, "Well then, as long as a
girl is a good worker and is well behaved, you
would like to marry her even if her face is
like that of an animal." This literally raised
the roof, and all of them laughed, including
the flat-faced but attractive daughter. "Oh
well," they said, "if she really has a face like
a monkey, that's a different thing." They are
absolutely adamant, however, that mere pretti-
ness is not enough. If a girl is very attrac-
tive, but is bad on other points, no one wants
her as a mate. They might like it, but they
just can't afford it.

836 Roy said that nearly all women here are vir-
gins at the time of their marriage (except the
pairs who had sexual relations before, but
these marry anyway). This goes for the men as
well as the women. I asked what would happen
if a man found that his wife was not a virgin.
He said that he wouldn't make a fuss about it,
but that the "marriage would probably not be
happy." These little indications show me that
there must be a lot of fooling around to give
him any chance to answer at all.

585 The only marriage ceremonies here are those
177 of the church, and they are of recent origin.
There is no native marriage ceremony here.
This must be very unusual in Indonesia. There
is not even a ceremonial meal.

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585 is to get the outfit ready. The outfit is
583 provided by the girl's family. Then they go
178 to the boy's house to settle down. This represents a big change. Elopement was never an established custom here, and it does not exist today. Formerly, marriages were arranged, and the girls and boys simply obeyed. Nowadays, the young are consulted, but there is still plenty of prearranged marriage.

582 Sib exogamy is still favored in the majority,
614 by far. Formerly, this rule was very strong.
621 There are a few cases of endogamy with distant relatives, but not many. Formerly this never took place. Most marriages are inside the kampong. The only frequent exception is marriage with Watu Roga, across the street. There are plenty of marriages with Wanda suku, the main one there. Indeed, with the mother's brother's daughter arrangement, and so many Odja-Wanda marriages, it is just about a regular thing. Of course, however, there are plenty of Wanda people living in Roworeke too.

An extra-district marriage is very rare, except for Watu Roga, which happens to be in Lio, which is even in a different radjadom, although it is just across the street.

582 The average age for men at the time of mar-
178 riage is about twenty-five. Today, for women, the average age is twenty-one. And they insist that in the old days the average ages were much older. They said it was usual for a man to be well over thirty, and many women were thirty-five at the time they got married. The kapitan said that they "aged" much slower than they do today. He said that he didn't even have clothes until he was very old, relatively speak-
836 ing. I asked about virginity under these conditions, and he said that all women stayed virgins until they were married. If a husband found that his wife was not a virgin today, he would

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836 be very angry, and I think he said that he might kill her. As for the men, he says that the situation may be different, as there were easy women in the kampong, that is, for example, widows whom a boy might get. Thus, it seems that unlike remote Wailolong and Leloba, the boys tended to get some sex experience premaritally, but the girls were regularly virgins until marriage. The same situation exists today, he says. I guess there is little doubt that this is outside the free premarital belt.

582 178 Probably as astonishing a thing as I have seen in regard to marriage here is the younger age which they say now prevails everywhere. They are sure of this, and indeed they shout it out. This is a real and deep change.

124 123 181 Today the old mother of the kapitan sat with us, and had our questions translated for her. Also, there was a decent old lad there. He understood Malay and seemed to speak it too. He was middle-aged. There was the usual impolite talking while I tried to talk, and looking at the clock, even ringing the alarm at noon. And the secretary is as bad as the others. Then at the end, after I had heard enough in Endenese to know that they had been talking of it all the way through, the kapitan comes up to me and asks me to get a tanda mata (souvenir) for him too, that is, a briefcase. I said I would try to get one in Batavia as there was no place to get a good one here, but they have evidently talked that over and do not trust me, as he said, "Why not get one in the toko here and give it to me?" Then the secretary said on the way out that a good one for the kapitan would be the kind of zipper bag I carry. They are impolite, and so stupid that they think they can delude me. They have no shame, and they are crafty. They constantly pass around my cigarette case, obviously considering whether they might ask for one of those too.

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581 behavior. Looks are a mere by-matter. The same holds for women. They like good workers for husbands (men must keep at the gardens); and as far as I could see, that is about all. I wonder if men should be decent (I doubt that looks are thought of much if at all), as long as they work. These people are way beneath any aesthetic stuff in love (but it may be there in its own way!).

836 [848] They insist that there is not one case of a bastard in their memory. However, yesterday I got the impression that boys have a chance with, for example, widows sometimes. But evidently the girls just stay virgin. They hammer on this; it is and always was a one hundred per cent rule, and that a girl would try to fool on this is considered a terrific thought.

177 797 595 587 582 In the family the Catholics have tried to stop (1) polygny (but this goes on), (2) levirate and sororate (but this goes on), (3) mother's brother's daughter marriage (they do this with more distant relatives in order to keep up the form). This is interesting.

789 753 [565] In regard to the nobility, I can get no reaction on ideas of magic power, and they say that even the Radja of Ende does not have any. They say that he is new anyway. He is just a big man from the Djari Djawa suku (but the radja must come from this, but I got the idea that Nggobe might get in too). I asked if maybe the mosa laki had any, and they said no. If they do not obey they just become angry, and it is better to stay on their good side as they control the land and they are the big men anyway. There is no magic punishment. Thus they are different even from Larantuka. The only things which have magic power are taboo places, for example, the rumah pemali, the grave-bone shrines, and the old ancestor places. Breaking such taboos can cause illness, and the

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584 178 whom they like. They always used and still use intermediaries for the approach. There is never a chance for much acquaintance before marriage.

581 276 In marriage the main thing wanted is a good worker, by both sexes. Secondly, they want good behavior and good nature. Looks are very unimportant for both. I notice this, and it may be a reason why betel mouths are of no consequence. But I do notice that the prettiest young women I see (the head guru's wife and the mandur's wife) do not use betel. Maybe they are beginning to think of their appearance a bit. I asked him if the men here think the guru's wife is pretty. He said not especially so. She happens to be a beauty. I said that in the United States she would be so regarded, and he seemed embarrassed at the whole talk. They evidently don't go into such questions very much if at all.

●836 About ten to twenty-five per cent of the women here are not virgins at marriage, but he says, how can he tell? This is his guess. They do it in the dark. A girl can ruin her name in this fashion, but they do it secretly. If a bride is not a virgin, there is no fuss. He insisted that there is no special feeling about it, which seems a bit queer. He said that perhaps there is a bit more sex now, but he is very uncertain. About fifty per cent of the men are not virgins at marriage. There is not much sex with widows, mainly with those who are young girls. But there was a bit of talk about widows, and it seems that there are cases. If [848] a bastard is born, the mother looks for a husband. If she can't find a man who is willing to marry her, the children merely enter the girl's family. Cornelius[1] doesn't know of a case in Veol.

584 An adat wedding first involves an intermediary to sound out whether the marriage will be

1 [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

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243 agricultural rite, they must make a sacrifice
782 at the very center. The main post is the place
778 for house and kampong offerings, and it is called pusat. I think the center of the circular rice field complex is also called the pusat.

115 The assistant's name is Cornelius Lawang.
624 He is from the va'u Pau, which is also the name of a kampong about one kilometer outside the town. His father is the tuan tanah there, and there he will spend tonight. He is his father's successor. Will he take the post? He said just about all tuan tanah (tua' tano') are pagan. But evidently they could be Christian, although a bit of trouble may rise when it comes to the ceremony.

582 I forgot to say that the mandur said it is possible to marry with one's mother's brother's daughter, but not with the other cousins, including father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and father's brother's daughter. If so, this is interesting. He said that
[184] the Catholics forbid mother's brother's daughter marriages now. I must check on this.

567 We got onto the census matter with the assistant. This led to some new points. He said that they do have slaves here and said that he would indicate them in the census, but I must never tell, as this is never mentioned although
842 everyone knows about it. He said that they like
583 to have many children here, and if they have many they give a feast of thanks. (Evidently the more daughters the richer the family may become because of the bride prices. If the family consists of all boys, there is considerable trouble in getting enough goods for the bride prices. These bride prices are reckoned in terms of animals mostly. The mandur said there is trouble often in getting the price and that men who can't marry on this account are not

842 too uncommon. If relatives help out in this
583 matter,[1] they must be repaid. The assistant
[602] said that if there are no children or if there
[597] are very few children, it often happens that a man buys a child, who then becomes one of his own. (From whom does he buy?)

565 The ranks are:

582
595
1. Radja bangsawan
2. Dalu bangsawan (he says, since 1880) (Kraeng)
3. Gelarang bangsawan
4. Leke (commoners)
5. Mendi (slaves)

The first three may intermarry, either way. The last two may intermarry, also either way. Polygamist marriages are possible, and this goes even for the Christians who do so in order to have more children. He talked as though polygamy, if done for this purpose only, was not so bad. He is of the gelarang and his wife of dalu. The children are of gelarang.

624 Then we got onto the subject of the social
621 organization of Weol. He said that there is a
342 tuan tanah and also a second man, whom he will
534 explain later, as it is a long story. There is also a medicine man, and he is important in ceremonies. He will give me the posts of the kampong later on the sheets.

Weol has two offshoot kampongs. One is Tjantsia (where he lives) and the other is Tjara, on the next hill. The former has a tuan tanah tjabang (a branch tuan tanah). Incidentally,
[178] the present tuan tanah of Weol lives in a rectangular house, which was an unknown thing here before ten years ago. Even in this rectangular house, there is a main post or rather a place which serves as a main post, and here the tuan tanah sits as the center of rituals. The tuan tanah must have in the house a gong and a gendang

[1] [i.e., meeting the bride price --Analyst]

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614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the relationships linking the individuals in this area became more and more distant. Thus they gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed, since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols, showing the effect of having worked with van Bekkum.[1] The priests try to discourage mother's brother's daughter marriages, but they always give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get the idea that the priests here are less firm regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka. This is probably because it is a relatively new field, and the Catholics go slowly and gradually in destroying what is old. The dodge they use here is special dispensation. This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price, is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with his wife's family until the bride price is paid. This may take ten years or he may never pay the bride price, but the children belong to his va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
177

1 [pastor at Ruteng; see also bibliography, cat. 113 — Analyst]

War

684 out, one or both could be killed. (He said that usually one escaped.) (I didn't ask about widows, but must do so.)

659 Note: Formerly, no vital statistics were kept here. Only since the war have they bothered to keep a record of births, and deaths. They still do not record marriages.

842 The belief here is that the more children one has the better it is for him. A man feels big
534 if his family is large. It is fine to have
556 twenty children. They have no idea at all of
857 limitation, or that it might even be conceivable. If a man has no children it is cause for terrific shame. This applies even if he has only a few. They like boys and girls, and perhaps boys even a bit more than girls. Girls bring in tusks, but this is not all gain, because the family must pay a return gift. The boys, however, work in the fields and thus bring in a certain income. In addition, if there are lots of boys and thus a large family income, the family can buy tusks.

Thus the girls get tusks, weave, and cook; but the boys work and bring to the family an income and keep the group name going (and in the old days were probably good for warfare).

181 The word hasil is very important here. It means product, and this is the center of their life. Everything is judged in terms of hasil, and even religious and ritual leaders are judged by their hasil. If they produce, they are all right. If they do not, something is wrong. And these profits, or income, or produce, include food, children, tusks, magic, etc. This is a wide concept. They want lots of hasil, and of all kinds.

721 I asked about war in the old days and how
789 any of the kampongs could fight the traditional enemy Riang Kamiĕ when it was always so much bigger. The kepala kampong looked significantly

War

721 at me and raised his brows, saying, "Ah, but
789 you are forgetting the kekuatan adjaib. It was not a matter of men alone." I am accepted as one who can appreciate the magical things. In this case he was pointing to "those intangible factors which mean so much in warfare."

842 There are no limitations on the number of children in a family. There is not even a conflict here with the church. He did say, however, that they know or think they know a medicine (at least he has heard that some women know about this) which might limit the number of children a woman could have (or did I say this?). Anyway, it is unthinkable.

The bigger the family the better it is. A
[614] big family, ama or suku makes its members cocky.
[534] As Roy says, he is a member of Hurint, the biggest sib here, and he would like to see the so and so who would try anything on him. He would have to settle with the group. Thus numbers mean strength all along the line.

162 The average size of the family here is about
178 eight individuals. Formerly, about fifty per cent of the children did not grow up. Now they
165 nearly all live (I doubt this, but evidently
758 the change has been so dramatic with the introduction of modern medicine and cleanliness that it seems this way). I asked why, and they at once said new medicines and cleanliness.

355 Women do most of the upbringing. The father,
368 for example, just looks on once in awhile. The
178 mother is the crux, as well as other women. Later on, boys learn to work from their father and girls learn their tasks from their mother. The only change in all this is the school and church, especially of course the former.

581 There has been no significant change in the
178 concept of a "suitable man or wife." So little has the pressure for mere existence lessened that appearance and looks are minor. First of

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587 moved out of the girl's house, a man must pay another price for her sister. If they have not yet moved out (for example, the guru still lives in the house of his wife's father, the head guru), no bride price is paid, and the father gives a sister free.

601 587 835 Now, note the beauty of the kinship terms here. I had wondered why the terms ari and ka'e were restricted to: brother (man speaking), sister (woman speaking), sister-in-law (man speaking), brother-in-law (woman speaking), wife's sister (man speaking), husband's brother (woman speaking), brother's wife (man speaking), and sister's husband (woman speaking). The fact is that the terms mean, not really sibling, but these relations and these linkages only. The connotation is that one can marry his or her ari or ka'e, while the real brother and sister terms (nara, veta) mean a marriage taboo. Thus the levirate and sororate are beautifully reflected in these terms. Where the terms are used for persons of the same sex, they cause no trouble, because marriage here is impossible anyway. Perhaps the truth is that they mean brother and sister, in a way, but since they have to have other terms to indicate ones who cannot be married, they have also the terms nara and veta. The edja and ipa terms, the other ones for cousins, make no difference, as they also are used for persons of the same sex.

842 578 181 The belief here is that the more children one has the better it is. They are sad if they have only a few children. They like children of both sexes for different reasons. Boys are good to work in the gardens (and can develop new land) and are good in standing up for their father (a relic of the old war days, but even now in an argument it is good to have a big gang, and as they say, "You can trust only your

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842 family." This shows [a] the belligerent nature
181 of these people and [b] their distrust of most
[578] other people). Girls are good for weaving, house work, and for the bride price that they bring in. When I pressed the matter, they said that perhaps it was better actually to have a few more girls than boys, because of the money they bring in. This is different from Larantuka, and perhaps shows the greedy nature of these folk. They don't like all girls or all boys.

842 They have no knowledge or idea of limiting the number of children. As usual I told them about birth control in the United States, and they were very much surprised. They seem to have heard vaguely that there may be some sort of medicine used to prevent having children, but they never think of using it.

163 They are unclear, but they think that the
178 average number of births per woman is between five and six. This may reflect the late marriage age here. Of these, three or four live (perhaps the population here is indeed relatively stationary). They think there has been little change in this regard, and this may be true, as it seems to be about as dirty and uncared for medically as it was before, or at least there has been no great improvement. They said that a great number of children die in infancy.

855 There was a chorus of agreement to the ef-
887 fect that the mother is the important one here. The father is away working all the time. Old women help in caring for the children.

584 There is no modern courtship. Intermediaries are used.

581 Although they do not like ugly women in a showdown, the ugly worker wins over the pretty drone. In fact, they think first about her skill as a worker and second in terms of her

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586 another wife.

586 684 562 In the case of adultery on the part of a woman, a fine must be paid to the grieved husband. The wife pays only a little, her paramour a lot. In the case of a man committing adultery, there is no fine or punishment of any sort. The wife may be angry, but that is all.

A man may divorce an errant wife, but there is no bride price return. This just about never occurs. A man is satisfied with the fine.

Adat here does not allow for killing an adulterous couple caught in the act. This may be done later, but it is still not allowed, and not condoned. The payment of a fine is the thing here.

If a divorce is requested by a man, there is no repayment of the bride price, and he must pay one horse. If a wife asks for a divorce, the price must be repaid. The children always stay with the father's family.

●842 The people here like many children; the more the better. There is no set limitation. When I talk about birth control, often, all over they say about condoms that they are "like the Japanese use." He was surprised about other methods of birth control. Until now there has been no thought of limitation.

Cornelius[1] says that about ten children are [163] born per woman, but only about half or a little more live to adulthood. Sons are more important. If a couple has only one child, they prefer a son. A few more sons than daughters are wanted. Va'u and bride price considerations are important.

868 When the children are very young the mother takes care of their education. Then the children follow the parent of the same sex and learn their roles and work.

584 178 There is just about no courtship. Formerly marriages were all prearranged. Now, most frequently the young people tell their parents

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

527 We
782 Drums, etc. are set up.
231 (5) A new ordinary house. There is a small
[342] feast, and pigs are killed.

(6) If there is an epidemic, a big feast is
[731] held, like the tjutji kampong of Ambon. The
[783] mbako decides when it is needed. It is called
[756] kaba erba golo, which means "buffalo (kaba) makes young or renews (erba) the kampong (golo)." Thus the word for young seems to have the sense of making young or cleaning or renewing. There is a buffalo sacrificed, I suppose at the tjompang.

[697] (7) When a man returns from jail. A buffalo is sacrificed.

[585] (8) A wedding. For such rites only pigs are sacrificed. Buffaloes which are killed at this time are for food only, not for ritual use.

[764] (9) Funerals. If such a rite is for an up-
[565] per, a buffalo is sacrificed; if a funeral is for a lower, only a pig is sacrificed.

(10) Birth. A bigger ceremony is held for
[844] a first child, and all the kampong folk attend. Later children are given smaller rites, and only the family attend. Pigs or fowls are sacrificed. Such ceremonies are held five to ten days after birth. There is no special touching the ground rite. However, at this time the baby's hair is cut and a name is given.

844 This led to a discussion of birth. In each
[756] kampong the mbako are also midwives, i.e., at least some of them. A male mbako may be a midwife, and Cornelius says that some are very clever at this. Evidently all mbako are medicine givers and sorcerers and soothsayers, etc., but not all of them are midwives.

● 843 There are no food taboos for pregnant women, but there are restrictions. If a pregnant woman goes out at night, she must carry a knife (like Ambon). An expectant father may not make bamboo water holders. Neither parent may work at the graves or go to funerals

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754 a message that they then have the power. After
756 that the person tries out his dreamed cure on a sick person. If it works, he begins to build up a reputation, and if he continues to have good results, he then becomes a molang. As for the medicine the molang makes, it does not require any formal training. He observes how some practiced molang makes it. There is no "theorie" (and the guru used this word) to be learned. Also, they get prescriptions in dreams. Thus dreams may be the crux of the affair. It is all pretty informal.

I forgot to ask whether the molang may have familiars. Bugis, the molang of Wailolong,
[774] got the call when he was already an adult. A molang can recapture the errant soul of a person who is ill. To make the recapture, the molang rubs betel on the head and joints of the patient and thinks that this replaces the soul. A now discontinued trick of the molang was to discover who did some wrong, for example, in the case of a theft, by looking in his magic mirror. It is quite common to say, "Let's got see what the mirror shows," and then go to a molang. Thus the molang is a person who receives his post through dreams which give him medicine, the ability to recapture souls, and the ability to be a seer.

759 In addition, there are dukun. These are
● 844 mostly women, but may also be men. They give medicines. The women may also be midwives.
462 They get their medicines from others, for example, from their mothers, or invent them, or obtain prescriptions in dreams. Although Leloba has no more molang, it does have at least one dukun, and there are quite a few in the area.

793 The Catholic priests have magic power too,
789 but it comes from God rather than ancestors or other pagan sources. They can even make rain, by prayer.

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000 children. It is remarkable that there is so
858 much freedom exhibited by the children all over here. They do as they please evidently.

463 Nearly everyone is a farmer here, but to
212 be kepala kampong, kapitan, secretary, or
622 the like, an individual must be literate. There are, however, illiterate kepala kampongs, but they must use a literate mandur to help them with the work. There are no openings for clerical people or the like.

[874] The only seminary here is for priests, and
787 as yet there are no students there from here.
[154] The bisa mari (sorcerers) are not trained. They get their call in dreams. They are about
[156] equally male and female. The dukun also get
[844] their call in dreams. However, the ones who are midwives learn from mothers.

463 There are no specialists at all. The local
438 population must buy even its ironwork elsewhere.
335 They do not even have carpenters here. Anyone can build a house. This place exhibits a very low level in all such things except weaving. They now learn music in school.

873 Many children who are clever and would like to advance in school cannot do this as it costs fl. 10.00 per month for a higher education. There is plenty of heartache here. Perhaps there is not so very much yet, actually.

212 Fifty years ago no one could read or write, not even in the Ende script.

197 One hundred per cent of the people here speak Ende, including the foreigners from Savu and the Chinese. The latter did not speak Ende when they came in, but after a year they could.

Only about one hundred can speak Malay. No one speaks Dutch. The children are starting to learn a bit of Dutch in school now, but this is evidently only in the higher school.

There are no other languages spoken, except of course, Chinese and Savu. They say that they

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846 614 [851] When the child is born, a man (maybe the father) comes to the house and bangs five times on the wall from the outside with a spear, and asks, "Boy or girl?" (The assistant said he banged the spear himself.) The word used for boy means "kampong child"; for girl "outside child," reflecting that the former will swell the population of the kampong, but the latter will leave the kampong on marriage. The placenta is put in a box with ashes, along with the umbilical cord (mba'u means placenta with cord). The box is hung in front of the house until it falls apart and disappears. He says usually a dog or some other beast finally eats it up! However, this holds for some va'u only. Other va'u throw the afterbirth in the river, and others bury it. Thus the custom in Pau is hanging; Pongkor buries, Veol throws in the river, Tjepang throws in the river.

805 The calendar starts with planting. They count the months thereafter. The year has ten moons. The two moons extra (May, June, July period) are not counted. They are "empty." (This may explain the confusion Papajungan had in explaining the Toradja calendar, because there too they had extra, unnamed months.)

The ten months, he said, are named. This is unclear, because later it seemed that he reneged on this at Anam when I pointed out that Anam was just having a New Year feast at the end of January, while other kampongs had had theirs long since. Maybe they just count from the planting time, and the "New Year" feast does not take place at the start of the counting, but is just

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581 behavior. Looks are a mere by-matter. The same holds for women. They like good workers for husbands (men must keep at the gardens); and as far as I could see, that is about all. I wonder if men should be decent (I doubt that looks are thought of much if at all), as long as they work. These people are way beneath any aesthetic stuff in love (but it may be there in its own way!).

836 They insist that there is not one case of a bastard in their memory. However, yesterday [848] I got the impression that boys have a chance with, for example, widows sometimes. But evidently the girls just stay virgin. They hammer on this; it is and always was a one hundred per cent rule, and that a girl would try to fool on this is considered a terrific thought.

177 797 In the family the Catholics have tried to 595 stop: (1) polygny (but this goes on), (2) 587 levirate and sororate (but this goes on), (3) 582 mother's brother's daughter marriage (they do this with more distant relatives in order to keep up the form). This is interesting.

789 In regard to the nobility, I can get no re- 753 action on ideas of magic power, and they say [565] that even the Radja of Ende does not have any. They say that he is new anyway. He is just a big man from the Djari Djawa suku (but the radja must come from this, but I got the idea that Nggobe might get in too). I asked if maybe the mosa laki had any, and they said no. If they do not obey they just become angry, and it is better to stay on their good side as they control the land and they are the big men anyway. There is no magic punishment. Thus they are different even from Larantuka. The only things which have magic power are taboo places, for example, the rumah pemali, the grave-bone shrines, and the old ancestor places. Breaking such taboos can cause illness, and the

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584 178 whom they like. They always used and still use intermediaries for the approach. There is never a chance for much acquaintance before marriage.

581 276 In marriage the main thing wanted is a good worker, by both sexes. Secondly, they want good behavior and good nature. Looks are very unimportant for both. I notice this, and it may be a reason why betel mouths are of no consequence. But I do notice that the prettiest young women I see (the head guru's wife and the mandur's wife) do not use betel. Maybe they are beginning to think of their appearance a bit. I asked him if the men here think the guru's wife is pretty. He said not especially so. She happens to be a beauty. I said that in the United States she would be so regarded, and he seemed embarrassed at the whole talk. They evidently don't go into such questions very much if at all.

836 About ten to twenty-five per cent of the women here are not virgins at marriage, but he says, how can he tell? This is his guess. They do it in the dark. A girl can ruin her name in this fashion, but they do it secretly. If a bride is not a virgin, there is no fuss. He insisted that there is no special feeling about it, which seems a bit queer. He said that perhaps there is a bit more sex now, but he is very uncertain. About fifty per cent of the men are not virgins at marriage. There is not much sex with widows, mainly with those who are young girls. But there was a bit of talk about widows, and it seems that there are cases. If [848] a bastard is born, the mother looks for a husband. If she can't find a man who is willing to marry her, the children merely enter the girl's family. Cornelius[1] doesn't know of a case in Veol.

584 An adat wedding first involves an intermediary to sound out whether the marriage will be

[1] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

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527 risk, and one must tread warily and devoutly.
241 Observing all the rites and showing respect for the most important thing of all, food, is the proper thing.

[782] There are also feasts to ask for rain (held at the korke), and against widespread illness (also at the korke), for a new korke, for a new kebang, and for a new "big house."

Note that most of the agricultural rites occur in the fields.

Once in about every nine to ten years they have a great thanksgiving feast, if the crops are good.

[851] A small feast is given when a child is born, but there is no animal sacrifice. If twins are born, however, an animal is cut. Note the gladness displayed at the increase or income of any kind whatsoever, including an additional human being.

[585] There is no marriage feast at all in the old adat.

The biggest feasts are those held at harvest, for a new korke, and the thanksgiving feast.

[171] Note that the Toradja have the thanksgiving feast too, and I saw the start of it there.

[346] The new korke feast is now given when they have a new church!

346 614 177 Note the way that the church links with the old cult. I remember almost the first thing I heard here was from the priest who said that the new church is being partly paid for by selling the tusks of the families whose carelessness caused the fire which burned the old church. He also said in the church, both in the old and the new, there are the signs of the four main suku. They have their place in the church. And I suppose they will cut up animals for the new church too. If so this sort of takes the wind out of the argument against constructing a new korke, namely, that it would cause too much of a waste of animals.

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601 husband — rona (non-vocative); the vocative term involves primogeniteknonymy: "ema of" (first child's name); before a child is born the vocative consists of the personal name of the husband; but after a child is born the wife always uses the primogeniteknonymy, unless she wishes to insult him, when she uses his personal name. This might happen in anger, implying, I suppose, that he has no child.

[851] [551]

wife — vina (non-vocative); the vocative uses primogeniteknonymy: "ende of" (first child's name); before a child is born the husband uses his wife's personal name; but after a child is born he always uses the primogeniteknonymy term, unless he wishes to insult her, when he uses her personal name. This may be used, for example, in anger, implying, I suppose, that she has no child.

[851] [551]

husband's father	amang
husband's mother	inang
wife's father	amang
wife's mother	inang
wife's sister	vina (non-vocative), kae--ase (vocative).
wife's brother	kesah
husband's sister	ipar

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846 When the child is born, a man (maybe the
614 father) comes to the house and bangs five times
[851] on the wall from the outside with a spear, and asks, "Boy or girl?" (The assistant said he banged the spear himself.) The word used for boy means "kampong child"; for girl "outside child," reflecting that the former will swell the population of the kampong, but the latter will leave the kampong on marriage. The placenta is put in a box with ashes, along with the umbilical cord (mba'u means placenta with cord). The box is hung in front of the house until it falls apart and disappears. He says usually a dog or some other beast finally eats it up! However, this holds for some va'u only. Other va'u throw the afterbirth in the river, and others bury it. Thus the custom in Pau is hanging; Pongkor buries, Veol throws in the river, Tjepang throws in the river.

805 The calendar starts with planting. They count the months thereafter. The year has ten moons. The two moons extra (May, June, July period) are not counted. They are "empty." (This may explain the confusion Papajungan had in explaining the Toradja calendar, because there too they had extra, unnamed months.)

The ten months, he said, are named. This is unclear, because later it seemed that he reneged on this at Anam when I pointed out that Anam was just having a New Year feast at the end of January, while other kampongs had had theirs long since. Maybe they just count from the planting time, and the "New Year" feast does not take place at the start of the counting, but is just

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527 A small feast is given at the birth of a
852 child.

304 There is no supercision, except for Mohammedan circumcision, and this is done only in a few cases. (Evidently, in Indonesia, where supercision was in before, they may continue it under Mohammedanism, for example, in Makassar. But where there was no cutting before, they take on Mohammedan circumcision only.)

They say that they never had any cutting here. However, they say that they know of at least two kampongs in Lio where cutting did take place.

622 The mosa laki are of course religious as well
793 as adat chiefs. The Catholic priest has a house here, but does not reside there. He makes periodic visits. There are two religious teachers.

771 I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements.

798 I wonder if the new bureaucracy, and also the Mohammedan majority, may cause trouble for the Catholic-oriented education of Flores. So far there has been no trouble.

798 There is very little discussion of religion here. They seem to let it slide by, and I get the idea that there is no great trouble in regard to paganism because (1) they never had any real resistance here, and (2) the pagans are too dumb, and so are the Christians, and (3) the Catholics do not evidently attack directly.

782 There was no trouble here in regard to the
797 acceptance of Mohammedanism from the standpoint
[231] of sacrifice, because they have plenty of non-taboo animals, for example, the buffalo, cattle, and goats. Therefore, it is not necessary to have a pig for pagan rites, and even the Mohammedans would get their share at a feast. This is different from Larantuka, where a Mohammedan would go hungry at the largely pork provided feasts. And also, in Larantuka, the all-essen-

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842 family." This shows [a] the belligerent nature
181 of these people and [b] their distrust of most
[578] other people). Girls are good for weaving, house work, and for the bride price that they bring in. When I pressed the matter, they said that perhaps it was better actually to have a few more girls than boys, because of the money they bring in. This is different from Larantuka, and perhaps shows the greedy nature of these folk. They don't like all girls or all boys.

842 They have no knowledge or idea of limiting the number of children. As usual I told them about birth control in the United States, and they were very much surprised. They seem to have heard vaguely that there may be some sort of medicine used to prevent having children, but they never think of using it.

163 They are unclear, but they think that the
178 average number of births per woman is between five and six. This may reflect the late marriage age here. Of these, three or four live (perhaps the population here is indeed relatively stationary). They think there has been little change in this regard, and this may be true, as it seems to be about as dirty and uncared for medically as it was before, or at least there has been no great improvement. They said that a great number of children die in infancy.

855 There was a chorus of agreement to the ef-
887 fect that the mother is the important one here. The father is away working all the time. Old women help in caring for the children.

584 There is no modern courtship. Intermediaries are used.

581 Although they do not like ugly women in a showdown, the ugly worker wins over the pretty drone. In fact, they think first about her skill as a worker and second in terms of her

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123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

We discussed a certain rank which appears in
614 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
343 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
562 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala
243 suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

We also noted a possible error in Vatter.[1]
[114] He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
614 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
796 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
831 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
784 gins, but now with so few young girls still
241 pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[857] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost
[887] babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic
[797] note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

1 [See bibliography, cat 113 -- Analyst]

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684 out, one or both could be killed. (He said that usually one escaped.) (I didn't ask about widows, but must do so.)

659 Note: Formerly, no vital statistics were kept here. Only since the war have they bothered to keep a record of births, and deaths. They still do not record marriages.

842 The belief here is that the more children one has the better it is for him. A man feels big 534 if his family is large. It is fine to have 556 twenty children. They have no idea at all of 857 limitation, or that it might even be conceivable. If a man has no children it is cause for terrific shame. This applies even if he has only a few. They like boys and girls, and perhaps boys even a bit more than girls. Girls bring in tusks, but this is not all gain, because the family must pay a return gift. The boys, however, work in the fields and thus bring in a certain income. In addition, if there are lots of boys and thus a large family income, the family can buy tusks.

Thus the girls get tusks, weave, and cook; but the boys work and bring to the family an income and keep the group name going (and in the old days were probably good for warfare).

181 The word hasil is very important here. It means product, and this is the center of their life. Everything is judged in terms of hasil, and even religious and ritual leaders are judged by their hasil. If they produce, they are all right. If they do not, something is wrong. And these profits, or income, or produce, include food, children, tusks, magic, etc. This is a wide concept. They want lots of hasil, and of all kinds.

721 I asked about war in the old days and how 789 any of the kampongs could fight the traditional enemy Riang Kamië when it was always so much bigger. The kepala kampong looked significantly

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665 The thought of a political career is absolutely absent. No one has it, not even the guru.

204 The one local paper, the mission bi-weekly
203 "Bentara" (herald), is received by only one
212 guru in Leloba and two guru in Wailolong. It is read by perhaps ten other individuals in each place. It is very important, as it is the only paper here. The people are now in the habit of asking the guru what is in the paper. Thus the word of mouth is the main vehicle, but the feeble paper is an important item. The only books here are school books and religious books. Adults read only the latter, and not for fun. However, they love stories, and he is sure that a library would be deluged with readers. Literate adults over thirty or forty are rare. Younger people are mostly literate. There is
[207] no radio here at all.

582 There have been no changes in the marriage
593 system to speak of in the last half century.
● 858 Roy says there have been few changes in the
888 family either. I tried to ask if the children are less respectful or obedient now, but he said no. I tried to get this by the religious conflict, but he is adamant that it never split up families. Even here there was never a loss of respect for the elders, even though they were pagans and the children were Christians. And the elders, although their hearts were sick, never tried to force their children to follow them. They were just not violent. There was never a case of disowning. He said a parent would be ashamed forever if he had done so, and indeed it was quite unthinkable. They love children so much that, though they might try to talk with them, if a child remained firm always a child would get its will. The parents would be ashamed of any open or loud conflict. They might have troubled hearts, but that's all. Although they might try reasoning with them, they would go no further.

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000 children. It is remarkable that there is so
858 much freedom exhibited by the children all over here. They do as they please evidently.

463 Nearly everyone is a farmer here, but to
212 be kepala kampong, kapitan, secretary, or
622 the like, an individual must be literate. There are, however, illiterate kepala kampongs, but they must use a literate mandur to help them with the work. There are no openings for clerical people or the like.

[874] The only seminary here is for priests, and
787 as yet there are no students there from here.
[154] The bisa mari (sorcerers) are not trained. They get their call in dreams. They are about
[156] equally male and female. The dukun also get
[844] their call in dreams. However, the ones who are midwives learn from mothers.

463 There are no specialists at all. The local
438 population must buy even its ironwork elsewhere.
335 They do not even have carpenters here. Anyone can build a house. This place exhibits a very low level in all such things except weaving. They now learn music in school.

873 Many children who are clever and would like to advance in school cannot do this as it costs fl. 10.00 per month for a higher education. There is plenty of heartache here. Perhaps there is not so very much yet, actually.

212 Fifty years ago no one could read or write, not even in the Ende script.

197 One hundred per cent of the people here speak Ende, including the foreigners from Savu and the Chinese. The latter did not speak Ende when they came in, but after a year they could.

Only about one hundred can speak Malay. No one speaks Dutch. The children are starting to learn a bit of Dutch in school now, but this is evidently only in the higher school.

There are no other languages spoken, except of course, Chinese and Savu. They say that they

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585 all of the men in the kampong come on horses. The bride may not dismount nor touch the earth, but is lifted off on the saddle. At the threshold she steps off the saddle and crushes an egg under her foot. The groom enters too. Songs are sung and a pig is killed as she en-
[783] ters ("to clean her feet" meaning evidently to clean the soil of her home kampong off or to remove bonds therewith). This indeed is the rite that removes her totem taboo and makes her take on her husband's totem. It is called ela penteng pitak, which indeed means to clean off the mud. Thus she leaves the old and takes on the new tjek'i. Thus she has entered her husband's va'u. Then there is a
[591] feast and they live patrilocally.

583 If there is no bride price paid, the boy
591 merely goes and moves in with the girl's fam-
585 ily. There is no ceremony, or perhaps it is a
[124] little one. This is not regarded as nice (and note he says that he is afraid they might not tell him who in Veol and Ndung did not pay the bride price, as they are sensitive about this. He will send me a letter later about this and also about the percentage of mother's brother's daughter marriages). Only the poor people marry in this fashion.

When the bride price is finally paid, the real wedding ritual occurs as above. It may be ten years later. I made sure of this by laughingly saying that perhaps in such a case when they have the procession from the girl's to the boy's house their children go along too. And they said that that was correct. If the couple are Christian, they have a church wedding one day before the numpang. All the rest of the rite is the same.

864 There is no need for sex instruction, as the children see everything when they are still very young in these crowded houses. They are

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864 very sure about this. Nothing is a mystery.

There have been no changes in the last fifty
178 years in regard to social classes here, except
565 that the kraengs have lost their power, and
634 that Bima is no longer in. Also, the radja is
621 now superimposed. But the regular classes are
567 the same, and even the kraeng still get a bit of respect, although this has suffered a marked decline. Note that the Radja is a Todo kraeng, and I can see that he tries to do the best he can for his enormous "family" by getting land for them, etc.

Cornelius lists in his notes:

tu'a kilo	household head
tu'a mbaru	house head
tu'a panga	lineage chief
tu'a tenu	va'u or kampong chief
tu'a beo	elders of the kampong, collectively
gelarang	who is also a tu'a tenu
dalu	district ruler
radja	new Manggarai ruler
ata leke	commoner
ata mendi	slaves who were bought or captured
ata lampang, ata sekontu, ata mangko' pitu	other slaves

The general term for "population" is ro'eng.

651 In the old days a tax was paid to Bima in
567 slaves (taki). It is remembered that three
661 men from Veol were taken off in this fashion,
178 but it is not known where they were taken. Others were taken as slaves because they didn't behave correctly toward the Bima dignitaries.
[689] Enslavement was evidently a great form of punishment here for any infringement in showing the proper respect to authority. Today there are no more "slaves"

346 This costs money, at least. With cleverness,
797 Pastor Krol told how the scheme is working to get the folk to sell their tusks in order to get money to contribute to the new church. This works on the grounds that the people were careless with their fire in the fields when there was a high wind, and this caused the burning of the church. It is all a wily game, and the pagans are lost.

797 This whole religious matter is endless. It
182 is the most powerful acculturation thing here,
769 and the whole weight of Catholicism is on the last few pagans. The guru is full of the propaganda of rationalization. For example, he says, how do we know where the ancestors are? If they led good lives they are in heaven; and if not, they are in the sea (hell). And if they were good they must be in heaven, even though they were not Catholic, because they knew nothing of the Word when they lived.

632 The next day we started by clearing up a point
614 about the radja tuan. He may come from another ama than the No. 1 or waru'ing ama. Thus in Ama Datong suku the present Radja tuan is the kelake of Ama Radja, which is the No. 3 ama.

789 Roy said that not only officials have magic
565 power, but that also all members of the noble
171 families have some, though not so much as the chiefs. They definitely have more than common
865 folk. This is why one must show respect to the uppers. It is like Bone in Celebes, but less so perhaps. For example, they are very much afraid of hitting a noble child.

756 A sorcerer (molang) receives respect too,
754 even though his post is not hereditary. Some
[462] sorcerers, however, are noble. Sorcerers may be male or female, and indeed Roy thinks most of them are women. I asked how one got to be a molang, and he said that in general they get a call while dreaming. It is a matter of getting

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162 Here in Veol the Christians and pagans are also about fifty-fifty. It is notable that here in Veol many of the young people are still pagan. There is plenty of paganism still, and the Catholics, I am sure, are largely pagan. The [578] main conflict is over polygyny. But there is also plenty of general friction. It is especially bad if a man has a barren wife. He must remarry. Who will feed him when he is dead? Also, what about the ceremonies? It is all right for the Catholics to say that Christians may attend community rites, if they do not pray in pagan style, but what will happen if all of them turn Catholic? Who will be there to do the rites?

797 769 775 788 Note also that the last of the rites means the end of relations with the thousands of dead inhabitants of the kampong. The Catholics try to fix this up. For example, Roy tried to do this by saying that they are probably not around the graves but have flown off to heaven. But this is revolutionary, and changes the whole character of the settlement into a kind of "empty" place, with only living persons living in it. He told how his father's father, when his father was a boy and the guru tried to convert him, had ordered the boy not to change. And the boy didn't. He now has four wives, one of whom is the assistant's mother. Note the [771] similarity with Toradja Protestant rules. Catholics may not pray in pagan style and may not hold private rites, and they may not officiate at the rites, but they may attend.

● 865 Note: At the Sunday singing performance I was impressed by the good behavior of the children. This always seems to be true here in Indonesia. They are amazingly unmischievous. The guru says that almost never is there a disciplinary problem. I can see this all over. The children are adults really while still very

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●865 young, in regard to the propriety of their behavior.

346 As usual, the church at Tjantjar has no
778 windows. There is no rumah pemali here. The tuan tanah house is the cult center. At each feast all gather here, unless it is a smaller, house or panga feast. The gongs and drums are located here, and also the main post (and in each house is a lesser main post) and the pusaka. The last, however, does not consist of very much--clothes, knives, etc., from the ancestors, and heirlooms of the group.

778 The cult places are: (1) the tjompang with
614 the tree, and (2) the stones. Here it is the
769 Vatu Veol, in the form of a human male with
773 arms akimbo, but "someone" broke off the arms.
532 It is near the high hill where the original kampong was located. It was placed there by an ancestor named Padja (thus like the named stones of Ngada). Padja is invited to the feasts at the stone. If there is a war, ceremonies are held there. Any kampong of the va'u Veol may come there and use it. Thus it is a va'u stone. Most kampongs have such a holy stone. Vatu Runtu is the one in Ruteng kampong, whence came the original ancestors of va'u Runtu. Vatu Pau in kampong Pau is where the original ancestors of va'u Pau came out. This was about fifteen generations ago, he says, and he is a member (this is thus quite recent, and curious, but maybe these family trees get foreshortened; or perhaps the period represents a new immigration of "stone people"? It seems to be about three hundred years ago or perhaps a bit less). Vatu La'o is in the gelarang La'o of dalu Rahong. He doesn't know the story about it.

778 It is notable that outside of Rahong, as far
769 as he knows, there are no stone images. Indeed,
776 the only one I know of is the Vatu Veol. And
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586 another wife.

In the case of adultery on the part of a
586 woman, a fine must be paid to the grieved hus-
684 band. The wife pays only a little, her paramour
562 a lot. In the case of a man committing adultery, there is no fine or punishment of any sort. The wife may be angry, but that is all.

A man may divorce an errant wife, but there is no bride price return. This just about never occurs. A man is satisfied with the fine.

Adat here does not allow for killing an adulterous couple caught in the act. This may be done later, but it is still not allowed, and not condoned. The payment of a fine is the thing here.

If a divorce is requested by a man, there is no repayment of the bride price, and he must pay one horse. If a wife asks for a divorce, the price must be repaid. The children always stay with the father's family.

842 The people here like many children; the more the better. There is no set limitation. When I talk about birth control, often, all over they say about condoms that they are "like the Japanese use." He was surprised about other methods of birth control. Until now there has been no thought of limitation.

Cornelius[1] says that about ten children are
[163] born per woman, but only about half or a little more live to adulthood. Sons are more important. If a couple has only one child, they prefer a son. A few more sons than daughters are wanted. Va'u and bride price considerations are important.

868 When the children are very young the mother takes care of their education. Then the children follow the parent of the same sex and learn their roles and work.

584 There is just about no courtship. Formerly
178 marriages were all prearranged. Now, most frequently the young people tell their parents

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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000 "standing." There are plenty of songs. Singing
533 is the greatest art, and I was impressed extremely with the school performance. A priest who was musical said that they are excellent and strange. The new songs like krontjong, omba' putih-putih,[1] etc., are sung only in the towns. Here only a[2] few know them, but nearly all the songs which the majority of the people know are old Manggarai ones. Cornelius said that there are about ten kinds of rhythms in
[562] drum and gong playing. Some are for both sexes, others are for men or for women only.

221 May, June and July are relatively free of
527 work. Otherwise there is little free time. Feasts are the fun times here, and they are largely not at set times.

[526] Soccer is loved and so are horse races.
541 These are not native. They are held either in
525 town or along the road here. This is true especially at harvest time. There is betting.
[M7] Cock fighting has come in a little from the outside.

538 There are plenty of stories. They tell tales while they work in the gardens and especially while they bind corn in the houses. Also, the old people tell stories in the evenings. They tell tales when they are just sitting around and drinking, too.

There are many kinds of stories. A number of them are sung, but many are not. They are never very long, and none lasts for several days as in Ende and Larantuka.

533 There are about ten kinds of songs.

527 For the Catholics, Sundays are free, and the pagans have largely taken this practice over. They are glad to have the day off. Otherwise, the only free days are feast days.

[868] With the dances and singing and story telling
538 there is no regular instruction. There is a decline in interest in the old tales especially,

[1] [i.e., a song title, "White Waves" --Analyst]
[2] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

609 We
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
497 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has
[778] magical power, but we didn't get into the full story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

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791 178 all pagans then,[1] and all parents of the present adults of about thirty or older were pagan. My assistant's father was.

872 [197] The lower school here consists of three grades. It is a mission school although the government evidently makes a contribution to it. In Ndona (seven kilometers by road, four kilometers across the hills, and the children walk there) there are eight grades. Until the present there is only one from here who has gone as far as class seven, and ten in class six. The school in Ndona is the highest level school around here (and perhaps in all Flores) except for the seminary. The eighth grade qualifies one for the job of guru.

There are two children here who go to school in Ende where there is a connecting or intermediate school and a middle school, I think.

[711] There are few Mohammedans here, and no Koran school. They must go to Ende for this.

●871 185 178 Everyone here is very much in favor of education. Formerly, there was a bit of trouble with the oldsters who saw no sense (and I suspect did not like the mission tie-up) in such things. But now everyone wants his children to go to school. They are anxious to have both their girls and boys go to school, although they are perhaps a bit more interested in education for their boys. If a girl is clever, however, they want her to advance too.

888 212 The children do show a bit of a superiority feeling toward the illiterate oldsters, but there is almost always a great show of respect. And the illiterate old folk are not ashamed. They are only farmers, anyway, they say.

798 872 178 When Catholicism came in first, there was much trouble, and the elders scolded hard. After the school came in, in 1921, there was no more trouble. They say and insist that the pagan elders make no trouble at all for the Catholic children

1 [i.e., fifty years ago --Analyst]

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000 ring system.

829 Since the war, there has been plenty of talk and interest in Indonesian affairs. Before the war one never heard of such things. Formerly, the people knew only of the Dutch as far as the outside world was concerned. They knew very little about other parts of Indonesia. The war "opened the world" to these remote people. (But, I'd say, this was still a very slim opening.)

●871 There was no school here at all fifty years ago. In those days, however, there was one guru in Wailolong and one guru in Leloba who could read and write. No students from here have studied at a university or at an HBS. Two students from here are now attending the middle school, in class six. All children from here now go to the lower school. One from Wailolong goes to school in Larantuka. There is also a middle school at Maumere. There are no native schools here.

[185] Roy reports that the people here like school today, and want their children to go as high as possible. (I doubt this. I think many, if not most, are rather vague about this subject. But I have to take his word for it.)

[463] There are no noticeable differences in activities connected with the level of education achieved by individuals in this area. This is because everyone is a farmer. The only exceptions would be the guru, but there are no local men of Wailolong who are guru.

[876] There is no non-official individual training. At one time they tried (evidently under government propaganda) a system where "everyone teaches another" but it stopped fast.

[797] The mission runs the schools here, but the
[658] government subsidizes them. I think this is true for nearly all of the schools in Flores (check).

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533 In connection with special training for
● 871 individuals, the only thing they can think of is that the children have flute lessons in school and learn to read notes.

212 In Wailolong fifty years ago only one person was literate.

191 Everyone here can speak the local language.
212 Of the old folks, perhaps only one per cent can speak Indonesian. The younger people are learning it in school. No one here speaks Dutch. No one here speaks any other language. About fifty per cent of the population here can read and write. At the most perhaps ten persons read regularly or at least look at the mission paper. This is the only "reading matter" except for prayer books.

There is almost no writing done locally. Perhaps about ten people have at some time written or received a letter. One guru can read and write Arabic.

There is no special instruction given in reading and writing. There are no aliens, and hence no foreign languages used in the area.
[207] There is no radio, and perhaps only the guru have ever seen movies.

178 There have been very few changes in the
412 technology here introduced during the last fifty
262 years. They are using shovels a bit, etc., but mainly the same old artifacts. In regard to food, there are a few changes. For example, there are new kinds of vegetables (in the old days they evidently had practically none), new varieties of bananas, etc. Evidently food was simple to the extreme in the old days.

286 The women spin and weave here, and this is perhaps the most important craft (in fact there
323 is no doubt about it). There is no pottery (they buy such items from the few places where pottery is made). Recently, a few people have
000 learned how to cook salt. There are about ten

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000 much of a waste of animals.

796 I finally found out which kampongs do the
614 main ritual functions when they have a general
346 Belakang Gunung feast at which all kampongs are represented. This is when they have a new korke (or church). The order is as follows:

1. Kottang is Mudakaputu (descendants of Bampowa).

2. Keleng is Lewohala (descendants of Kewaka).

3. Hurint is Leloba (descendants of Belawaburak).

4. Marang is Wailolong (descendants of Keweluk).

5. The passer of food and drink and betel ingredients is Watuwiti (descendant of Mado). Thus they are the five brothers.

Hence we have the "sistim" which he himself
624 is so impressed by. There are priests in the
614 sense that the radja tuan and the kelake are
793 really suku and ama priests. They are admin-
565 istrative and ritual officers. In addition,
789 there are priests and gurus of the new religion.
756 And there are the molang or medicine seers. These have more power and influence if they are of bangsawan descent. Thus again the magic power of proper descent comes to the fore and we see that blood and rank affect even the influence of medicine men. Then there are the dukun, who are doctors but with magical aspects.

798 They are extremely liberal toward all religions. The only sign of any animosity I ever saw was toward Mohammedanism, and it was not even here except in Kampong Baru. The pagan resistance was more pronounced formerly. Today the two cults work together without much, if any, friction.

871 The schools are government schools, but the
797 mission runs them and evidently provides, but
658 does not pay, the teachers. The schools were

Wae

871 once solely in the hands of the mission, but
658 they are now given government support. This
797 is a curious situation. I see more of the same thing in Roworeke, where the Mohammedan problem enters.

771 There are plenty of debates in Leloba about
religion always, and this was especially true
798 in the days when Catholicism was coming in. Roy talked ceaselessly with the last pagan power, Laba. However, there was much less debate in Wailolong. In fact, Roy says that Wailolong is not much interested in religion, and he says that this is largely because the gurus there are outside men. They have little influence. And thus again we see the closed world aspect of this situation. Even when preaching the universal religion, a man has to be from the Belakang Gunung region and even from the very same kampong in order to get much of a hearing. I suppose the pastors are an exception. They are such big medicine that they can even be Dutch. I note, however, that probably Holland is so far off that it is like "a far-off heaven" and there is therefore no friction with the little closed world here. Roy says that Wailolong is not much for Christianity at all. Thus I see what I first saw, that Wailolong is really a pagan kampong with a Catholic name. That is why paganism shows up so clearly. And it may also be why there is no particular love for Leloba here, and why Roy is so much afraid to work there, or at least why he was so afraid at first. He actually feared being snubbed.

Roy predicts that the last pure pagan will have died in another ten years. There is knowledge only of Catholicism and pagan cults here. Hence there is no "comparative religion." Note again that Christianity means Catholic. Protestants are evidently seldom mentioned. How nice for tolerance!

We

346 351 788 around the main post as around the lodok (see Coolhaas).!

443 There is no pasar system here. There are only pedlars who carry goods around. Markets are located only in the big towns: Ruteng, Reo, Labuan, Mborong, etc.

437 There is some barter, but most transactions are carried on using cash. Before the Dutch came in there was no money here and the people had to barter.

286 784 Note and very important: There is a taboo on weaving all over Manggarai, except in the northeast quarter. The assistant can mark the border of weaving precisely. The only exception is Todo and Pongkor, where there is no taboo and there is a bit of weaving. I asked if it is a taboo or just a lack of knowledge of how to weave. He said both, but that it is definitely a taboo. If they weave, the crops will fail, and illness will spread across the land. There have been a few attempts to introduce weaving, and the crops have proven to turn bad. It has nothing to do with the totem. He says it is not tjek'i at all, but merely ireng, which means taboo. This is a puzzler, and is amazing.

● 871 In 1912 three 3-grade schools were opened in Manggarai: in Ruteng, in Reo, and in Labuan. In 1924, a five-grade school was opened in Ruteng. There were about forty schools in all Manggarai before the war, but only one went as far as fifth grade (the one in Ruteng). This is what the Dutch did between 1924 and 1942! There are now about sixty schools in Manggarai. The school in Tjantjar opened in 1947. It serves nine kampongs: Tjantjar, Veol, Ndung, Rai, Puruk, Sampar, Nggarang, Meler, and Tjara. The farthest kampong is Sampar, which is three kilometers walk away.

There is a fourth grade here too, serving all of Rahong. The children come from far away.

! [See bibliography, category 113.—Analysi]

We

871 Some of them come twenty kilometers, and those who come from afar sleep in this "internaat" (on the porch of which we are working). Inside there is a floor on which mats are unrolled. That's all. There are forty-eight pupils in grade four, all boys. There is no room for any girls.

There are one hundred and eighty-five pupils in the whole school. If gurus were available and there was enough space, two hundred more children would like to come to school. They now have to turn them away. Before 1947 children from here had to go to Tjumbi to go to school. This is about six kilometers from here.

There are now eight schools in Manggarai with six classes. There is also a two-year additional course in the Ruteng mission, for gurus. In Ende, there is a Middelbare School (Sekolah Menenggah). The mission hopes to open another one in Ruteng this year. (How high do these go? They have four grades, but where do they start?) Beyond the students have to go to Makassar.

[178] [185] Before the war it was necessary to force parents to send their children to school. They were afraid their children might be made slaves (the old fear! and Coolhaas[1] says that in its heyday Bima received two thousand slaves from Manggarai annually!). They also feared conversion. Now they all like school. This year there was great indignation created when the school opened and the gurus had to turn away many pupils. Parents protested en masse, and the giri tumba said they would go to the government and complain. "We have no more gurus and no more space. There are two hundred children right in the district who cannot go to school because of this." What a change!

871 185 All groups of people here like school. The

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

871 old people have been heard to say that they
185 wished they were young again so that they could go to school. "We didn't have these advantages in my day."

871 There is no trouble between the educated and
212 the uneducated. Until recently there was no
[578] conflict between the illiterate older people and the schooled young. Of course, they have only three grades anyway, but in all events they haven't had the problem of the stuck up children at all. There is no disobedience. There are still a few dalu and kepala kampongs who are illiterate, but this is becoming less and less so all the time. And they have assistants who help them.

The young do not teach the old here. The literacy campaign of the East Indonesian government failed here as everywhere. It started and then stopped. (Why learn to read when there is nothing to read? Why learn to write when no one writes? This is my interpretation.)

[787] The schools are run by the mission, but the
[658] government pays all of the expenses except for what the mission wants to give, for example, books. This is a system found all over Flores, I think. Mission schools are paid for by the government. The whole administration is carried out by the mission.

874 There is not a single person from here who
797 has gone to seminary. After the six grades the gurus go to OVO (Opleidingsschool voor Volksonderwijzers), a two year course at the mission in Ruteng. There is also a trade school at the Ruteng mission. The trade school gurus must go to a two year course in Ende Ambachtsschool, in the mission there, after they have finished six grades. There is no other available special education.

614 The assistant worked until midnight getting information for the outline in Veol and Ndung,

We

771 conservative, but not fanatic. Cornelius[1] says that they do not analyze the situation by thinking of what good things Catholicism has brought. Opposition is in the form of criticism, not in terms of a balance of good and bad. Just about all education is in the hands of the mission, although schools are paid for mainly by the government. Even in Mohammedan Reo, I found, the schools are mission run.

[871] [797] [658]

The people here do not debate very much about religious matters, but they do criticize the Catholic opposition to polygyny and feasts. There are no real debates or discussions, however, not even within families.

[521]

In regard to other religions, they know only Catholicism. All they know about Mohammedanism is that they eat no pork and are allowed four wives. There is no knowledge of other cults.

[829]

764 Formerly, in disposing of the dead, a mat was used, not a coffin. Today boxes are used everywhere. The big change in funeral rites has been the addition of Catholic rites, but the old ones are carried out too, as in the case of the wedding. When someone dies, everyone howls, and this includes men and women. Then two or three children carry a spear around the area, telling who has died. A few people from each house come to the house of the dead. They place the dead on a mat, on the floor, with the head toward the door. A cloth is placed over the whole body including the face. Thus the body remains on the floor for one day. A coffin is made. The dead is dressed in fine clothes. A few carefully saved silver coins are usually put in the mouth of the dead.

[178]

At the cemetery a man hits the ground five times with a stick before the grave is dug. When the grave is ready, they bring the coffin and bury the body. The reason for hitting the ground five times is in hope that in this way

1 [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

5: Kennedy--406 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Wa Flores OF9

162

Catholic	565	Pagan:	Male	53
Pagan	123		Female	70
Total	688		Over 60	40
			50-59	33
			40-49	28
			30-39	13
			20-29	4
			10-19	1
			Under 10	4

162
871

Schooled:	269, all Catholics
Over 60	0
50-59	1
40-49	10
30-39	30
20-29	89
10-19	169
Under 10	30

Above three grades:

4th	8	(male 5, female 3)
5th	6	(male 4, female 2)
6th	2	(male 2, female 0)
7th	0	
8th	1	(guru)
Total	17	(male 12, female 5)

All 10 to 16 years of age, except the guru, who is 30 years old.

614
162

Clans:

Ia. Ama Datong Ama Radja		18
Ib. Ama Datong Ama Belolong		51
Ic. Ama Datong Ama Rere		72
Ic1. Ama Datong Ama Rere	62	
Ic2. Ama Datong Ama Rere Ama Tobi	10	
Total I. Ama Datong		141
IIa. Leworita Subamaking		93
IIb. Leworita Harutmaking		48
IIc. Leworita Tapopukang		31
Total II. Leworita		172

5: Kennedy--412 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

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624 Djurutulis (scribe) 475
614 Mandur 382
Guru sekolah (school teacher) 94
Mandur sekolah 313
Molang 616
Marang besar (prayer leader) 616
Marang besar 626
Radja tua (Lewodoreng) of Riang Epu Kehule 672

624 Examining the ranks by age, education, and
162 religion, we find the following (and not all
871 information is in yet; see letter to him):
771
212 (1) Of the 5 kelake suku, 1 is in his 30's, 3 are in their 50's, and 1 is in his 60's;
1 has finished 3 grades of school, 4 are illiterate;
1 is Catholic and 4 are pagan.

(2) Of the 13 kelake ama, 1 is in his 30's, and 4 are in their 40's, 5 are in their 50's, and 3 are in their 60's;
2 have finished 3 grades of schooling, 11 are illiterate;
2 are Catholic and 11 are pagan.

(3) Of the 3 kepala kampongs, 1 is in his 30's, 1 is in his 40's, and 1 is in his 50's;
2 have finished 3 grades of schooling, and 1 is illiterate;
all 3 are Catholic.

(4) The djurutulis is 36;
he has finished 3 grades of schooling;
and he is Catholic.

(5) The mandur is 40, illiterate, and Catholic.

(6) The guru sekolah is 30; he finished 8 grades

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162 of schooling; and he is a Catholic.
624
●871 (7) The mandur sekolah is 37; he finished 3 grades,
771 and he is Catholic.
212

(8) Molang is 48; he is illiterate, and pagan.

(9) Of the 2 marang besar, both are in their 40's;
1 has finished 3 grades, the other is illiterate;
1 is Catholic (!!), the other is pagan.

(10) The Radja tua of the Riang is 40, illiterate, and pagan.

(11) Of the 7 ne'a luka, 1 is in his 40's, 4 are in their 50's, 2 are in their 70's;
1 has finished 3 grades of schooling, 6 are illiterate;
1 is Catholic, 6 are pagan.

(12) Of the 5 tuno wudjo, their ages are 3, 4, 5, 6, 54; all are illiterate;
4 are Catholic (small childre); 1 is pagan.

Note the large percentage of offices still held by pagans. This is far out of proportion to the actual numbers involved in the local population.

R

ROWOREKE

621 Sections are:
162

I.	Ae Uta	VII.	Nua Mere
II.	Ae Bou	VIII.	Bita
III.	Puu Djambu	IX.	Ae Mura
IV.	Kopo Edo	X.	Wolo Mere
V.	Pau Dari	XI.	Tana Ri
VI.	Rowo Reke Asal	XII.	Ndetu

5: Kennedy--415 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

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	Pagan	Moham-medan	Chris-tian	% Pagan	% Moham-medan	% Chris-tian
162 771 I	60	3	90	39	2	59
II	15	6	37	26	10	64
III	22	0	27	45	0	55
IV	6	0	15	29	0	71
V	10	4	17	32	13	55
VI	17	0	20	46	0	54
VII	14	0	26	35	0	65
VIII	7	4	30	17	10	73
IX	18	5	7	60	17	23
X	26	4	45	35	5	60
XI	0	65	0	0	100	0
XII	8	18	19	18	40	45
Total	203	109	333	31	17	52

	Schooled	Illiterate	% Schooled
162 871 I	54	99	35
II	18	40	31
III	11	38	22
IV	7	14	33
V	7	24	23
VI	4	33	11
VII	12	28	30
VIII	9	32	22
IX	1	29	3
X	26	49	35
XI	10	55	16
XII	4	41	9
Totals	163	482	25

Schooled by age-periods:

Under 10	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and over
32	75	19	18	17	2	0

5: Kennedy--416 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

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162 871 [771]	Schooled:	Christian	146	44%
		Mohammedan	14	13%
		Pagan	3	1.4% (all 1 grade only)
[562]	Schooled:	Male	111	35%
		Female	52	16%

Schooled above 3 grades:

Grade 4: three: (ages) 40 (Christian, male), 25 (Christian, male), 15(Christian, male).

Grade 5: six: (ages) 40 (Christian, male) [Assistant], 40 (Christian, male) [Mandur], 15 (Christian, male), 15 (Christian, male), 12 (Christian, male), 10 [?] (Christian, male).

Grade 6: five: (ages) 50 (Christian, male) [Ceram], 15 (Christian, male), 15 (Christian, male), 14 (Christian, male), 9 [?] (Christian, female).

R

565 ranks. There is really no nobility here, only persons who are in line for posts. As for slaves, the assistant gives only the following: No. 183, male, 40, a Gusa, and a pagan. Something is probably queer here.

624 614 771 ●871 The only offices the assistant gives are:

1. Ata nggaeh nua: No. 1, 60, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
2. Giri tumba: No. 62, 45, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
3. Guru agama: No. 81, 25, Odja, Christian, 4 grades.
4. Kepala kampong: No. 135, 40, Odja, Christian, illiterate.
5. Kapitan: No. 350, 30, Odja, Christian, 3 grades.
6. Djurutulis: No. 509, 40, Odja, Christian, 5 grades.
7. Mandur djalan: No. 532, 40, Ndoru, Christian, 5 grades.
8. Hadji: No. 554, 40, Bangova (Nggobe), Mohammedan, 3 grades.

Odja has the most posts. The pagans seem to keep the adat posts.

We

VEOL--NDUNG

162 621 592

	Male	Female	Total	Houses	Households	Children	Children under 15
Veol	70	70	140	6	25	82	69
Ndung	89	117	206	9	44	111	105
Total	159	187	346	15	69	193	174

5:Kennedy--426 E-5 (1949-1950) 1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

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	Pagan	Christian	% Pagan	% Christian
Veol	74	66	53	47
Ndung	72	134	35	65
Total	146	200	42	58

162
871

	Schooled	Illiterate	% Schooled	Males Schooled	Females Schooled
Veol	20	120	14	13	7
Ndung	22	184	11	14	8
Total	42	304	12	27	15

[771] (all Christian)

Ages of Those Schooled

	Under 10	10--19	20--29	30--39	40--49	50--59	Over 60
Veol	-	14	3	3	-	-	-
Ndung	9	6	2	5	-	-	-
Total	9	20	5	8	-	-	-

Above 3 grades

Veol: 1 (16 years old, male, 6 grades)
Ndung: 1 (15 years old, male, 4 grades)

CLASS

162
565

	Daln	Gelarang	Leke	Mangko Pitu	Sekontu	Lempang
Veol	21	109	0	5	1	4
Ndung	20	177	3	1	0	5
Total	41	286	3	6	1	9
(Women	14					

(All these married in)

R

764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I must find out how the funerals are run now. Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.
[797] The assistant has finished five grades of schooling in Ndona.

291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
178 men (old style) although this is changing fast, a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
[302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
286 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
531 looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the designs are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
124 I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan. Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they have a holiday whenever there is the slightest excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I must find out about later, is how the kepala kampong is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some re-
624 marks about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan and others are not. I must get this kepala kampong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

We
000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass
thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in
area where there is a large bench for sleeping.
There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the
roof and often in front too. Here sit the women
while they work. If there are two families to a
house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
797 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel
as in other kampongs. The church to which every-
one here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamiä, but
since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are stan-
dard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are
nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have
brown hair or hair which is partly brown.

[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk
along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-
bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue
and black mostly. The designs are even poorer
than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used
for men and for women. They say that a cloth
takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many
304 men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
few old people, it seems especially the women,
have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

We
000 trols this atomism.

124 The next day we went to the kampong, stopping
212 at Mudakaputu, and Watuwiti, and other places on
115 the way. These all seemed less good than Wailolong. For example, Riangkamiö had only two suku; others had none or only one korke, etc. At Leloba, the guru had another guru with him, and said that we must use him as he was not so good at writing. Then I asked about whether or not it might not be a good idea to use an assistant who lives in Wailolong, but they said nobody there can write well because most of them have attended only three grades of schooling. Then we went to the district chief, the kakang, who was formerly in Boschwesen, and who is a man with good authority. He said he would order the Wailolong folk to help and would put at my disposal a lad from Wailolong. Also, he said he would order them to let us use one of the rumah pemuda, or boys' houses, in Wailolong. We talked at length about the situation and it seems that there are really no people in Wailolong who are able to write well.

773 We talked about the way the old stories are
178 dying out and the young people won't listen any
●872 more. The guru Roy and a few old men only are the ones who know very much. The guru is the best, and he knows all of the ancestors back for nineteen generations. He also complained about how the schools do not have books about Indonesia and the local affairs, but rather about Europe, which the children cannot understand.

632 We had taken in the jeep a lot of kepala suku
622 and kepala kampong of Wailolong to the kakang
693 where they were to have a case hearing. It is
614 evidently a case concerned with marriage. The kepala suku are clearly old style fellows. Several
[30] of the old men had long hair and necklaces and one had a tattoo on his chest. The kakang gave a
614 speech ordering them to help us. Then we went to

We

614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the relationships linking the individuals in this area became more and more distant. Thus they gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed, since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols, showing the effect of having worked with van Bekkum.[1] The priests try to discourage mother's brother's daughter marriages, but they always give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get the idea that the priests here are less firm regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka. This is probably because it is a relatively new field, and the Catholics go slowly and gradually in destroying what is old. The dodge they use here is special dispensation. This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price, is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with his wife's family until the bride price is paid. This may take ten years or he may never pay the bride price, but the children belong to his va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
177

[1] [pastor at Ruteng; see also bibliography, cat. 113 — Analyst]

We

872 one-half years ago. Children of, for example,
[177] fifteen can't enter this school because they
are too old. This is a big reason why there is
less acculturation here than in Larantuka.
624 Also, Larantuka has lost the power of adat
622 chiefs to a greater degree, as has Ende. Here
177 they still are the most powerful leaders, and
even the kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah
family. This is clearly the area of least ac-
culturation, although in agriculture and tech-
nology they are just as advanced if not more so
than in the other areas. For example, witness
the wooden houses. But adat is stronger here,
and the mother's brother's daughter marriage
still stands. The priests still compromise
527 more with the old. There are many many feasts.
574 There are feasts at birth, death, marriage, if
796 there are many children, at planting, at har-
756 vest, when a new garden is made, when a new
755 house is erected, and on many other occasions.
Some of these are large and some are small.
Some are for the family, and some are celebrated
by larger units. Some are celebrated by the
entire kampong. The biggest is perhaps the
cleansing of the kampong ceremony. The medi-
cine man, mbako decided when one is needed.
Thus he says there is a lot of illness, etc.,
and it is time they had a "tjutji kampong."
756 There is at least one mbako in each kampong,
609 and some kampongs have more. He learns his
trade from his father, but there are cases where
such succession is not followed. There is one
in Weol. However, they will never tell an out-
sider who the mbako is. He is secret. They all
know who he is. However, even during a rite,
he keeps in the background so that he can be
kept hidden. Query: Is this because of the
fear of the mission or the government or what?
I couldn't get much about the latter, but I
will try later. This is amazing!

574 He furnished us with fair food, rice and chicken, and coffee, and then fixed up the beds without mosquito nets in one room. The son of
●872 the mandur of the pasanggrahan of Badjawa was with us, on his way to school in Ende, and he had a little packet of clothes, a canteen and a ukulele. The latter was in sad condition.
484 He slept on the floor on a mat. The next morning we just about made it across the river with our goods lifted by the men in order to lighten the jeep. This was a hard experience, and we decided to make the western run only once
132 more, at the end. This rainy season is too hard here and it is dangerous because there is always a risk of delay from floods or landslides. Ende seemed luxurious after this run to the west.

The assistant was in Ende for a tax meeting
324 of kapitan, and after noon I took him and the kapitan and the latter's servant to Roworeke. They had to work on taxation in the afternoon, so I decided to start in tomorrow morning. Roworeke, as usual, is always troublesome. The jeep was overcrowded with many riders. I took them out, and came back with a load.

Incidental notes on Flores: We saw the use
482 of a tumpline in Sikka. This is true also for Nageh and Ngada. They use this for carrying loads especially in Sikka and also for betel ingredients in Ngada. They use small plaited bags.

Girls in Ngada and Nageh have half-shaved
302 tonsures. This is not true of all, but certainly of many of the girls. There are variations in style, including topknots. I note the latter on boys too.

721 A Ngada man denied head-hunting at any time
346 and said that there is no head under the new
231 ndaru, but rather a red dog, a pig, and a cock, all buried alive. But ENI says that there was
[554] head-hunting and that Ngada heroes had goatskin bands under their knees formerly.

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624 465 like the marinyo of Ambon. I asked what the secretary got, and he said cigarette money only. The pay is evidently very little.

583 614 611 784 Correction: Although he says there is no case here now, he has found out that if the bride price is not paid, the children are of the suku of the mother. And the bride price must be paid at marriage. There is no post-marriage payment in order to get the children back. Thus there is real ambil anak here. The man remains a member of his own sib, and the wife a member of hers. Thus she assumes the "married woman" totem taboos of her own sib, not those of her husband's sib, as is the more usual thing.

346 778 614 I asked about the rumah berhala of Wolotec. This group has a real house, and in it there are four ana deo, two in bad repair. There is one for each of the four suku. There are no other suku in the kampong. There are also plenty of belongings in the house. It is rather large, about twelve meters on a side. There are baskets and other objects therein. This old kampong is only one kilometer off the road in the hills at kilometer 17. I may go there one day. The four suku are Mbonggi (the kepala kampong is from this), Djo'bi, Soa, and Woro. The oldest suku is Mbonggi. There is [769] also a grave-bone shrine here, of the suku Djo'bi.

791 769 The folk here are now mostly Catholic, but they do have an annual ancestor rite, and the Catholics attend too. The kampong Ratebedi, far off in the hills, has fewer Catholics, as is the case with the far off Bu'ube'i. The distant ones remain pagan longer.

● 872 178 212 000 Fifty years ago there was no school. It came in 1921. No one went to school before this. They were totally illiterate (this shows how recently the schools came in here). They were

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791 178 all pagans then,[1] and all parents of the present adults of about thirty or older were pagan. They were My assistant's father was.

872 [197] The lower school here consists of three grades. It is a mission school although the government evidently makes a contribution to it. In Ndona (seven kilometers by road, four kilometers across the hills, and the children walk there) there are eight grades. Until the present there is only one from here who has gone as far as class seven, and ten in class six. The school in Ndona is the highest level school around here (and perhaps in all Flores) except for the seminary. The eighth grade qualifies one for the job of guru.

There are two children here who go to school in Ende where there is a connecting or intermediate school and a middle school, I think.

[771] There are few Mohammedans here, and no Koran school. They must go to Ende for this.

871 185 178 Everyone here is very much in favor of education. Formerly, there was a bit of trouble with the oldsters who saw no sense (and I suspect did not like the mission tie-up) in such things. But now everyone wants his children to go to school. They are anxious to have both their girls and boys go to school, although they are perhaps a bit more interested in education for their boys. If a girl is clever, however, they want her to advance too.

888 212 The children do show a bit of a superiority feeling toward the illiterate oldsters, but there is almost always a great show of respect. And the illiterate old folk are not ashamed. They are only farmers, anyway, they say.

798 872 178 When Catholicism came in first, there was much trouble, and the elders scolded hard. After the school came in, in 1921, there was no more trouble. They say and insist that the pagan elders make no trouble at all for the Catholic children

[1] [i.e., fifty years ago --Analyst]

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000 children. It is remarkable that there is so
858 much freedom exhibited by the children all over here. They do as they please evidently.

463 Nearly everyone is a farmer here, but to
212 be kepala kampong, kapitan, secretary, or
622 the like, an individual must be literate. There are, however, illiterate kepala kampongs, but they must use a literate mandur to help them with the work. There are no openings for clerical people or the like.

[874] The only seminary here is for priests, and
787 as yet there are no students there from here.
[754] The bisa mari (sorcerers) are not trained. They get their call in dreams. They are about
[756] equally male and female. The dukun also get
[844] their call in dreams. However, the ones who are midwives learn from mothers.

463 There are no specialists at all. The local
438 population must buy even its ironwork elsewhere.
335 They do not even have carpenters here. Anyone can build a house. This place exhibits a very low level in all such things except weaving. They now learn music in school.

●873 Many children who are clever and would like to advance in school cannot do this as it costs fl. 10.00 per month for a higher education. There is plenty of heartache here. Perhaps there is not so very much yet, actually.

212 Fifty years ago no one could read or write, not even in the Ende script.

197 One hundred per cent of the people here speak Ende, including the foreigners from Savu and the Chinese. The latter did not speak Ende when they came in, but after a year they could.

Only about one hundred can speak Malay. No one speaks Dutch. The children are starting to learn a bit of Dutch in school now, but this is evidently only in the higher school.

There are no other languages spoken, except of course, Chinese and Savu. They say that they

797 stead they nearly always use the term Orang Katolik or Orang Serani. The usual pattern seems to be recurring, the Protestants not being accepted as of the same religion in any way.
797 The mission headquarters has a large building
346 for priests (there are always three here, but
874 others come to rest and get supplies), several
793 workshops (where boys who are dormitoried on the grounds learn woodworking, machine work, etc.), a lower and a following school of five grades with one thousand pupils in which boys and girls are kept separate (boys and girls from other islands sleep in dormitories), a household school, a laundry, a library, etc. It is really a great plant. There are four brothers of a "working" type here, who run the workshops and handle the technical education, including one Pole who was interned during the war. He speaks
[792] Dutch with an accent. There are many nuns here, and they also help in the small government hospital. Evidently all or nearly all the schools in this area are "government," but they are really run by the mission. I haven't found out exactly how the system works yet. The Mission is ingenious. There is an old tractor which is used for lathe power, an old Japanese machine used for electricity, etc. They have a very large coffee plantation on the road to Maumeri and it looks good.

797 It is remarkable that such a great number of priests and nuns are here in this miserable spot, which can never be any good. Maybe they regard it as a sure foothold in a Mohammedan area, a foothold which may later be expanded.

244 There are practically no vegetables except
262 tubers here, and fruit is rare. So is all other food.

582 The suku marriage custom is evidently still
614 in force, and I will work on it in detail.

578 It is notable that there are so many border
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000 858 children. It is remarkable that there is so much freedom exhibited by the children all over here. They do as they please evidently.

463 212 622 Nearly everyone is a farmer here, but to be kepala kampong, kapitan, secretary, or the like, an individual must be literate. There are, however, illiterate kepala kampongs, but they must use a literate mandur to help them with the work. There are no openings for clerical people or the like.

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871 old people have been heard to say that they
185 wished they were young again so that they could go to school. "We didn't have these advantages in my day."

871 There is no trouble between the educated and
212 the uneducated. Until recently there was no
[578] conflict between the illiterate older people and the schooled young. Of course, they have only three grades anyway, but in all events they haven't had the problem of the stuck up children at all. There is no disobedience. There are still a few dalu and kepala kampongs who are illiterate, but this is becoming less and less so all the time. And they have assistants who help them.

The young do not teach the old here. The literacy campaign of the East Indonesian government failed here as everywhere. It started and then stopped. (Why learn to read when there is nothing to read? Why learn to write when no one writes? This is my interpretation.)

[787] The schools are run by the mission, but the
[658] government pays all of the expenses except for what the mission wants to give, for example, books. This is a system found all over Flores, I think. Mission schools are paid for by the government. The whole administration is carried out by the mission.

874 There is not a single person from here who
797 has gone to seminary. After the six grades the gurus go to OVO (Opleidingsschool voor Volksonderwijzers), a two year course at the mission in Ruteng. There is also a trade school at the Ruteng mission. The trade school gurus must go to a two year course in Ende Ambachtsschool, in the mission there, after they have finished six grades. There is no other available special education.

614 The assistant worked until midnight getting information for the outline in Veol and Ndung,

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614 like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now. Woro
361 came from Ndungga (Lio). It is unknown at present where Soa, Songo, and Mboti came from. Fongi came from Wolotope (Lio). Sue came from Tombe (Rabu; Rewarangga). Wai came from Wolotolo (Lio). Mbonggi came from Volofeo (Rewarangga). Pare came from Mbomba (Berai). Lenalaba came from Dile (Lio). Watu came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Gusi came from Watusipi (Berai). Wadja came from Potu (Nggobe).

622 Then we got onto the matter of who may be-
565 come kepala kampong. They said that he must be of the bangsawan class or the people will not follow him. Thus he must be of a mosa laki family. There are three possibilities in the rank of the kampongs:

(1) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are the same man.

(2) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are brothers.

(3) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are of the same family.

Thus Roworeke has a kepala kampong of the mosa laki family. The same situation is true in Worowai and Manunggo'o. Worowaku has a kepala kampong and mosa laki mere in the same person. In Arereke they are in the same family, and so on.

632 The offices in the gemeente are: kapitan, the Big Four, the oppas (oppa), djurutulis (djurutuli), and mandur (oro kuni).

624 The officers of the kampong are: kepala kampong, the Little Four, mandur (oro kuni).

● 875 The two school teachers live in Waturoga. The head teacher is from Maumere, the other from Ndona. The religious teacher lives in Roworeke.

484 Everyone here in Roworeke has at least gone to Ende. They have seen little else, however. When they go to Ende they usually go for a single

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829 they only saw them run away when the Japanese
[648] came in. He then said something which was quite interesting: that it is not hard for even the illiterates here to understand the government of any land in the world, as they have had so much experience with a system of government here. All they have to do is imagine the alien organization in terms of their own political organization.

875 As for information spread about in regard to
203 politics and current events, Roy says that the guru do a lot of this. The people ask them questions, and they are really big men.

521 The people here do not talk much about poli-
829 tics. Even when they had the big day of celebrating independence and the flag was flown, after the main information about the Round Table Conference was out, the people began to talk about their gardens, etc. They know about Sukarno, because his picture is everywhere [the Hitler theme?]. The thing which really settled
[798] the rumor that the red and white flag is that of Islam was Sukarno's speech that all religions were free. Priests must have publicized this.

The local people know that Java is the center
829 of all Indonesia, but there is little talk about
203 this yet. Roy sees the importance in this of
521 the complete absence of movies, radio, and the relative absence of papers. If the people had these, they would talk more (as do the backward Buginese who see movies of other lands and are curious about them).

Roy says that Catholicism does not mix itself
794 up with politics here at all. When elections
665 are held, the priest says in church that they must be sure to choose the right man. At least, he insists that the church is not involved in politics. I tried to press Roy by telling him how the church tried to get another radja for Manggarai, because the present one, although

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114 Roworeke: I started on the last two days, January 21 and 22, and went to work on the schedule.

797 Fifty years ago there were no Christians here at all. In 1922, and the kapitan says that it was in October or November, the Catholics entered. They cannot remember who the first convert was. At first acceptance was very slow (and this may be linked with the wars against the Dutch), but there was no strong resistance. These folk took it, they say. But I note that there are plenty of pagans even today.

771 162 The assistant says that this area is about sixty per cent Christian. All have been in contact with Christianity, as even the pagans have relatives who are Christians. There are also relations with Mohammedanism, as there are many Mohammedans near here, although few in this kampong. There are no troubles with any religion.

875 797 [658] There are two school teachers in Watu Roga, and two religious teachers. The school building belongs to the mission, but the government pays the costs and the salaries of the teachers. Perhaps it is a mere subsidy. There are no real troubles in regard to religion in school, partly because the teachers do not propagandize much, and partly because the people seem not to worry about religion. In fact, they kept on saying that I, as an educated man, might fuss over points of religion, but they knew so little that they would not know if they were being propagandized. Thus, I suspect that the gurus do not ever attack paganism directly, as this might cause trouble. Instead, they just slide in the Christian belief as though it were normal.

They have no trouble with Mohammedan teachers, as there is only one such in the whole Ende area. He is the son of the big kapitan Nggobe. The

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875 797 reason for this is that Mohammedans are not educated enough to have many teachers yet. Thus, the mission has given Catholicism a big head start, as is the case in Ambon.

771 797 There are only about ten Mohammedans in Roworeke. They had a mosque at kilometer five formerly, but it is gone now. The maximum number of converts in the kampong, to Mohammedanism, per year is from one to two. There is a chapel here, and the priest comes once a month to hear confessions, hold mass, etc. Otherwise, the people here go to Ndona for mass (I see them on Sunday walking; rain means nothing to these people). I get the impression that many people do not go to mass. For example, every Sunday I have been there, the kapitan and the assistant and many others do not go to church so far as I can see. And I don't see many women who look as though they had gone. I should have asked about this.

778 There are two ancestor grave-bone shrines, i.e., one in Roworeke and one in Watu Roga. There are also plenty of stones and the usual graves. There has never been a real rumah berhala here. But Manunggo'o had one.

527 The principal feast time is at planting. The tuan tanah (mosa laki mere) must be there at that time. There is no illness exorcism [755] feast held any more. Thanksgiving feasts for good crops are held privately, not communally. There is a great feast for rebuilding the grave-bone shrine.

788 There is plenty of private pagan rituals, for example, to ward off illness, to make offerings to trees, and the dukun stuff. In addition, there is the bisa mari. (Having seen the dukun [753] and how he diagnoses, I understand Migo when he said that he has a personal-family buffalo totem taboo because the dukun said it caused his illness.)

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771 should not pray. Also, a Catholic may not
788 initiate ceremonies by himself, for example,
183 house rites. I wonder what happens to a Catholic who lives in a house with the little hanging shelves for the naga. There the shelf is over their heads, and I wonder if they do not give offerings. If I had the time I would like to trail a Catholic around; my guess is that most of them do not worry too much about orthodoxy. There is still a lot of friction here.

875 There is a guru agama for Veol and Ndung,
793 but he lives in Rai. Usually there is a guru agama for each kampong, but these are twins. Usually one pastor serves one or two dalu. Rahong has the Maumere man, who lives in Tjantjar.

797 Most conversions are made of the young through the school. There are no cases of children converting their parents. There are relatively few direct adult converts. The school does the trick. A convert must first be a catechumen and learn the ropes. This lasts for one to two years.

797 The priests worry a lot here about what to
183 do, because adat is so dependent on the old
578 ceremonies. In Larantuka they have tried to
595 Christianize the pagan rites, etc. Right here there is a real problem, as the heir apparent of the big tuan tanah of Veol is Catholic. The assistant says van Bekkum[1] has discussed what should be done with him. Then too there is the matter of polygamy, which is very strong here. Most of the outright opposition to Catholicism comes from men or women who, because of a plural marriage, are not looked upon favorably by the
[783] church. There is no possible idjing (dispensation, according to Oudehand's version[2]) for this. This is a head-on conflict, especially because they desire so many children. The polygamists

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]; [2] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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000 ring system.

829 Since the war, there has been plenty of talk and interest in Indonesian affairs. Before the war one never heard of such things. Formerly, the people knew only of the Dutch as far as the outside world was concerned. They knew very little about other parts of Indonesia. The war "opened the world" to these remote people. (But, I'd say, this was still a very slim opening.)

871 There was no school here at all fifty years ago. In those days, however, there was one guru in Wailolong and one guru in Leloba who could read and write. No students from here have studied at a university or at an HBS. Two students from here are now attending the middle school, in class six. All children from here now go to the lower school. One from Wailolong goes to school in Larantuka. There is also a middle school at Maumere. There are no native schools here.

[185] Roy reports that the people here like school today, and want their children to go as high as possible. (I doubt this. I think many, if not most, are rather vague about this subject. But I have to take his word for it.)

[463] There are no noticeable differences in activities connected with the level of education achieved by individuals in this area. This is because everyone is a farmer. The only exceptions would be the guru, but there are no local men of Wailolong who are guru.

[876] There is no non-official individual training. At one time they tried (evidently under government propaganda) a system where "everyone teaches another" but it stopped fast.

[797] The mission runs the schools here, but the government subsidizes them. I think this is
[658] true for nearly all of the schools in Flores (check).

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241 178 [493] plow came in only five years ago. Still, there are no wheeled vehicles. They cannot make them.

291 178 Fifty years ago men dressed only in loincloths. Only the rich had pants or sarongs. They also had shoulder cloths. There has been no change in the dress for women. They used the same kilt down to just below the knees as they use today. Now, however, more women dress in sarongs and kebaya. Pants, shirts, kebaya and sarongs are carefully kept for special events. They are really one's "best," and they are not plentiful. Nevertheless, nearly everyone owns something of this sort.

There is probably not a single pair of shoes in the two kampongs.

[287] Formerly, a long time ago, they used tapa. And in the Japanese time the people made tapa again. They also made wooden hats. The tapa making was pre-Dutch.

[301] [304] In remoter areas a few loincloths are still seen. So are earrings, rings, and bracelets (no leglets). Men never puncture the ear lobe.

302 301 292 The style of cutting the hair short for men came in only twenty years ago. Formerly the men were great for beads. Now they are of little importance. The festive ceremonial clothes I saw in Ruteng on the dancers are pusaka. They are mostly men's pusaka. The horns are made of buffalo hide.

304 178 Tattooing (tikam) is brand new. It came in only ten to fifteen years ago and is now going out. It was done by men who learned how, that's all. However, it is just about gone, and there were not very many people who had tattoos at any time.

304 178 562 881 Women always puncture their ear lobes. Both sexes file their teeth, and this must be done before marriage. Some young people (for example, the assistant) do not do this, but they

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304 say of such people that they "grew up in school."
178 This is still preserved by almost all others.
562 It must be done before marriage. Thus, the
881 kraeng did not have his teeth filed until he
was twenty-five years old, just before marriage.
Usually the teeth filing takes place much
earlier, especially for the girls, who have
theirs filed at about fourteen years. Formerly
they filed the teeth down to the gums of both
upper and lower teeth. Many of the people here
still do this (I saw one young girl with only
stumps left for teeth). The ordinary people
do the filing. They used a stone before, but
now they use an iron file. (I note that these
people take to new tools very fast. They use
all sorts at once. This means that there are
no taboos on new techniques, and this should
help.) Nowadays most people merely file their
teeth even. And there is no feast.

There never was any cutting here.

439 Imports here include cloth, salt, tobacco
and fish. Exports include stock, rattan and a
few other wild products. There was not much
business of this sort and never was. There
are no markets. Formerly there was no money.
Now it is plentiful. Formerly barter was the
436 only means of trade. Note: in 1942 the Dutch
called in all silver and gave out only paper
money. The Japanese thus easily took all the
silver (the Dutch were invariably mistaken).

493 There are no cars here. There are three peo-
ple in all Manggarai who could drive a car.
None of these is here.

There is very little traveling done by car.
The only autos are those of the traders (Chi-
nese) and the government. Fifty per cent of
the population have never ridden in an automo-
bile.

178 The main change here is that formerly no out-
425 sider could buy land in the kampong. Now an

We Then we went to
614 the boys' house in Wailolong, which turned out to
●882 be a windowless house with sleeping benches in-
562 side. Here the boys from about twelve years on
[342] sleep. Thus there is a real men's house here.
There are three, I think, in Wailolong, because
some of the suku share houses. Normally the
rule is one house per suku. It is taboo for the
girls to enter these men's houses.

124 Then we went to Leloba and began on the Vatter[1]
social organization material. They were delighted
to see the Vatter book, especially Roy who noticed
his name in it.

614 I started with the usual outline of groups and
got the following list of suku and subdivisions
and sub-subdivisions of the suku. I had told the
guru yesterday that there must be a sub-subdivi-
sion, but he said no. He said he had thought it
over and understood what I meant. The names
[171] often have direct references to parts of a house,
and thus it looks like, as in Ambon, there used
to be one suku to one house. Thus Ama Marang
Do(ng) Lau(ng) means (the last words) bale-bale
laut, i.e., in the old days the ancestors used to
sleep on the bale-bale part on the sea side of
the ancestral house they shared with the other
division. Therefore, Ama Marang Do(ng) Rae(ng),
which means bale-bale darat, or the bale-bale
on the land side, was for the other division.
The former has more power than the latter.

614 As for the recurring Lango' Bele', it means
565 big house, while the twin term Lango' Kene'
788 means small house. The former is the section of
the subsib or ama, with more power. The latter
is the section with less power. Maki(ng) means
descendants. The whole system has reference to
the rank of the sibs, which is symbolized in
ritual animal killing. Thus Kottang holds the
head and is the chiefly or head suku normally.
The symbol is the head. Keleng holds the feet,
and they are the assistant suku to the head.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

Wae

832 those rascals. They scolded them, saying that
684 if they wanted women, they should ask about
628 them, and speak up about it. That is, they were willing to hear a request, but it had to be done through regular channels without chiseling. ("If you had come to us decently, etc.")

582 In regard to the relative ages of the couple when marriage takes place, the ideal is to have a couple whose ages are nearly the same. If either is older it is better for a boy to be a bit a girl's senior. If there is too great a discrepancy in age, it is not good.

595 His grandfather had four wives. I note that
183 he does not seem to regard polygyny as very bad, even now. And he does not hesitate to tell me that other Christians do this. It is simply that they do not get the sacramen for the second, or third, or even later wife. That's all. Dispensation is called isin.

582 He says that the people in Tandjung Bunga
836 marry when they are very young, and that they begin their sex life as early as nine years old.

178 In the old days, the boys in Leloba and Wailo-
513 long slept regularly in the korke or sebuang
● 882 (the ama korke, and this is a correction:
[346] sebuang does not refer to the barns of the ama,
[614] but to the cult houses).[1] I think he said that this is not done any more in Wailolong. It was not required, but they just did it. This took place after a boy reached the age of about sixteen. Roy did it himself. They liked this because it was more fun. They could talk, sing, discuss girls, etc. (I think it was practically a rule, and I wonder what they would have said if a boy did not go there.)

What has happened now is peculiar. The boys
178 sleep together in groups, wherever it seems
513 good. They get in the habit, for example, of
882 sleeping on the benches of a certain house, or
171 in a vacant house, etc. (Thus I see that the

1 [See cat. 116, p. 166 -- Ana 4 5]

513 We
●882 Ambon and Ceram youth-club houses are really
178 survivals of the regular thing.) In Leloba the
[171] main hangout is the "pasanggrahan" (bivak),
where there are seldom any guests, and the boys
simply take over. Kattenburg inspected it and
found that it has sleeping benches and even a
[836] few walled compartments. He asked the kepala
kampong if perhaps the girls did not slip in,
and the kepala kampong said that this was absolutely not the case.

178 In Wailolong there is a guru from Bama,
513 where they have regular boy's houses. This
882 fellow has introduced a new type of boy's house
177 in Wailolong (but no other kampong in this area
64 has one), i.e., he has built three on the Bama
pattern and the boys sleep there. One of these
is our "office" when we use it. These boys'
houses are arranged according to suku, and are
shared by suku. This is a remarkable case of
acculturation within a pattern from one district
to another.

[562] The girls have no such houses, and never did.
882 However, before, as today, they seldom sleep
561 with their parents when they get older. Groups
887 of them have hangouts where they sleep together.
513 These groups are of friends. They weave together, etc., and like to gossip, sing, etc., at night. They just fall asleep there, together. This may be a sleeping bench, or it may be that they get a section of a sleeping bench in one of their parents' houses. There they bunch up. Everyone knows where the groups hang out. Kattenburg found that even old women sleep in groups. They may be, I think, groups of "the girls" who are old and widows, and who go back to their girlhood days and sleep with their coevals, and have a good time. If this is so, it is practically a revived age-grade for the girls who in their youth grew up and slept together and now at the end of their life bunch up together again.

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562 but the men have a slight edge on the women. They are more "important." In rights, privileges, etc., they are equal. There is no abuse of women, and they are supreme in their own spheres; it is just that the men's sphere seems to be a bit more important. Women scold and shout and order the men around. They are not
[593] suppressed. If, for example, a man drinks too much, his wife will simply stop fixing his food and he will quickly come around and apologize.

Formerly, most marriages were prearranged.
584 This is less true today. Indeed, there was much
178 more forced marriage before, and I get the idea
• 882 that it is rare for one to show resistance when faced with a parental choice. There were cases
[762] of suicide (male and female) and running away. In the old days, the regular thing was for the parents to fix up everything by themselves. Today, more and more of the boys and girls speak up telling whom they like so that the parents learn of this before they try to fix up the marriage arrangement. Thus the initiative is shifting from the parents to the children.

I get the idea that there was quite a lot of trouble in the old days in this regard. Perhaps this was more pronounced as new ideas came in, if such an expression can be used for this stagnant place. For example, Roy's brother ran away.

764 At this point there was a funeral. The other
[177] guru had excused himself, and then we heard a low chant approaching, in the local language. It sounded like the Latin chanting the Catholics do in procession (an obvious imitation of the priests' chanting, in the local language). Then a line of people appeared, two by two, with a bamboo coffin of a little child on a litter, and behind this the guru with a sheet on, which had been made into a kind of cloak, resembling that of a priest. Behind him came the mourners. The

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622 the kepala kampong had put a hex on him. They
755 show the pagan beliefs more and more now. Later
[769] on I discussed the case with the assistant, and he said that I didn't understand why the blood situation had come about. Perhaps the dukun was right: it was a curse of the ancestors for unfulfilled duties to the ceremonial objects.

At Ndona, where there is a big church, school, etc., and in a rather clean kampong there is an enormous cement block on which is set a big flat stone from an old grave heap. There the assistant got off to get the dukun, who lives a one kilometer walk away. Great crowds from the church stood around the jeep and stared at me. He came back after awhile, and with him was a very old man with a chin beard. He had on an old sarong and headcloth. He had never been in a car before, and they had to tell him how to get in, which he did gingerly. He was almost blind. Then we went off to see the patient. When the old man got out I saw his baggage: a kris and a cloth with a lot of things in it, including a brass container. The assistant said that he was to stay with the patient for a week and treat him. If the sick man got better, he would have to give a feast and sacrifice an animal. The dukun is the last terrifically powerful one left in the whole area. When he dies, his children have learned
[759] only a part of his lore. It is too bad for the public health, because there are no doctors here, and it is better to have a dukun than no one. (Think of the psychological need.)

493 Then we went to the house of the kapitan, who luckily was not there. (We had met him on the way to Ende, with his new bicycle, which cost fl. 300.00.)

513 Boys sleep in separate houses. In this area
● 882 (are there others in the kampong elsewhere? there must be) it is a "bivak," i.e., a wall-

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513 less pondok where in the daytime I see women
●882 weaving. They call the boys' houses "kuwu."
There are no girls' houses. The girls sleep
with their parents, or rather each grown girl
has a separate apartment in the parental house.

562 Males are more influential, and they give most
178 of the orders, but women will revolt if men do
not behave. They will not give the men food,
they will scold the men, etc. They act up,
however, only if the men misbehave. And they
are not afraid of doing so. The girls nowadays
are a bit freer than before in regard to talk-
ing up, etc., but there is very little change,
in general. The old folk are not too pleased
about having the girls in school. They can't
see the use of this.

614 Correction: It suddenly turned out that
597 there are two ata nggaeh nua in this kampong,
Bapa Ketjil, for the Odja suku; and the brother
(older) of the kapitan for the Gusa suku. If
the suku is large enough, it has such an adat
expert in a kampong. These are the only ones
large enough here. Then the true story of the
kapitan came out. He is not classified as a
member of Odja, but actually he was born a Gusa.
The former kapitan adopted him. He became a
foster child, or ana gave (the g here is pro-
nounced like the French uvular r). I asked if
this was what Wouden[1] called ndueh, and they
were surprised. It turns out that ndueh means
"to have two wives." (How could Wouden's
source have made this error?)

Such a foster child becomes a member of his
foster father's suku. There is no ceremony;
he just moves in. He takes on a new set of
relatives, but also keeps his own. He becomes
a kind of "double-suku" man. Thus the kapitan
calls his real brother kaka, and also uses this
term for his new brothers in Odja. But I note
that he married an Odja woman, and it seems

[1] [See pp. 20&85 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -Analyst]

614 main suku there are several others in Rewarangga, but they have moved in and are not original suku. But any one of them may be given land and become in effect "members" of the communities. Thus Tibo is a suku which has virtually entered Roworeke. Later I got some kind of an explanation that it was formerly a kampong on the hill above there, but has now moved into a section of Roworeke. In fact, I saw this section, with only about three houses, and it is called Kopoedo. Among the suku which are "foreign" in Rewarangga are Ambu Djawa, Ambu Nduru, and Ambu Rutu. Ambu means grandfather.

624 632 Later I got more information about the mosa laki. Evidently in the kapitanschap there are four big mosa laki: mosa laki mere, giri tumba, ndeto au, and sike sani. Then, in each kampong there are four with the same names, but they are on a lower level even though their functions are the same. I met the mig mosa laki mere and giri tumba of Rewarangga. They were old fellows, dignified, dressed in adat clothes, and most refreshing in contrast to the modernized Catholics like the kapitan and the guru. They are polite and quiet. I got the impression that maybe most [887] of the mosa laki are older men. They are probably mainly if not all pagan too, and probably mainly illiterate.

614 582 Talking with the kapitan and the scribe and a few other lads later, I learned that suku exogamy is not necessary if there is enough distance between the relatives. Thus the kapitan is married to a fellow-Odja. They noted, however, in my questioning, that most people seem to have married exogamously.

527 129 The second day was the Flag Day, and I took ten fellows in the jeep from Roworeke. After the ritual, which was not very impressive (the Sikka radja made a speech with little grace), we went 123 with Ariens (the Controleur) on a ride to Nanga-

622 kelake. Evidently the kepala kampong have been
624 superimposed on the other system.
614 The purely administrative chiefs are:

Kepala Kampong Kottang (he is the kepala kampong)
Kepala Kampong Kelen (IIb)
Kepala Kampong Hurint (IIIc)

The latter two have this as their only titled rank. If I am right that the kepala kampong is also the kepala kampong Kottang, then there are really sixteen officers, i.e., actual men in office, but the total number of offices is twenty-three. Some men have more than one office. When
[788] there are ceremonies, the praying (marang) is
[887] done, not by the man from suku Marang, but by the oldest man who is clever. Here it is a man
[756] named Bugis, from IIa. He is also the molang, or medicine man. Can it be that often the two go together? The guru, as noted above, says that even in Leloba, where they have a suku named Marang, this is not the praying suku at the rites. The chief of the Marang suku is merely a hander around of betel. In Vatter's time in Leloba the one who prayed was Laba, says the guru.

614 Note that an alternative term for Ama is Mela. Thus one can say, for example, either Ama Hurint or Mela Hurint.

693 Yesterday we met the chiefs of Wailolong.
624 They were at the kakang's office for a marriage
302 case. They were partly made up of short-haired Christians, but there were also pagan longhairs. I must get a photograph of all of them together with the information on who they are. Probably the administrative ones are the modern and the adat ones are the old pagans.

614 For the kepala suku they always have an old
887 man if possible. If no old man is available, however, they may have to take a younger one.

614 I must get on to the method of choosing the
622 & [See bibliography, cat. 113 —Analyst]

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776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 Kraeng here is the original title for high
554 nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

796 At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is
614 done by families or pangas. Each man in the
782 group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck
231 with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunt-
[887] ing.) Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say
535 here) is done at many feasts. Each house has
574 some costumes, and the men may use them. They
555 say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 In the afternoon we went to see some fine
527 dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part
526 of the week long independence festival. The
533 lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and sing-
[276] ing. Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertain-
[887] ment was complicated and good. Most drummers
200 and gong players seem to be old women. These

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614 ration began. At the head of the group sat the
241 kelake of the Leworita ama doing the rite. On
796 one side sat two old men, one from Leworita and
231 the other from Hurint, who prayed. They were
merely the oldest and cleverest ones there.
[301] They were real pagans, with bobbed hair, red
necklaces of beads, and silver earrings. One
had a tattoo (relatively young fellow). One
[769] prayed steadily, giving generations of Leworita
and calling all these ancestors in turn, and at
each generation the other chimed in with a
chant. The rhythm was fine. On the other side
sat the three; the man from Lewodoreng Waru'ing
holding the head of the pig (as this ama has
the Kottang function in this suku); the man
from Engamaking holding the feet (as this ama
has the Kelen function in this suku); and the
man from Hurint, who cut, as usual.

178 To the side from these sat two old women
562 who were the tuno wudjo, one from Leworita and
796 one from Lewodoreng (they needed two because
● 887 the former was giving the rite, but it was on
241 the latter's ground). In the old days it was
614 always a young girl virgin who acted as tuno
wudjo, but there are no more in these groups
who are still pagan, so they have to use old
women. I can see the same thing on the schedule:
in Wailolong there are some tuno wudjo who are
very young (e.g., three or four years old) as
they are not yet Christians, but others are very
old pagan women. Thus, the pagans are making
the best of it, but what can they do when the
old women are dead? The answer is found in
Leloba, where they no longer are able to have
rites. They have given up the suku and ama
rites, but still have the kampong agricultural
ceremonies. First, however, a mass is held in
the chapel, and then they say prayers, but are
[769] allowed to recite the names of the ancestors.
They no longer use the tuno wudjo, however.

178 After the ancestors are called, the pig is cut,
562 first sawed through the neck until the windpipe
796 is cut, and then with one blow the head is cut
241 off. The assistant said that if it is a big
●887 pig, a strong blow is required to knock the
769 head off with a single sweep.
614 Note that the two old men who prayed were from Leworita and Hurint. Evidently this makes no difference, but they do choose old people who know prayers (however, they have one from the suku giving the rite, as he must recite the names of their ancestors).

[276] Then betel was prepared and passed around. As the pig bled, blood splashed on the tusk which was lying on the ground beside one of the posts. This is a ritual tusk and is not very large. It is owned by the ama and is not used for bride prices. The second part of the rite--to give the food to the ground and posts --came next. The tuno wudjo and other old women took the rice and heaped it on a plate like a hillock. The men cut out the liver of the pig and chopped it up. The mixture was put on the ground, or rather a bit of it was, and also smeared on the four posts of the barn. Gin was
[273] meanwhile passed around (we got some), and it was also poured on the ground and sprinkled around under the barn. We left after this as the rite was over, but they went on to cook and eat the pork with the rice. This is a relatively small rite, although it was a part of the entire planting ritual complex.

614 One can say that each grouping (or, as the
241 assistant says, each barn) must have agricul-
796 tural rites. Thus, the system runs down from
343 the big kampong-barn-suku Kottang rite, with all the suku there and all the tuno wudjo (of all suku and ama); to the suku rites at each suku barn, and all suku and tuno wudjo at these too, in all five rites; and finally to the ama-

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123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

We discussed a certain rank which appears in
614 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
343 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
562 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala
243 suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

We also noted a possible error in Vatter.λ
[114] He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
614 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
796 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
831 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
784 gins, but now with so few young girls still
241 pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[857] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost
[887] babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic
[797] note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

λ [See bibliography, cat 113 -- Analyst]

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582 sirable and that for hundreds of years the folk
835 had been doing this sort of thing (first cousin
827 marriages) without any ill effects, to counter
177 his saying that first cousin marriages caused poor offspring, for example, feeble-mindedness. He took this barrage with polite resignation, but said that he had seen plenty of bad cases of close inmarriage children. The probability is that there is some inbreeding chance of recessives coming out, at least enough to use this argument of rationalization, and surely the priests have played up this "scientific" justification. It is interesting, however, that he uses the pseudo-rational explanation and not the appeal to divine authority, which would at once raise the issue of the wrongness of a strong pagan rule.

562 The next day, our last, was a half day, as
●887 I had to get to Maumere in order to get Kattenburg on the place to Makassar. At the end of the session we had lunch with the two guru, and the younger daughter served. Then I found out that in every house the oldest woman is the nu'a luka rumah tangga, paralleling the ritual functions for the women of the nu'a luka suku and the nu'a luka ama. The mother is in Makassar, and the eldest daughter is in the hospital, so this one acted as the server. The nu'a luka is important here, as she directs everything in regard to cooking and eating and also for caring for small animals, weaving, etc. She is the household manager. In this poor area food division is especially important.

127 I looked up the 1930 census material in the report of the Controleur then and found the following:

513 We
882 Ambon and Ceram youth-club houses are really
178 survivals of the regular thing.) In Leloba the
[171] main hangout is the "pasanggrahan" (bivak),
where there are seldom any guests, and the boys
simply take over. Kattenburg inspected it and
found that it has sleeping benches and even a
[836] few walled compartments. He asked the kepala
kampong if perhaps the girls did not slip in,
and the kepala kampong said that this was abso-
lutely not the case.

178 In Wailolong there is a guru from Bama,
513 where they have regular boy's houses. This
882 fellow has introduced a new type of boy's house
177 in Wailolong (but no other kampong in this area
614 has one), i.e., he has built three on the Bama
pattern and the boys sleep there. One of these
is our "office" when we use it. These boys'
houses are arranged according to suku, and are
shared by suku. This is a remarkable case of
acculturation within a pattern from one district
to another.

[562] The girls have no such houses, and never did.
882 However, before, as today, they seldom sleep
561 with their parents when they get older. Groups
● 887 of them have hangouts where they sleep together.
513 These groups are of friends. They weave to-
gether, etc., and like to gossip, sing, etc.,
at night. They just fall asleep there, together.
This may be a sleeping bench, or it may be that
they get a section of a sleeping bench in one
of their parents' houses. There they bunch up.
Everyone knows where the groups hang out.
Kattenburg found that even old women sleep in
groups. They may be, I think, groups of "the
girls" who are old and widows, and who go back
to their girlhood days and sleep with their
coevals, and have a good time. If this is so,
it is practically a revived age-grade for the
girls who in their youth grew up and slept to-
gether and now at the end of their life bunch
up together again.

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632 634 622 [177] I asked first for the history of the kapitanschap here. I found that it is only about thirty-seven years old. That means that it dates from the Dutch entry (which began in 1907). And the kepala kampong dates from the same time. Before that they had only the adat chiefs, the mosa laki. The record:

1.	Present radja (Odja)	5 years.
2.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	1 year.
3.	Preceding radja (Odja)	2 years.
4.	Preceding radja (Odja)	11 years.
5.	Preceding radja (Odja)	15 years. (approximate).
6.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	3 years (approximate).
Total		37 years

Then we talked about the election of radjas, and I found out that the only "voters" are the nine kapitans and the nine mosa laki mere of the gemeente. The kepala kampong may attend, but he has no voice. This shows how important the mosa laki still are.

622 ●887 624 The ata nggaeh is not the adat kepala kampong as I had supposed. What happens is that in every kampong there is an old man who is called ata nggaeh, and he knows all about adat. He attends all the adat cases. Thus the man is Bapa Ketjil. The post is not hereditary, but is based merely on cleverness. It is that of the "adat master." His word outweighs even that of the kapitan in adat cases.

624 465 Each kampong has varying numbers of mandur, assistants of the kepala kampong. Roworeke has four of these assistants, Manunggo'o has two, etc. They receive no pay, but are tax free,

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521 At feasts, when the old rites are put on,
178 the old people reminisce over the old days and
887 the old ways, especially when they get drunk.
Then they are mournful.

562 There are no women in politics. They do not
641 come to the election meetings and have no voice
in the government. They are not even reckoned
in when the population is totaled to determine
the number of electors. They have no political
representation, and Migo says that everyone
would be against having women take any part in
politics. It is simply not right.

829 He says that they are stupid here. By this
he means only a few people know anything or
ever say anything about Flores or Indonesian
politics. And even about the local affairs they
say almost nothing. It is starting today, and
there are a few people who are thinking a lit-
tle. But how absolutely rudimentary it is!
This is the most backward place yet, by far.

Locally the people have a vague idea that
Roworeke is the most important kampong in the
district, because it is the center. The fact
is, and the kapitan and a few others know this,
that rank and influence of the districts in
Ende is in the following order: Nggobe, Rodja,
Rewarangga, and Pulo Ende. Below this are the
other five. About all the people know is that
Nggobe is by far the largest, the most populous,
and thus the greatest.

They do not know what Ende's place in Flores
is, or anything about the place which Flores
occupies in Indonesia. This is beyond their
ken. There are no political ambitions (yet
note that the suku Reandona has been trying to
get a man into the kapitan post). They are
politically dead. They know and talk nothing
about the Dutch, the Indonesian Republic, etc.

They knew that the Queen was their radja be-
fore, but that didn't mean much. They know

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842 family." This shows [a] the belligerent nature
181 of these people and [b] their distrust of most
[578] other people). Girls are good for weaving, house work, and for the bride price that they bring in. When I pressed the matter, they said that perhaps it was better actually to have a few more girls than boys, because of the money they bring in. This is different from Larantuka, and perhaps shows the greedy nature of these folk. They don't like all girls or all boys.

842 They have no knowledge or idea of limiting the number of children. As usual I told them about birth control in the United States, and they were very much surprised. They seem to have heard vaguely that there may be some sort of medicine used to prevent having children, but they never think of using it.

163 They are unclear, but they think that the
178 average number of births per woman is between five and six. This may reflect the late marriage age here. Of these, three or four live (perhaps the population here is indeed relatively stationary). They think there has been little change in this regard, and this may be true, as it seems to be about as dirty and uncared for medically as it was before, or at least there has been no great improvement. They said that a great number of children die in infancy.

855 There was a chorus of agreement to the ef-
887 fect that the mother is the important one here. The father is away working all the time. Old women help in caring for the children.

584 There is no modern courtship. Intermediaries are used.

581 Although they do not like ugly women in a showdown, the ugly worker wins over the pretty drone. In fact, they think first about her skill as a worker and second in terms of her

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796 held under the ama kebang.

241 782 Note the food symbolism in these most impor-
tant rites. They take place under the barn.
[887] There are present at these ceremonies the old women (in the old days young virgins) who act as tuno wudjo and food divider. The high point is the killing of a pig, and the meat is mixed with the rice and the blood and the four posts are smeared with this food. Everyone eats. The whole thing is completely linked with fertility. And the ancestors are summoned in the litany and are invited to come and eat.

778 There are plenty of holy places, such as the
[346] kampong lama, the place where the tuno wudjo is (what does this mean?), the place where they used to assemble before a war (did they do this before the recent war against Waibalun? Perhaps the few who did the active part of the warfare did). Then there are also holy stones: nubanara, and saonivang. There is also a church or rather a chapel!

The stones are especially important, and this is a real stone cult area. He admits this, and if I had time I could get much about the stories, beliefs, etc., in regard to these stones. I told him about the Stonehenge, the dolmens, etc., and he caught onto this fast.

241 The festival calendar is largely one of agri-
527 cultural feasts. The main ones are at planting and harvest. There are other agricultural feasts too, at all stages. For example, there are festivals at the time of burning the fields, clearing the fields, etc. In all, the agricultural cycle includes thirteen rites. At the thirteenth the harvest comes, and a big time is had by all. Everyone eats and there is a lot of noise. During the growing period everything
[824] is quiet in order not to disturb the spirit of the crops. This is a period of danger and much

527 We
574 troubles in the kampong are due to influences
756 which must be exorcised.

756 This led to a discussion of the mbako.
[887] There are two to three mbako per kampong. They may be men or women, although they are usually men. They are called to work, a job which is not hereditary. They are always old people. They dream, see spirits (e.g., naga), look at their paraphernalia (for example, glass pieces, wood pieces), etc. However, there is no shamanism.

This led to a discussion of the secrecy surrounding the identity of the mbako. He is rather vague and said something about how they don't want to appear "proud." But this doesn't ring true, so I asked the mandur and he said it is because several mbako were imprisoned here because of witchcraft murders (what kind?). Anyway, here is the pattern of secrecy and fear which I see all over here.

166 Of those who have gone away, none has re-
574 turned to Yeol, as far as the assistant knows.
783 But there have been returnees to other kampongs.

If a returnee is a man who was imprisoned (note how often the jail theme comes up here; indeed the Dutch ruled by jails!) a feast must be given and buffalo killed. It is called the buka tali, to remove the rope. It also cleanses the returnee of the bad influence of the jail. When the Controleur Bedbeder and Pastor van Bekkum came back from Japanese imprisonment, wherever they went there was a buffalo feast in order to set them finally free.

If a family left the area without an argument,
166 then no feast is required on their return, un-
574 less it is a long time afterwards and they have
769 come from far away. For example, a policeman or a soldier who has been away for a long while would go through such a ceremony. Then there must be a feast given for two purposes: to tell

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462 and goats.

There is no shame, however, if one has to do
[887] the work of the other sex. The old people
putter about, for example, the old women make
mats, and the old men carve spoons, etc.

426 If one borrows corn or rice, which is done
686 for the most part, interest is charged at the
rate of one hundred per cent annually. This is
redoubled each year, and if it is finally un-
paid, there may be a court case and the person
may have to pay a horse (the present price of
[435] a horse is fl. 200 and for a buffalo fl. 350).

Money is not borrowed. The reason they bor-
row rice and corn and why they do this from
kampong fellows is that many families are too
311 large. Land is now all divided. The kampong
511 is full. Therefore there is actual hunger in
November and December, when the crops are grow-
ing. Thus if the population continues to in-
crease, some will have to move. The reason
the Dalong folk repossessed one of the Radja's
gardens was that there was an actual shortage
of land. I didn't realize this trouble before.
There are actually poor people here because
the land is all occupied. Therefore, not even
new gardens are possible here. But no one
starves. I asked what the main worry was.
They said getting cloth. It is very hard to
get. Food is a worry only for some people.

465 There are no wage earners except for those
who do a bit of work in other people's gardens.
The present wage is fl. 1.00 a day. Before
even this was not done.

634 In regard to political life there were Bima,
632 dalu, gelarang, and kraeng (some kampongs), and
622 the tuan tanah fifty years ago. In 1940 there
624 were the Dutch, the radja (since 1929), the dalu,
gelarang, tuan tanah, and kepala kampong. In
1950 there are the radja, the dalu, the gelarang,
the tuan tanah, and the kepala kampong.

Amboin OH4
Tanimbar OF19
Gorontalo OG4

Arfak OJ7
Flores OF9
Alor OF5
Igorot OA20

[22 cont.]

Ar 266 721

Papoewa's van de Geelvinksbaai [The Papuans of Geelvink Bay], p. 78. Sal. Müller, op. cit., p. 108. Natuurk. Tijdschrift v. Ned. Ind., XXXVII, p. 186-187. A.B. Meyer, Ausland 1882, p. 11, note.

among other tribes of that island (2). It has been said that the

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2. See Haddon, "the Tuguri Head-Hunters," Int. Archiv für Ethnographie, Vol. IV, 240 pp.

Langa, the Rokka [Roka], and the Wogo, inhabitants of the interior of Flores, are also cannibals. They not only eat their enemies, but kill and devour their relatives when they are old and sickly. This has been denied, however (3). The mountain

3. De Hollander, Handleiding, Vol. II, p. 721. Tijdschrift v. Ned. Ind., 9th year, Vol. IV, p. 147.

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tribes of the neighboring Solor Islands cut out the hearts of those who have fallen in battle, roast them over the fire, and divide them among the victors (4). Whether or not they are eaten

4. Tijdschrift v. Ind. Taal- L. en Vk., Vol. XX, p. 391, see koppenjacht [headhunting] in the index.

Am I G Tn 266

has not been reported. The custom of eating human flesh was likewise practiced on the Tanimbar and Timorlaut Islands (5),

5. Riedel, de kroes en sluikharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua [The curly-haired and straight-haired races between Celebes and Papua], p. [no number given].

Wor

000 This is an example of radja tyranny.

●888 178 622 Formerly, politicians were older than they are today. Indeed, they would not follow a younger man formerly very well. Today there are plenty of cases of an older radja tuan giving his rightful kepala kampong post to a younger brother. At least it is usually the latter, for this keeps it in the proper family. The older man keeps the adat post. (This is what Roy himself has done here). He said that this is done: (1) because if there is trouble in the kampong, the kepala kampong bears the brunt of this and may have to go to jail. It is better to have two men so that one can carry on the administration; (2) the older man is often unable to read and write. Formerly the three kepala kampong were always the same men as the radja tuan of the three main suku.

[561] 178 797 177 This led to a long talk about the conflict between generations. Roy says that there is no conflict here, as they give in if the children are firm enough. He also says that although the old resisted religious change before, they have surrendered now and know that it is hopeless. When they are dead they know that paganism will be finished. It came out clearly here that the only real force of change has been Catholicism. And the only area of change has been religion, although other aspects have been affected thereafter. Thus we got again onto the subject of religion.

797 178 I asked if, if there were a long period of misfortunes, there might not be a reversion to paganism. He said that this is conceivable, but that it has gone too far now for this to be a strong probability. He gave a case of a kampong on the neck of Tandjung Bunga, Riang Koli, which not long ago decided that it would not give up paganism but would merely make a deliberate combination of it and Catholicism. How-

We.

665 The thought of a political career is absolutely absent. No one has it, not even the guru.

204 The one local paper, the mission bi-weekly
203 "Bentara" (herald), is received by only one
212 guru in Leloba and two guru in Wailolong. It is read by perhaps ten other individuals in each place. It is very important, as it is the only paper here. The people are now in the habit of asking the guru what is in the paper. Thus the word of mouth is the main vehicle, but the feeble paper is an important item. The only books here are school books and religious books. Adults read only the latter, and not for fun. However, they love stories, and he is sure that a library would be deluged with readers. Literate adults over thirty or forty are rare. Younger people are mostly literate. There is
[207] no radio here at all.

582 There have been no changes in the marriage
593 system to speak of in the last half century.
858 Roy says there have been few changes in the
●888 family either. I tried to ask if the children are less respectful or obedient now, but he said no. I tried to get this by the religious conflict, but he is adamant that it never split up families. Even here there was never a loss of respect for the elders, even though they were pagans and the children were Christians. And the elders, although their hearts were sick, never tried to force their children to follow them. They were just not violent. There was never a case of disowning. He said a parent would be ashamed forever if he had done so, and indeed it was quite unthinkable. They love children so much that, though they might try to talk with them, if a child remained firm always a child would get its will. The parents would be ashamed of any open or loud conflict. They might have troubled hearts, but that's all. Although they might try reasoning with them, they would go no further.

R

791 all pagans then,[1] They were and all parents of the present
178 adults of about thirty or older were pagan. My assistant's father was.

872 The lower school here consists of three
[197] grades. It is a mission school although the government evidently makes a contribution to it. In Ndona (seven kilometers by road, four kilometers across the hills, and the children walk there) there are eight grades. Until the present there is only one from here who has gone as far as class seven, and ten in class six. The school in Ndona is the highest level school around here (and perhaps in all Flores) except for the seminary. The eighth grade qualifies one for the job of guru.

There are two children here who go to school in Ende where there is a connecting or intermediate school and a middle school, I think.

[711] There are few Mohammedans here, and no Koran school. They must go to Ende for this.

871 Everyone here is very much in favor of edu-
185 cation. Formerly, there was a bit of trouble
178 with the oldsters who saw no sense (and I suspect did not like the mission tie-up) in such things. But now everyone wants his children to go to school. They are anxious to have both their girls and boys go to school, although they are perhaps a bit more interested in education for their boys. If a girl is clever, however, they want her to advance too.

● 898 The children do show a bit of a superiority
212 feeling toward the illiterate oldsters, but there is almost always a great show of respect. And the illiterate old folk are not ashamed. They are only farmers, anyway, they say.

798 When Catholicism came in first, there was
872 much trouble, and the elders scolded hard. After
178 the school came in, in 1921, there was no more trouble. They say and insist that the pagan elders make no trouble at all for the Catholic children

1 [i.e., fifty years ago --Analyst]

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634 646 They said no, but that there was much free talk against the radjas in the parliament now!

622 646 624 888 All hereditary posts are genealogically linked. Most of the kepala kampong are still old illiterates. Parliament members are mainly middle aged people (the oldest literates, therefore). Age is of no concern for the hereditary posts, as one person merely succeeds to the post after another. In the kampong, however, the old men have the most influence, and the young people keep their mouths shut for the most part.

[562] Women may not hold hereditary posts. Until now women took no part in elections, but they may change things here.

829 666 There is still only a very restricted political horizon here, and there is little knowledge about such things. But at least they have elections. This is very important. They start with an election. As they say in Celebes, they catch on fast. Veol is the center of the gelarang, and Rahong is the center of the dalu, and Ruteng is the center of Manggarai. They think nothing about the "place" of Manggarai in Flores; the radja is just a "big man." Beyond this they know practically nothing about the daerah, negara, etc.

[614] [632]

648 Most of the people here thought the Dutch were all right and they were too uninformed to criticize them. Also, it must be remembered that they had been under the rule of Bima, and the Dutch at least drove Bima out. They did not even criticize the Japanese! They were simply not concerned. The great memory here is of Bima and slavery. They hate Bima.

609 Except for the pastors, everyone here knows of things and people who are Dutch only by name. Formerly they knew the local civil servants only slightly. They were always afraid of any new men who came here. This is true of my

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764 they will encounter no big stones while digging, as this is a sign that more people will die. After the burial they return to the house and [888] pray. If the person who died was old or a big [554] man, they kill a buffalo. If the person was of lesser status, they kill only a pig or a fowl. Three days later, if the person who died was old or was a big man, they may kill two or three horses or buffaloes and eat them. At the same time, if the person was of lesser status, they will kill a pig or fowl.

[766] Clothes are placed on the grave of a person who dies a violent death. (See Coolhaas.)[1]

The local Catholics go through the same rites, except that they add on the church service.

[178] The big feasts for the dead dalu mentioned by Coolhaas[1] are no longer held. On such occasions they might wait quite a while. They killed up to perhaps ten buffaloes.

769 There is a very close relation between the ancestors and the death cult. The dead are always invited to feasts. There are no tombs, but the ancestor cult is strong.

[574] Note: The whip duels are held at all big 526 feasts: New Year, harvest, illness exorcism, 524 wedding, but not at the funeral.

All local recreation is native: tjatjih (whip duelling), tug of war, rope jumping (!), children's games like tag and hide and seek (he says they are the "hunter and hunted"), the bam- [535] boo jumping dance (tekarulu). The dances are: sanda (round), sae (group and solo), danding (round). They play the rattan football (raga) and soccer.

526 The most loved of all is tjatjih. Cornelius says that to the best of his knowledge he has never known of any man being actually blinded, because the superorbitals protect the eyes. However, plenty of people get bad scars on their

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]